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A POSTCOLONIAL READING OF AIME CESAIRE'S PLAYS

*AIME CESAIRE'İN OYUNLARININ POST-SÖMÜRGEÇİLİK AÇIDAN İNCELENMESİ**

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Abstract

One of the most distinctive quality of Aime Cesaire is that he aimed to refute the colonialist argument that blacks are inferior sub-human beings while whites are superior to them. He developed his anti-colonialist discourse in which he claimed that blacks have their own virtues which can help them recover themselves from inferiority complex imposed on them by the Western nations. He spoke out his perceptions regarding the brutality and hypocrisy of the colonialist nations in both his theoretical and literary works. This study aims to exhibit Cesaire's approach to colonialism and to reveal how he deals with it in his plays by discussing his three plays. While he criticizes the colonialist nations' racist argument against the black race in his writing, he also warns the ex-colonized black nations against the chaotic conditions and local elites that often spring up in the countries which have gained their independence recently. He is one of the founders of Negritude movement where he strove to inspire blacks to be conscious of their meritorious traditional and cultural elements. According to Cesaire, it is possible for black nations to regain their self-confidence and cultural values by constructing a new system through solidarity and struggle.

Key Words: Aime Cesaire, Colonialism, Anti-colonialism, Cesaire's Plays, Racism, Negritude Movement

Introduction

Aime Cesaire's outstanding feature which makes him different from post-colonial writers is that he wrote both poems, plays and other theoretical writings in which he conveyed his anti-colonialist views and that he took part in the political area. He is generally accepted as the initiator of Negritude movement, which played a significant role for the blacks suffering from colonialism.

He encountered with the prominent writings of the Harlem Renaissance and met with other black people in Paris, where different cultures of exile communicated with each other and people began to have the consciousness of their native land and culture because of being enclosed by foreign people and a different land (Stovel, 2009: 45). He was able to observe increasing African American oppositions to the racist approach such as the Harlem Renaissance and the Garvey movement, which shaped his viewpoint about racism (Edmondson, 2008: 94). These were the experiences and factors that directed Cesaire to a movement for the blacks. He and Leopold Senghor, who would be Senegal's future president, initiated the Negritude movement, which had an intellectual and literary aspect and was mostly attributed to him (Miles, 2009: 2). By means of Cesaire, Negritude firstly gained international value and

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reputation as a system of thought which was one of the most important cultural movements for black people's esteem and freedom (Edmondson, 2008: 92).

Négritude can be regarded as a consciously established struggle against the colonial acts and claims that they were culturally and racially more superior than the colonized (Murdoch: 2011: 67). Négritude claims that the blacks have their peculiar cultural, civilization and original qualities and that all the black Africans have been exposed to a system that does not accept their cultural and intellectual values (Cesaire, 1969a: 20). According to Cesaire, Négritude was based on the awareness that the colonized used a versatile framework that supported the slavery of the blacks and racism which encouraged the colonial attempts (Murdoch: 2011: 66). Instead of being abstract, Négritude is a concrete concept, and it developed out of the conditions in which African people were assimilated and rejected, which made them ashamed of themselves by creating an inferiority complex (Cesaire, 2000: 91). Cesaire claimed that black people were seeking an identity, so they must be concretely aware of their own lives, their own history that covers their valuable cultural essentials, and their blackness if they demand their own identities back (Cesaire, 2000: 91). But Cesaire regards the Négritude movement not as racist but as the one including all people that have a faith in humanity (Cesaire, 1969a: 23).

Cesaire wrote about the universally known subject matters while destructing and refuting the nominal justifications that were manipulated by the Western powers in order to claim on their domination over the colonized (Murdoch: 2011: 68). In a long term, such justifications worked out both to divide the world into the colonizer and the colonized and to deceive the colonized into believing the rightness of their domination (Murdoch: 2011: 68). Cesaire objects the Western colonizers' claim that it is necessary to combine the native civilization with their own and develop a new complete culture, asserting the idea that a new developed culture will never appear since the result of this combination will lead a hierarchical cultural system where the elite or Western culture is dominant at the top and the colonized minority culture is oppressed to have a marginal value and ineffective, so this formation makes up large vacant territories in terms of cultural development, which means nearly secondary cultures or sub-cultures (Cesaire, 2010a: 140). While he was staying in Paris, the surrealist movement, which enabled him to remove the limitations of language that made the elite values supreme, affected him, infusing with his intention to defeat colonialism and its oppressive side (Cesaire, 1969a: 23).

Cesaire also proved his active status as a statesman by being elected Deputy to the French National Assembly for Martinique and being Mayor of Fort de France, through which a man like him belonging to the real values of Martinique could reflect the problems of his society and be influential in the French National Assembly for the first time, which increased for Cesaire the opportunity to speak out his antagonistic feelings against the French oppression and assimilating policy more severely (Cesaire, 1969a: 26).

Comparing Cesaire With His Contemporaries

In order to understand the philosophy and anti-colonialist opinions of Cesaire, he can be compared with his contemporaries who are post-colonialist writers such as Frantz Fanon, V. S. Naipaul and George Lamming. While Cesaire and Naipaul differ in their stance towards colonialism, Cesaire has basically similar approach against colonialism with Fanon and Lamming.

Naipaul claims that after colonialism the colonized lost their identity and had broken or disconnected identity, as a result of which they tried to have a sense of united or complete identity by seeking their own essences, but it is impossible for them to return and gain back their roots (Nandan, 2007: 80). He criticizes severely the deficiencies of the Indian societies that newly gained their independence and feels ashamed of the inferiority of the colonized (King, 2003: 4). Although he thinks that the European countries brought slavery and other problems to

the colonies, he also claims that the colonized having lived through the constant inner wars and non-Western attacks before colonialism met peace and modern opinions by means of the colonized (King, 2003: 4). His criticism focuses particularly on the Africans and Muslims since he thinks that they victimized Indians (King, 2003: 16). On the other hand, Césaire claims that colonialism brought nothing modern or civilization to the land of the colonized, asserting the idea that its results were only advantageous for the colonizers as Europe only exploited the colonized. Europe tries to cleanse his conscious of the sense of guilt of colonialism by regarding and calling the colonized as animals and turning them into animals (Césaire, 2000: 41). Colonialism put the colonizers into such a position that they relapsed into being uncivilized and brutal, arousing their hidden instincts such as immorality, violence, racism and avarice, so the colonized in different countries were subjected to beheading, putting out eyes, raping and torture (Césaire, 2000: 35).

