Tayeb Salih is one of the most influential writers of post-colonial period who bear a torch to devastation and multifaceted and far-reaching results of colonial time by their critical approach. To turn the tables, armed struggle was the first step of resistance for independence in the process of decolonization. But later on, intellectual exertion to construct a national identity was debated aloud to take place the violent opposition because colonizers had not only invaded lands but also they interposed identity, culture and language of colonized people into East-West axis (traditional-modern, barbaric-civilized, underdeveloped-developed) which would be never the same as it had been before colonialism. In this sense, this study aspire to set forth how Season of Migration to the North responds to colonial discourses of Heart of Darkness which springs out of the rooted perspective against the East. At first, Salih makes quiet and passive colonized native characters of Conrad to be heard and then shows how they survive while struggling with doubled identity interposed between East-West and the periods before and after colonization. Salih humanizes who Conrad dehumanizes in Heart of Darkness. However, Joseph Conrad denies offering a solution to the problems of natives like hybridity; Salih comes through a final point for the colonized people. By compare and contrast, the study will try to show how Conrad’s criticism is superficial, insufficient and paradoxical in the means of not providing a remedy for identity problem unlike Tayeb Salih who resolves rooted troubles of colonialism through “mental miscegenation” as Benedict Anderson put forward many years after Salih’s death.

**Key Words:** Colonialism, Post-colonialism, East-West, Identity Crisis, Hybridity.

**Abstract**


**Key Words:** Kolonyalizm, Post-Kolonyalizm, Doğu-Bati, Kimlik Problemi, Melezlik.
identities constructed and origin of meanings shaped) were not similar to them in the simplest term. As a natural result of a new-born process (post-colonialism), colonized people began to awaken to their own consciousness and reality over time which was free from the West before colonialism. Yet, because identities of the colonized lands were decentred by a new and alternative centre of the West through modernism and civilization, their origin of meanings has continued to be interposed (even today) between the process before and after colonialism.

In the novella, protagonist Mustafa and story teller whose name is mentioned as Narrator in this paper are adequate samples of that alienated and double centred identities for which they seek recovery. However, Narrator has stayed in London (metropole of Sudan in colonial period) for a post-graduate education for seven years; he comes back to his land as a senior government official in the year of independence of Sudan, 1956, without awakening from colonization nightmare as he tells by his own words that: “I too had lived with them. I had lived them superficially, neither loving nor hating them. I used to treasure within me the image of this little village, seeing it wherever I went with the eye of my imagination.” (Salih, 1969, p. 49) Mustafa is the one who awakes him from that nightmare or what he calls “a lie.” (p. 33) After Narrator’s renaissance, he mutters to oneself: “Was it likely that what had happened to Mustafa Sa’eed could have happened to me? He had said that he was a lie, so was I also a lie?” (p. 49) Mustafa is the evoker of colonial awareness in the novella like his creator Tayeb Salih and some other influential post-colonial writers such as Aime Cesaire, J.M. Coetzee, Chinua Achebe and so forth.

Besides, just like other colonized people, writers of the same lands are also double centred by the axis between the West and the rest. However, they have tried to take the right of presentation of their own self back; selves had been divided into more than two as Sartre comments on doubleness of the colonized people:

We know that it is not a homogeneous world; we know too that enslaved peoples are still to be found there, together with some who have achieved a simulacrum of phony independence, others who are still fighting to attain sovereignty and others again who have obtained complete freedom but who live under the constant menace of imperialist aggression. These differences are born of colonial history, in other words of oppression. Here, the mother country is satisfied to keep some feudal rulers in her pay; there, dividing and ruling she has created a native bourgeoisie, sham from beginning to end; elsewhere she has played a double game: the colony is planted with settlers and exploited at the same time. Thus Europe has multiplied divisions and opposing groups, has fashioned classes and sometimes even racial prejudices, and has endeavoured by every means to bring about and intensify the stratification of colonized societies. (1968, pp. 10–11)