George Lamming reflects the disastrous consequences of colonialism on the colonized, dealing with the idea that the colonizers disrupted or damaged the psychology and culture of the colonized, making the colonized economically dependent on them (Odhiambo, 1994: 123). In reflecting the psychological damage of colonialism, Lamming asserts the fact that the colonized feel alienated, frustrated, and abandoned, but he at the same time offers solutions for these problems (Odhiambo, 1994: 123). He thinks that the colonized must review and return to their past through an affirmed bond with the non-European dimension (Taş, 2012: 104). Likewise, Césaire emphasizes the destructive face of colonialism for the colonized in terms of psychology, cultural identity and economy. For Césaire, the colonized blacks tried to look for an identity as they were under conditions of being rejected by the colonized, which caused them to get into an inferiority complex (Césaire, 1969a: 91). The colonized will become aware of their real identity only when they are able to explore their historical experiences of their ancestors and choose their own way for the future (Rabaka, 2009: 124). But Césaire's return to the historical roots does not signify an admirable antique one, but a critical and objective one (Rabaka, 2009: 128).

According to Fanon, colonialism requires not infusion but the division of the colonized and the colonizer with the fundamental boundaries that are based on racism (Hiddleston, 2009: 29). In this division, the colonizers accept the colonized as the other and inferior while asserting themselves as superior and dominant. Seen as an fixed object by the white colonizers, the black colonized feel the sense of alienation, losing their identity and internalizing the status supplied by the white colonizers (Hiddleston, 2009: 29). Fanon thinks that it is possible for the colonized to get rid of the colonial effects. Colonialism can be removed only by means of the identical violence as it dominated the colonized with violent force (Hiddleston, 2009: 35). The colonized must also return back and revision their pre-colonial past critically in order to find any constituents for their independence in the present and future (Rabaka, 2009: 127). According to Fanon, Marxism can be used as a means of opposing capitalism effectively, but it is not enough to eliminate colonialism because it overlooked the racist feature of colonialism (Rabaka, 2011: 130). Fanon's emphasis on arousing political and national awareness is similar to his teacher Aime Césaire, who also focused on subjects connected with the oppressed psychology of the Black people when he referred to Antilleans' feelings of estrangement as an originally African lineage (Jamison, 2010: 190). Like Fanon, the main discussion of Césaire about colonialism is the European countries' racist approach to Africans and assimilation policy, because of which he founded Negritude movement. Césaire claims that the Western powers belittled every feature of Africa and that especially French people divided the world as barbarian and civilized; that is, the barbarian world refers to Africa while the civilized refers to Europe, so they tried to implement assimilation policy against the Africans by alienating them from their own identity and transforming them into completely new stereotypes who carry white souls and whitened criteria under their black skins (Césaire, 1969a: 88). As for Marxism, Césaire discussed the

inefficiency of Marxism against colonialism, claiming the idea that Marxists did not protect the rights of the Africans (Cesaire, 1969a: 85).

Aime Cesaire tried to prove the idea that colonialism brought only disaster and trouble to the native lands of the colonized, which can never be justified. He verbalized his anti-colonialist views like Fanon and Lamming while his stance is mainly different from Naipaul, who is not an anti-colonialist writer.

Post-colonialism in *A Tempest*

Cesaire conveys his stance against colonialism mainly through the relationship and speeches between Caliban and Prospero, that is, Caliban's response to Prospero's acts indicates Cesaire's anti-colonialist approach. Although Prospero is the master of Caliban, who is a black slave, Caliban no more accepts his minor status and always opposes Prospero's idea that he is superior to Caliban.

Prospero's attitudes towards Caliban prove the Western powers' way of thinking and behaving against the black colonized. Prospero claims that he is right in ordering and subduing Caliban, thus reducing Caliban to the position of being an animal. For example, he calls Caliban "ugly ape", "a savage", "a dumb animal"; therefore, Prospero tries to impose his superiority upon Caliban, who is supposed by Prospero to have to obey his orders and submit what Prospero says without any complaint and protest (Cesaire, 1991: 11). According to Prospero, Caliban's only function and duty in this world is to serve the needs and orders of Prospero all the time. Caliban has no value except for running errands. In other words, Prospero tries to place Caliban into the position and identity which he determines like the colonial powers. Prospero threatens to punish Caliban if he does not comply with the orders of Prospero. For Prospero, Caliban is nothing without him as he brought civilization to Caliban and educated him whom he considers an ignorant animal. If Caliban accepts his status as a servant and does not protest, he may make progress and exceed his bestial position. Since Caliban is always identified with inferior things by Prospero, Prospero also accuses Caliban of raping his daughter, which is denied by Caliban (Cesaire, 1991: 13). Caliban does not have any value and positive quality for Prospero. He always has to choose either to serve Prospero or to be punished severely.

In spite of being a black servant in the hands of Europeans, Caliban is never satisfied with his position, being in constant protest against the approach and attitudes of Prospero. Caliban trusts himself throughout the play and never gets into any inferiority complex even when he is threatened and oppressed by Prospero. He objects Prospero's division of the world into the civilized and the savage one. He realizes that Prospero did not bring civilization and education to Caliban, so these are only lies and deception of Prospero in order to justify his oppression since Prospero only regarded himself by exploiting Caliban, using him for his own interests and putting aside Caliban's values. According to Caliban, Prospero wants to shape his identity by subordinating and threatening him with punishment. Caliban rejects the identity and status given him by Prospero as a servant and sub-human. Instead of being called "Caliban", he wants to give a name to himself which is "X", which proves his rebellious rejection of the authority and what Prospero tries to impose upon him (Cesaire, 1991: 15). Thus, he wants to name himself freely and does not want to be reduced into any classification claimed by Prospero. For Caliban, Prospero does not have any right and justifiable reason for punishing and scorning him because Prospero is not a superior human being, but a liar, destroyer and oppressor. Caliban implies the idea that he has his own identity, values and language when he says "Uhuru!" instead of hello (Cesaire, 1991: 11). He tends to indicate the fact that he is not ashamed of his language or culture, so his own values cannot be denied and contempt by anyone. They cannot be changed, removed or reduced to anything that is secondary and marginal. Caliban constantly argues with Prospero in order to prove his precious existence and gain his freedom, and he is fed up with serving Prospero. He shows his determination in trying

to gain his freedom by saying "And I know one day my bare fist, just that, will be enough to crush your world!" (Cesaire, 1991: 65).

Caliban's acts and rebellious nature remind us of Cesaire's views that are based on the objection that there can never be a hierarchical rank between societies, especially between the colonized and the colonizers. As Cesaire argued the idea that the Africans must not regard themselves as the secondary and minor human beings, Caliban insists on claiming that Prospero cannot prove his superiority. Like Cesaire, Caliban does not forget his own culture, language and existence, referring to them without any embarrassment. This is the philosophy of Cesaire that the black colonized have to recognize their own achievements, values and civilization. They need to return to their way of living and culture that are not so dishonorable as the Europeans tried to make them accept. Caliban is aware of the wicked intention of Prospero and gains his consciousness of a real human being with his freedom who must not be used as a slave by any society.

Post-colonialism In *A Season in the Congo*

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

In the ecstasy of independence, Congolese people do not take into consideration what kinds of risks and plights they will probably encounter after right gaining their freedom. Although the Europeans give independence to these Africans and return back to Europe, they are keenly preoccupied with the current circumstances in the ex-colonized land as they foresee that the Africans will not be able to recognize what they have to be aware of. The basic problem for the African nations that have gained their independence just currently is that they begin to regard each other as virulent rivals in the struggle to take control of the country and to be the ruler of that country. They forget the miserable experiences which they lived when the Europeans captured their land and stripped them of their freedom. They overlook how the Europeans tortured and killed many Africans who tried to rise up against their selfish intentions. They do not remember how the Europeans consider them as a savage race that is inferior, which is the main indication of the Europeans' racial discrimination. They are unable to see that the Europeans' main concern in the postcolonial age is to incite the Africans' feelings of enmity, avarice and hatred against each other, so they cannot forge solidarity and citizenship among themselves, being always in a conflict with each other with the aim of being the ruler of the country and making use of this position. Although the colonizers claim that they support peace and freedom, leaving a peaceful country for the colonized Africans, their real furtive plan is to maintain their dominance by making the Africans suppose that they have got rid of the effects and hegemony of the colonizers truly. One of the most effective ways for the Europeans to keep their influence active in the African land is to put into effect the policy of divide and rule. The colonizers are determined to demolish the feelings of brotherhood and unity among the Africans by always reminding of their differences in respect to their ethnic roots, language, religion and local culture in order to impel them into inner wars against each other. In the course of these vain and meaningless fights, the colonizers endeavor to exploit the country in this tumultuous atmosphere. The Africans are engrossed in fighting against each other with the claim that their ethnic root is superior to other Africans in the country, thus being in a destructive struggle and killing each other without mercy by forgetting their real intimate ambition for the independence of the country. Their initial ambition was to make the colonizers out of the country and to manage their lives in a peaceful way, but they are drunk with their nominal victory which turns into their factual ruin.

Cesaire's depiction of Congo in the play was mainly inspired by the real historical events that occurred after the Belgian colonizers put back their forces and Congo gained its

independence. Like in the real events in respect to Congo and Belgians, Cesaire reflects the viewpoints and ambitions of the Belgians regarding the Congolese Africans. In the play, the Belgians seek to hide their real avaricious ambitions from Africans by presenting them under the disguise of doing favor for Congo and its natives. The Congolese people are accepted by the Belgians as savages that do not know anything about development and civilization. As the Europeans think that Africans need the help of the civilized Europeans and that they are backward tribes that need to be educated in order to learn civilization. The Belgians only demand from the Africans in Congo is that they should comply with what they are taught by the Belgians without complaint. The Belgians seem to have adopted this relationship between them which looks like the one between teachers and students or between parents and children. Children cannot maintain their lives without their parents' assistance, so they always depend on their parents' interest and care which will make them grow and become mature. In the same way, the relationship between students and their teachers mean nearly the same connotation. Students are seen as ignorant people who need to be educated by their teachers and to learn knowledge regarding life, science and modernity. But these are only the Belgians' nominal justifications for their colonial acts that can never be justified under any excuses. Through these explanations and Eurocentric thoughts, the Belgians want to make the Africans internalize their superiority without suspicion like other colonizers who do not want to meet any opposition or military resistance from Africans and who long for colonizing their servants easily. It is one of the most undemanding ways to exploit the Africans without any battle or blood of the Europeans by imposing their ideas on the Africans and making them lay down their arms placidly. For example, the Belgian King Basilio says to the officers in Congo that "It is simply to address a pious thought to my predecessors, tutors before me, of this country, and first to Leopold, the founder, who has come here not for taking or dominating, but to give and to civilize." (Cesaire, 2010b: 27). This speech may seem very innocent and sincere for the Africans, but it does not bear the veiled ill purpose of the Belgians. Basilio aims to present his ancestor and leader Leopold as a generous person who invaded Congo under the pretext of introducing modern culture and progress to Congo. However, Basilio's this speech does not act in accordance with his other assertions about the Congolese people. After exploiting Congo for years, the Belgians decide to stop their torture and manipulation formally, setting back their soldiers and leaving freedom for Congo. With this freedom, the Africans will be experimented about whether they will continue to be subservient to their European masters or they will become their own masters who reject the Europeans' supremacy. The Belgian King Basilio tells the Belgian General Massens that "If our efforts have succeeded in conquering their nature, if our pains encounter payment, by this independence that we bring them today, we will test it." (Cesaire, 2010b: 25). If the Africans have some problems in living this freedom, the Belgians will not remain inattentive to the events in Congo as expressed by Basilio:

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

Here, Basilio resembles independence to a technological means which cannot be known by the Africans how to be used well. Like a machine that can be broken down by its new users who do not know well how to use it, the Africans may have problems in preserving their independence. Here, Basilio signifies the idea that their eyes will be right on the actions in Congo very attentively; thus, the people in Congo must not think that they are completely free to do anything in their own country. When the conditions in Congo after independence do not meet the expectations of the Belgians, they will feel it necessary to interfere with the inner affairs of Congo. The Belgians will continue to aim at keeping their domination active on Congo in spite of the Africans' not being wary of this jeopardy. According to the Belgians, the Africans do not know what independence means as they have lived under the Belgians' rule for fifty years and they have been slaves who are not aware of the real essence of independence, so they must not become brazen through independence, and they have to keep in their mind that independence

can be robbed of them whenever the Belgians take it necessary or see it dangerous for everybody, especially for the profits of the colonizers as it is verbalized by the Belgian General Massens: "At least, this freedom, whose seductive drug they have smoked, and whose emanation intoxicates them with such deplorable visions, they must feel that they receive it, and not they win it." (Cesaire, 2010b: 25). Through this expression, it can be understood that independence is a boon bestowed on the Africans by the Belgians as the Belgians have decided to offer it to the Congolese people: thus, the Africans do not have a chance in losing themselves in the ownership of independence because it is thought by the Belgian masters to be given them as a reward which will be taken back if they feel too much pride and relapse into their barbaric origins, forgetting the Belgians' primacy and efforts on them in order to make them civilized and educated savages. When the general insurgency of the Africans in Congo launches against the colonizers, the Belgians unexpectedly disregard their previous so called well-intentioned promises and resolve to suppress the reasonable rebellion of the Africans who have suffered from the ruthless acts of the Belgians and who have become weary of the Belgians' colonial torture. In the ninth scene, Third Transmitter reports that "Twelve hundred Europeans removed from the apartment building called Immoekasai have been besieged by Congolese troops with machine guns and mortars." (Cesaire, 2010b: 44). Upon this, Massens tells Basilio that "Your Majesty, there is no more time to encumber ourselves with legal scruples. The saving of European lives, of human lives, is an imperative which exceeds all others!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 45). In respect to what Massens says, it can be inferred that the Belgians regard their lives as those of supreme human beings whereas the lives of the Africans cannot be considered as precious as those of the Belgians since the Africans are accepted as non-humans that do not deserve to be treated with respect and humane values. Consequently, when the lives of the Belgians are in danger due to the defensive incursions of the Africans, it does not matter how they are saved; that is, the Belgians think that every means of saving their own citizens' lives is legal for them regardless of certain principles such as human values, justice and ethics. Likewise, when it comes to taking lives of numerous Africans, the Belgians do not need to take into account legitimate reasons or principles since the Africans are not worthy of deliberating certain principles or scruples. Moreover, one of the most effective methods that the Belgians use in preserving their domination in Congo and exploiting the Congolese Africans is to incite their anger against each other by cooperating with some provinces or ethnic societies. Since Congo is a country which consists of various ethnic groups and provinces that can be utilized by the Belgians in support of themselves; therefore, an entirely independent Congo signifies certain risks against the colonial profits of the Belgians because it will not permit the colonizers to keep on their colonization. The Belgians unique solution for this problem is to make them deeply involved in their inner ethnic and power struggle against each other. This Belgian scheme is recognized by the new Prime Minister of Congo, Patrice Lumumba, saying to the senators at the parliament that "Matadi, Boma, Elizabethville, Luluabourg, to thwart everywhere the countless plots of the enemy! For the plots of the enemy break out everywhere!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 49). He continues to accentuate the hazardous situation of the country by stating that "The plot, the Belgian plot, I see it hatching since the first day of our Independence, hatched by men tormented by resentment and denatured by hatred." (Cesaire, 2010b: 49). In the fifth scene of the play, the dialogues between different ethnic groups of different tribes in Congo have already pointed out the ethnic segregation that will likely to occur after the country has just gained independence. For instance, The Tribalist Mukongo accuses the Bengala society of destructing the country, telling that "The country is ruined with all these Bengalas!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 23). As a reply for that, a Mungala says: "It is we who have to be good enough to tolerate that a Mukongo should be the President of the Republic, that a Mukongo should govern us." (Cesaire, 2010b:23). With these dialogues, the author informs the reader about the potential ethnic fights regarding who will rule the newly independent country, which ethnic root is superior to the others in the country and who deserves to rule the country. The Africans offer some prospects of being colonized to the Belgians by means of their own pointless ethnic fights

and power struggles. Consequently, they turn an opportunity of independence which they can benefit in order to get rid of colonialism into their ruin and disfavor by providing circumstances for the Belgians that the Belgians avail themselves of by collaborating with some native people or tribes through their economical and military supports for these Africans.