However, most of the colonies had become independent; ruling their own lands was not an easy task while they were ruled ones in the recent past. The former ruler metropoles and the ruled lands were so intertwined that direct or indirect effects of the colonizers have not been cleared even today. By evoking us of Fanon’s “newcomer” (2008, p. 13) who returns to mother land after leaving a colonizer metropole, Bhabha reminds and explains Said’s reason behind naming colonizer and colonized lands as “overlapping territories” (1994, p. 3) that in post-colonial process such doubleness is not only in mother countries but also in colonizer metropoles as a consequence of migrating colonized people to there: “Urgent, in order to remind us of that crucial engagement between mask and identity, image and identification, from which comes the lasting tension of our freedom and the lasting impression of ourselves as others.” (1994, p. 64)

Post-colonial period and its problems inherited by colonialism still continues today because many Third World independent countries are bound to global capitalism which is a new type of colonization in the form of restricting economic liberation by global mega-companies. While such enterprises have been told to upgrade undeveloped former colonies; migrations to the metropoles has never stopped and still goes on today because of wars and
economic troubles around the globe. As a result, survival for a better life makes hundreds of people go on board very small boats that cause death of many of them on the way. While fictional Marlow has a steamer to reach “darkness” of Congo colony in *Heart of Darkness*, today’s considerable majority of real characters have to confine themselves to the small boats to arrive in “enlightenment” of former colonizer metropoles. Narrator and Mustafa are two heading samples of those immigrants of 1960s in Tayeb Salih’s *Season of Migration to the North*. However, there seems no problem on the route for their arrival to London for education; the two characters are just like everyone in colonized lands who at first believe in local and regional facts which are alternated by colonialism later on under the mask of civilization and modernity. Apart from Mustafa and Narrator in particular, people of lands of colonies have been highly affected and touched in time during and after the colonial process through being presented a “modern” alternative to their traditional identity. Moreover, cultural status of migrant populations from pre-colonized lands in pre-colonizer metropoles during post-colonial epoch is the other identical conflict generating even today. As a direct reply to Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, Tayeb Salih’s motivation behind narrating his story is that arousing consciousness to double-centrism whose main characters are natives of a colonized land and who stay in a colonizer metropole at the same time. On the one hand, Salih responds the discourses about them in *Heart of Darkness*; on the other, he draws attention to the problematic identities and their struggle for existence. To Gandhi, this doubleness is a trigger for the characters’ psychological resistance against colonial and aftermath that is revealed by Salih in his story:

Colonialism does not end with the end of colonial occupation. However, the psychological resistance to colonialism begins with the onset of colonialism. Thus, the very notion of a ‘colonial aftermath’ acquires a doubleness, inclusive of both the historical scene of the colonial encounter and its dispersal... (1998, p. 17)

A similar motivation of Salih seems to prompt Joseph Conrad to write *Heart of Darkness*. Yet, his evoking consciousness moves in a different way to make his readers recognize decaying mission of civilization which is because of personal profits of missionaries and colonizers. *Heart of Darkness* is a journey to inner places of European readers who and whose place are narrated as civilized, but when the story reaches to Africa there instantly sounds a necessity of civilization at first glance through depicting natives’ situation. Besides, as it comes to narrating the colonizers in the novella, they become to show non-civilized and wild behaviour against natives which is an unorthodox attempt unlike classical intelligence of Conrad’s century when colonial experiences are favoured and complimented by most of literary people in colonial period. Just like the reaction Conrad wants to bear on his readers, “his world cracks and tumbles as he encounters realities for which he is unprepared; and his conceptions of civilization, of human and physical nature, and of himself are overthrown.” (Paris, 2005, p. 19) While he criticizes colonial order, he does not bespeak to colonized people but to colonizer metropole. Conrad’s magical word is “darkness” to enlighten consciousness of his European readers about what is really going on the process of “civilizing” mission. By doing this, he also indirectly denunciates both imperialism and colonialism even if his principal inspiration is different.