One of the core arguments in the play that Césaire highlights is the economic deterioration of the Congolese people which is the fundamental aim of the Belgians since the colonizers principally strive to enrich their economical situations owing to the exploitation of the Africans. Although the officers and other people from the lower class undergo the predicament of poverty, complaining about not having their salaries regularly, the local elites with whom the Belgians collaborate and whom they reinforce financially enhance their status egocentrically. After Lumumba says that he needs airplanes, Mokutu explains that "Not only airplanes, Mr. President ... troops also, troops! No money, no troops! The military is like that! And for the last two months it has not been paid!" (Césaire, 2010b: 66). Mokutu's confession points out the fact that the financial situation of Congo is abysmal that it is not able to give out the earnings of the soldiers since the Belgians have taken away the country's financial sources in cooperation with some of the Congolese elites. Also, When Lumumba is in prison, one of the jailers says to him that "To tell you the worst of that business, there has been no payment for two months!" (Césaire, 2010b: 114). A soldier wants to learn from Lumumba where the money is, and Lumumba tells him that "I am certainly going to tell you! It is in Katanga! Yes sir, in Katanga! In Tzumbi's cashbox!" (Césaire, 2010b: 115). Then, the fundamental cause of the poverty in Congo is the cooperation between the Belgians and the elites of Katanga, which is one of the provinces of Congo, despite independence that Congo has achieved after the excruciating efforts it has made for years. The Belgians achieve their cooperation with the Katangalese elites through the banks which serve as a means of abusing the Africans. In respect to this, Fourth Banker says that "What do they want? Jobs, titles, presidents, deputies, senators, ministers! So bribe them! Good! Car, bank account, villas, big-time treatment, I skimp nothing." (Césaire, 2010b: 21). Thus, the bankers understand that the local elites of Congo can be deluded with more money and higher ranks that they hunger after so many years of lack of economical sources. When Lumumba declares Congo's independence, the bankers get flustered as they think that they will no longer exploit the Congolese people, and they regard Congo's independence as the end of their monetary interests. But they get reassured since they find out that the leaders of Katanga can provide occasions for these bankers in which they will make use of the weaknesses of these Africans for money and political status. In order to underline the economical exploitation of Congo through the banks, one of the senators at the Congolese parliament in Leopoldville proclaims that "Congo's treasure has been dissipated, volatilized in the North wind. Where to go to in search of money, now? The Bank of the Congo has been transferred to Katanga." (Césaire, 2010b: 48). One of the most important material gains that the bankers pursue passionately is the underground sources of Katanga which they can get readily as is stated by one of the bankers in a dialogue between each other: "Not only uranium! Diamonds! Copper! Cobalt! So Katanga it is!" (Césaire, 2010b: 36). They aim to obtain these sources due to the agreement with the rulers of Katanga who close their eyes to the furtive intents of the Belgians and who only long for their personal profits without reckoning the quandary of Congo.

The author does not discount the schemes or processes of the UN that it embraces while handling the problems regarding the security and peace of any country in the world. The supposed responsibility of the UN is to watch over the nations' problems and to fathom the possible solutions for these problems. If there are economical predicaments in a country, the UN supposes it a responsibility to provide financial assistance for that country, rescuing the citizens from dying of dearth. It can declare the world that all the countries that are its members have to allow for the crisis of the deprived countries and that it is an obligation for the whole humanity to bestow the impoverished people with food and money wherever these people are

without considering their geography, race and culture; thus, the main purpose of the UN is to serve for all of the human beings in the world whenever they are in a financial trouble and tackling its problems. Concerning the political mission of the UN, it espouses peace, human values, justice and welfare of all the nations in the world, contesting any cruel acts of the powerful upon the weak and resisting any unfair deaths of the innocent people whatever their ethnicity is. Subsequently, whenever a country contravenes human privileges of any country's citizens by waging a war against it, the UN claims that it must bring to an end this war, interfering with this issue, highlighting human rights and implementing its unbiased policy for every nation. Namely, it acts as a mediator between two or more countries which engage in battle against each other. If it is necessary, the UN dispatches military forces in order to put an end to wars in which neither sides of the fight are possible to be mollified through diplomatic processes. Nevertheless, using force against the clashes between countries is a minor method for the UN as it intends to stamp out the political conflicts between countries essentially by means of diplomatic manners. But these are only discourses through which the UN portrays itself lacking its conflicting stance regarding the incidents in Congo during and following the colonial period. While addressing the Congolese people after Congo has embraced its independence, Hammarskjöld, the Secretary of the UN, insinuates impartiality of the UN by telling that "I have come to tell you: I am a neutral man. It has sometimes been asked if there can be such a thing, a neutral man. Ah yes, I exist! Thank God! I exist! And I am a neutral man." (Cesaire, 2010b: 54, 55). The Secretary's reference to neutrality can be understood from the viewpoint of the impartial willpower of the UN, which he conveys in order to persuade the Africans that the UN makes its decisions in accordance with its objective principles irrespective of the favor of the Western countries. Although it is difficult to believe that there exists such an impartial institution like the UN in the West after so many years of colonial ventures by the white men, Hammarskjöld seems to strive to gain confidence of Congo. Furthermore, the Secretary claims that Congo is a vulnerable country which calls for an international institution that can provide notable service for it. He believes that the problems in Congo need to be solved not through violence but political instruments which can act as sustaining solutions for Congo's problems as he utters: "The problems in the Congo must be solved by a normal political and diplomatic process. I want to say that they must be solved not by force and intimidation, but in the spirit of justice and peace." (Cesaire, 2010b: 55). But Lumumba is not in agreement with Hammarskjöld on the legitimacy of the implementations of the UN in Congo regarding the inner conflicts between tribes. The leaders in Katanga are claimed to conspire with the Europeans against the national movement ignited by Lumumba. Lumumba thinks that the power conflict between him and the leaders of Katanga or other tribes can be eradicated only through unyielding fight against these collaborators of the Belgians. When Lumumba demands that planes should be given to him by the UN in order to discard uproars in Congo, he is rejected by Hammarskjöld on the grounds that the UN cannot allow Lumumba to kill the Congolese citizens brutally. Lumumba does not believe the impartiality of the UN and claims that it does not abide by veritable principles, saying that "Belgians and the affluent mercenaries of the Congo! They unload them every day, and you allow it!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 77). Lumumba brings up the real mission of the UN which does not conform to its operations, implying that the UN claims that it espouses peace and justice every time, but it approaches insensitively to the collaboration between certain leaders in Congo and the Belgians, which worsens the political and social conditions in Congo and enables exploitation of Congo to continue without any interval. Therefore, the main argument of Lumumba regarding the UN is that it does not make an effort in order to inhibit bloodshed by using its military power; instead, it consents to the hostile resistance of Katangese people and the Belgians against the national movement and attempts of Lumumba. According to Lumumba, the only solution for getting rid of this crisis is to take stern precautions against those who are involved in complicity with the Belgian colonizers and who kill their own citizens that struggle to throw the Belgians out of the country. These precautions incorporate military forces which can be made available for Lumumba by the

UN so that the chaotic ambiance in the country can evaporate; nevertheless, the UN refuses to send planes and support to Congo under the pretext that these aids intensify the disorder between the Congolese people and do not resolve the problems as it is mentioned by Hammarström: "At any rate, this country has suffered enough. I do not want, by undertaking a military campaign, to add yet further to its unhappiness." (Cesaire, 2010b: 75). But Lumumba thinks that some parts of Congo could have yielded with no fight or bloodshed and says that "You cancelled the military operations which would have allowed us to enter Elizabethville without opposition." (Cesaire, 2010b: 74). And concerning the province of Katanga in Congo, Lumumba claims that "The population of Katanga bears Tzumbi's yoke impatiently! They would have greeted you as a liberator!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 75). From the dialogue with the Secretary of the UN, Lumumba makes out the inconsistent policy and implementation of this union which declares that it shelters the rights of nations who are exposed to unjust behaviors by the powerful merciless countries. Moreover, when Lumumba wants to address to the Congolese nation through the radio in order to make explanations in respect to the chaotic events in the country, Ghana, who is in control of the radio, does not let Lumumba speak on the radio, uttering that "Sorry, the instruction given by the UN representative, Mr. Cordelier, is formal – all political activity in the Congo is suspended until the new government is established – no politician has access to the radio. " (Cesaire, 2010b: 97). This answer makes Lumumba frustrated because he has relied on the President of Ghana, Kwame N'Krumah, accepting him as his friend, regarding Ghana as the brother country and expressing that "Do you know, Sir, that your president is my friend? That Ghana, more than ally, is a brother? That the government in Accra has promised me, totally and unconditionally, its support?" (ibid. p. 98). After that, Lumumba says to him that "I have understood! Soldier? No! You are, and I will say it loud and clear – a traitor, a traitor twice over!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 99). Instead of assisting and advocating Lumumba regarding the removal of the disorder in Congo, the UN serves as a barrier by preventing Lumumba from speaking to his nation on the radio. Each attempt of Lumumba to resolve chaos and struggle against the colonizers or their cooperators is foiled by the acts and decisions of the UN; thus, the UN adds notably to the uproar and confusion in Congo which has been brought about by the profit and power struggle between the Congolese tribes and by the Belgians. What Lumumba understands from the acts of the UN is that it is vain to be expecting any assistance from the UN optimistically since it does not seem promising in favor of the patriotic exertion of the Congolese anti-colonialist troops. It prides itself on its mission that aims at protecting the innocent people's rights and endowing the world's nations with peace, justice and welfare, but its declarations do not act in accordance with its applications. It only tries to build castles in the sky and make the world believe it by stalling those who count on its assistance and support.

Even though Lumumba's main purpose is to shelter his country from the Belgian colonizers and their provocation of several tribes against him, the feeling of enmity which the Congolese rulers, particularly the President Kala Bulu and the Colonel Mokutu, sustain against Lumumba plays an important role in the tragic end of Lumumba. The most outstanding feature of Lumumba is that his grit to refuse to be involved in any cooperation with the Belgians in order to exploit the country. Lumumba's comprehension of independence which Congo has just gained does not endure any direct or indirect prying of the colonizers into the affairs of Congo. Lumumba thinks that the Belgians must depart Congo immediately by retreating all of their troops since he regards them as the real enemies of Congo. He is aware of the Belgian machination against the entire independence of Congo which they orchestrate among certain tribes and their leaders through bribery or corruption by offering them financial power and through ethnic fights which the Belgians inflame between the Congolese groups. Thus, Lumumba knows that the only prerequisite for the Congolese people to achieve independence thoroughly is to work together in favor of the country and not to collaborate with the Belgians by throwing themselves into ethnic fights against their own citizens, which he expresses: "But I swear by Africa: all united, all together, we will pierce the monster by the nostrils. My brothers,

the Congo has already carried off a great victory." (Cesaire, 2010b: 51). He does not overlook the heartless actions of the Belgians who killed many Africans and raped their women in Congo in the past, so he does not shroud his rage against the Belgians who also enslaved the Africans in the world. In spite of his determination and patriotism for Congo, Lumumba fails to notice the insincere decisions of the UN and other countries regarding the Congolese struggle for its complete independence. He articulates that "The UN will speak the law and justice to be done to us! I do not doubt it! In the face of the world! Justice full and whole!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 51). And he at first believes that the UN will not allow the patriotic Africans to be killed by the black traitors and the Belgians by granting him planes and support, but the General Secretary of the UN does not provide him with any planes which he wants to use in his struggle against the black traitors and the Belgians when Lumumba demands the assistance of the UN from him. Moreover, Lumumba is forbidden by the UN to speak to the nation on the radio, which shatters his hope and trust for this organization; however, he recognizes the reckless attitude of the UN too late, depending on it blindly without any qualms. If he took into account the possibility of biased decisions of the UN that it will not meet the needs of the Congolese people who put up with colonization of the Congolese traitors and the Belgians, maybe he would take different precautions concerning his resistance against the enemies, not by leaning his back on promises of the UN which will turn out to be futile. Another aspect of Lumumba's credulous traits is concerned with the Congolese rulers around him, particularly the President and the Colonel, whom he depends on excessively, but who make plans for overthrowing him by transmitting him to death. Lumumba's wife Pauline is aware of the risks which rise from the immoral intentions of Mokutu and Kala-Bulu against Lumumba; nevertheless, Lumumba does not accept Pauline's claim that they try to dethrone him, believing that their purpose is not as spiteful as she regards. For example, she says to Lumumba that "You are a child, Patrice! ... look, as for me, I have no confidence in your Mokutu ... you know very well that he has been the timekeeper for the Belgians ..." (Cesaire, 2010b: 91). Lumumba's answer to her is that "He is smart, delicate, and more, he is grateful for the confidence that I show him." (Cesaire, 2010b: 91). Regarding Kala Bulu, she claims that "He is secret ... sly ... In any case, be careful!" and wants Lumumba to alert to the envious attitude of Kala Bulu against him, but Lumumba does not pay attention to her warnings (Cesaire, 2010b: 92). Pauline knows that Lumumba is a ruler who can be easily fooled by his companions who pose as precarious rivals for his domination in Congo, so she demands that he should not be too naive. In fact, Pauline is right in being suspicious of Kala Bulu and Mokutu since Kala Bulu thinks that "If I let him, he would set everything on his head! And the fire in the Congo, fire in the world! And I am here and I won't let him do it. I am here to save the Congo and himself from himself." (Cesaire, 2010b: 87). He supposes himself as the foremost authority of the country that can say the last word in respect to each decision; thus, Lumumba cannot be so prominent that he is able to overshadow Kala Bulu as he emphasizes: "The fundamental law gives me power! It is the president who decides, and the ministers execute." (Cesaire, 2010b: 88). He regards Lumumba as a ruler who supplements the inner conflict between tribes in Congo with his resorting to violence, which impels him into thinking that Lumumba's authority has to be brought to a standstill; therefore, he declares on the radio that "I have named Joseph Ileo as the Prime Minister. Mr. Ileo is charged with forming the new government." (Cesaire, 2010b: 95). The reason why he decides to depose Lumumba is summed up by him while he proclaims that "And now, in addition, he is about to throw the country into an atrocious civil war. He has introduced into our community the most fearful evil: disorder, preventing our people from finding their equilibrium and their base." (Cesaire, 2010b: 95). As for Mokutu, he at first appears to advocate Lumumba and work in cooperation with him as a colonel assigned by Lumumba, but he then resolves to make a coup and put Lumumba in jail. Mokutu gradually lays bare his envious and resentful trait in the second scene when he says to Lumumba regarding M'polo: "Any rate, the government must choose between the two of us. Either him or me!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 65). In addition, he discloses his own dissatisfaction in his status by articulating that: "I do not like the work of

amateurs. You have named me Colonel, I would like to be a serious Colonel." (Cesaire, 2010b: 67). He cannot approve of the fact that he is at the same rank with M'polo, which exhibits his irreversible desire to grasp more power and sway in the country. M'polo's warning Lumumba of Mokutu's spiteful intentions against Lumumba by claiming that: "Chief, I hope someday you do not regret having put your confidence in those who do not deserve it. Spies, saboteurs, at every step here, one sees much vermin raise their heads." does not seem convincing for Lumumba, who does not believe that the rulers around him plot against his struggle and authority (Cesaire, 2010b: 69). Mokutu thinks that Lumumba plunges Congo into anxiety and friction, whose price is immense as he tells Lumumba that "Civil war, foreign war, anarchy, I felt that you cost the Congo too dear, Patrice!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 101). He intimates the idea that he rises up against the commands of both the President and the Prime Minister, saying to the Prime Minister Lumumba that "Now, I leave you! I have decided to neutralize power!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 102). Mokutu's principal reason for intervening in the politics of Congo is that Lumumba is unable to restore stability and welfare to the country since he is in an unalleviated conflict with the President Kala-Bulu concerning whose political authority must be the most prevailing in the political decisions, so Mokutu decides to put an end to Lumumba's rule by making a coup against him, sending him forcefully to prison. Despite working with soldiers in prison and achieving in escaping from prison, Lumumba is arrested and put in prison for the second time by Kala-Bulu's, who urged Mokutu to capture Lumumba. In the last part of the play, it is understood that Mokutu takes steps with the treacherous leaders of Katanga such as M'sri and Tzumbi, who settle on the decision that Lumumba must be killed. In other words, Lumumba prepares his own end by making certain mistakes in the critical decisions of Congo's political issues. He does not recognize the hypocritical judgments of the UN in advance and enthusiastically believes that it will assist him in exterminating disorder activated by the Belgians in Congo, but the fact that the UN rejects to help him overpower the Belgians and their Congolese collaborators makes him frustrated. Not heeding the warnings with regard to the President Kala-Bulu and the Colonel Mokutu, who aim to overthrow him, Lumumba considers them his companions whom he trusts excessively in his national struggle in order to force the Belgians out of the country.

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

Post-colonialism in *The Tragedy of King Christophe*

While denigrating the European colonizers who poisoned the colonized with their ideas which they endorsed in order to make their colonization seem sensible and expedient, Cesaire also broaches the charge of the black colonized nations which they have to undertake if they yearn for a peaceful order in their country. The first responsibility of the colonized people is to be vigilant enough not to be swindled by the Europeans' untruthful stories which they manipulate in creating inferiority complex within the minds of the black colonized societies. But

the task of the colonized nations does not come to an end after they gain their independence from the colonizers by daring to defy their rule and impositions. It is not sufficient for the colonized societies only to shield their country from the colonizers, fighting with them in support of their own esteem and civilization.

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

In *The Tragedy of King Christophe*, the author illustrates the rigid and unbearable circumstances lived through by the black people in Haiti, which was once a French colony. The main source of this affliction in Haiti is Henri Christophe, whose fervent passion in firming up sovereign and indicating ruling power brings about a burdensome price not only for himself but also for his people. Christophe made an esteemed contribution to the independence of Haiti by joining in the fight against the French under the guidance of Toussaint Louverture (Césaire, 1969b: 9). As soon as the blacks in Haiti gained their independence, founding a black republic from the remnants of Saint-Domingue, Christophe unsurprisingly became one of the most distinguished in the country (Césaire, 1969b: 9). When the first ruler of Haiti, Dessalines, died, Christophe was assigned to the presidential position of the republic, but as he was an insatiable politician, being a president did not quench his burning desire for more authority and political power; therefore, he decided to leave the city Port-au-Prince to the mulattoes and Pétion as their leader, taking control of the Northern Province himself; however, two states always underwent unrest and conflict between themselves; in other words, uneasiness between Pétion, the president of the South Republic, and Christophe, the king of the Northern Kingdom, ascended all the time (Césaire, 1969b: 9).

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

The office we are offering you still has luster and importance. It is the highest in the Republic. As to the changes in the Senate has seen fit make in the Constitution, I will not deny that they curtail the President's powers, but

you can hardly be unaware that there is one danger which a people that has had to live under Dessalines fears more than any other. Its name is tyranny. In my opinion it would have been unforgivable in the Senate not to take due precautions against that danger. (Cesaire, 1969b: 11, 12)

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

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

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

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

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

Forget it, I tell you. There will be no attack. I have abandoned the whole campaign... I have sent an emissary to Petion. I hope he will realize that the time has come to end our quarrels, to build this country, and to unite our people against a danger that is more pressing than you think, that threatens its very existence. (Cesaire, 1969b: 33)

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

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

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

In the play, the reader can see a number of favourable allusions to Cristophe made by himself, his officers and average citizens, but this does not validate his despotic potential which will float up after a while. As Haiti has been set free from the French by the unwavering struggle of its people, the citizens look forward to seeing their black leader in the ruling

position, which makes them elated and thrilled. For example, the Secretary Vastey cannot veil his contentment and enthusiasm which he puts across in the third scene: "A black king! It is like a fairy tale, isn't it? This black kingdom, this court, a perfect replica in black of the finest courts the Old World has to offer." (Cesaire, 1969b: 21). These feelings epitomize the general public psychology in which the citizens are unaware of the succeeding events in respect to Cristophe's attitudes as a king. Moreover, the President of the Council of State announces Cristophe in the coronation as "Destroyer of tyranny, regenerator and benefactor of the Haitian nation, first crowned monarch of the New World." (Cesaire, 1969b: 27). And a lady who does not approve the authoritarian acts of Cristophe at a time when his despotism begins to come into view, Vastey makes an explanation to her by claiming that:

Do you know why he labours day and night? Do you know the purpose behind his "wild ideas", as you call them, and his frantic efforts? He is fighting for the day when no little black, anywhere in the world, will be ashamed of her skin, when no little black girl's colour will stand in the way of her dreams. (Cesaire, 1969b: 54)

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

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

Nevertheless, Cristophe implies the first signs of his strict ruling system by appointing the Drummer to proclaim his orders before the public. The Drummer declares three basic Articles of the Law of the King Cristophe: the first article requires supervisors and farmers to carry out their responsibilities as submissively, enthusiastically and precisely as the armed forces do; the second one involves these people who do not perform their responsibilities thoroughly will be penalized as severely as the soldiers who do not carry out their duties; the third one is concerned with the generals and senior officers whom Cristophe himself assigns to put the current discipline into effect (Cesaire, 1969b: 49). With his undue emphasis on the military forces, Cristophe submits his ruthless authority in which people will obviously suffer and become worn-out owing to too much labour. When resting in the Haitian countryside, one of the peasants discloses his dissatisfaction by saying to other peasants that "... When we threw the whites into the sea, it was to have this land for ourselves, not to slave for other people, even if they are as black as we are, but to have the land for ourselves like a wife." (Cesaire, 1969b: 48). Therefore, the ordinary citizens begin to be aware of the fact that the stern predicament which they experienced in the colonial times because of the French resurfaces after Cristophe has ascended to the throne as a king. Like the French colonizers who kept the Haitian people under strict control, Cristophe now declares his own laws that the Haitians have to act in accordance with painstakingly, so he provides them with such a world that turns them into mechanical entities since he forgets that these people retain their own emotions and expectations. As time goes by, Cristophe becomes brutal against his people to a greater extent, especially whenever the peasants get exhausted due to too wearisome labour which he burdens with them without reasoning. When one of the peasants comes to Cristophe and notifies that they are shattered, Cristophe threatens him implicitly by commanding General Warrior to fire and kill a sleeping peasant whom he realizes with his telescope that he uses in order to oversee whether or not the working peasants intend to have a rest or sleep (Cesaire, 1969b: 639). Cristophe does not tolerate the peasants' need to rest, taking it a crime which he thinks requires a death punishment. The main reason for the peasants' exhaustion is that Cristophe makes them assume the duty that they are under obligation to finish founding a citadel immediately. In order to enhance efficiency of the peasants, Cristophe ponders and decides that all of them have to marry without asking their opinions about this subject although it will be an artificial marriage for them. Then, he declares them that "I won't have my subjects running around with their flies

open like savages. It is therefore my decision that you will get married – immediately!” under the pretext of establishing a sound society, and he does not even give them any chance to choose their partners whom Hugonin chooses instantly and matches with each other (Cesaire, 1969b: 57). This vast authority inspires Christophe to fulfil whatever he desires regardless of the Haitians’ rights and preferences. He considers it legitimate to exterminate any person whoever he is if he poses as a severe problem for Christophe. For instance, he commands his officers to slay Brelle, the first Archbishop, who he supposes is not fitting for his job, so he must be disposed of quietly as he says to Prezeau: “He talks too much, Prezeau. He writes too much. But no blood, no blood! A peaceful death, in his bet ... He is an old man. So gently ... gently ... But quickly...” (Cesaire, 1969b: 64). He does not hesitate to kill people who have the potential to raise objections against his own decisions. During his reign, Christophe is challenged by several rebels as a result of his merciless regime which has made his people discontented and hostile against him. In his last battle against Petion’s supporters, Christophe’s troops walk out on him and choose to fight in favour of his foes, drawing him into an immense depression in which he recognizes that he no more has power to rule as he did in the previous times. Being unable to endure witnessing these horrendous facts any longer, he commits suicide as a lonely despot who has made the Haitians be afflicted to an awful extent.

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

Conclusion

Cesaire is one of the most patent writers and theorists who did not hesitate to disparage the colonizers’ wicked intentions for the Africans in exploiting them. He thinks that colonial acts of the Europeans cannot be supported since it is only attempted in disfavour of the Africans by trying to place them in a marginal status before the world nations. Therefore, the mission of the Africans is to uphold their rights and traditions and not to be deluded with the colonizers’ fictitious assertions. Furthermore, the ex-colonized countries have to be alert to the threats resulting from circumstances which carry certain risks. One of these threats is concerned with the possibility that the colonizers will keep on maintaining their exploitation obliquely in those countries by using the local elites. Another danger appears when some leaders in newly independent nations are drawn into power struggle between each other because of their pride and greed which forge chaos and unease in the country.

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