However, it is generally accepted that Conrad criticized colonialism, Chinua Achebe puts Said’s famous imperialist claims for *Heart of Darkness* in a very further step that he says: “Joseph Conrad was a thoroughgoing racist.” (1977, p. 21) Some other critics like Skinner insists that “Dionysius, Conrad and Beckett wrote at different times and in different literary categories, but as texts of crisis and self-conscious struggling with the ineffable they illustrate a powerfully similar form of creative energy.” (2010, p. 103) What he calls the ineffable is that Conrad wrote about imperialism at a time when it was in the highest position for history of England. On the contrary to Achebe and Said, Denby claims that “Despite his “errors,” Conrad
will never be dropped from the reading lists. Achebe’s and Said’s anguish only confirms his centrality to the modern age.” (2008, p. 265)

Joseph Conrad begins that contradictory novella, which has become cause celebre in literary studies, by describing historical function of Thames as “leading to the uttermost ends of the earth” (p. 4) which pursues people “into the mystery of an unknown earth” (p. 5) with whom greatness, dreams, seeds and germs of colonization were transported “into the heart of an immense darkness.” (p. 93):

Hunters for gold or pursuers of fame, they all had gone out on that stream, bearing the sword, and often the torch, messengers of the might within the land, bearers of a spark from the sacred fire. What greatness had not floated on the ebb of that river into the mystery of an unknown earth! . . . The dreams of men, the seed of commonwealths, the germs of empires. (2005, p. 5)

This departing greatness has been one of the primary concerns of post-colonialism which is held as a direct opposition to inferiority. The messengers mentioned above declared the might of West to colonized areas where it had not appeared before for them. But for Marlow, the story teller of Conrad, Thames “has been one of the dark places of the earth” (p. 5) even if it has no lack of light of the might because of being resource of the enlightenment in the novella. By comparing with Roman Empire which had tackled “darkness” far before Britain, Marlow reveals that Romans were not colonists but “they were conquerors, and for that you want only brute force, nothing to boast of.” (p. 7) To be a colonizer, force is not enough by its own since “… strength is just an accident arising from the weakness of others.” (p. 7) For him, colonization means:

The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much. What redeems it is the idea only. An idea at the back of it; not a sentimental pretense but an idea; and an unselfish belief in the idea--something you can set up, and bow down before, and offer a sacrifice to… (pp. 7-8)

Against Conrad’s clear denunciation above, Saleh does not simply attack to this “unselfish idea” revealing evidently othering notion of the West but writes back to respond to Conrad intellectually and in a sense of self-criticism towards his own land throughout post-colonialism era; but it is somehow unclear that whether he sees colonialism as the one in charge for disruptions or natives of the colonized land are also responsible for what has happened before, during and after colonialism. In fact, it is clear that colonizers are guilty for what happened in past; but it is also seen in the book that the natives are also accountable in post-colonial epoch whose recent decolonized lands are transited to a neo-colonial process with their own hands. The novella’s three principal characters Mustafa, Hüsnı and Narrator are alienated and fragmented by modernity, traditionalism and in-betweenness of the two phenomenon respectively. As a result, during the story Salih seeks a recovery through them in their newly independent Sudan.

Mustafa, who is shaped as an overt character to Kurtz by Salih, reveals himself in England as conqueror and invader just like Roman Empire mentioned in Heart of Darkness. But when it comes to declare his guilt to court after killing his English wife and causing death of three other English women, he says that “…and I, over and above everything else, am a colonizer, I am the intruder whose fate must be decided.” (p. 94) But is it a confession against the British court or are they words of the author himself directly to Kurtz of Conrad? Because, while Kurtz is a colonizer without any doubts, he or, in him, none of the colonizers are judged by a colonized country’s court in Heart of Darkness. Salih’s novella gives the protagonist a chance to face his own realities and it is much farther away from a denunciation for what he has done. Unlike Kurtz, Mustafa is the colonizer of his native land and an avenger in England where he thinks conquering and invading there by seducing women. No matter how both of the
characters’ roles are similar in their own novellas; Kurtz has no right or reason to revenge even if he is granted to kill any natives as he wishes in the novella. And Mustafa, as a victim of colonialism, becomes a tool of the very same colonialist idea by functioning as a colonizer in his homeland at the end of the day. At first, these two poles seem impossible to come together but, in Mustafa, disruption of colonialism and its paradoxical outcome is clearly seen. And he is born as the Frankenstein of colonial order. While Salih tries to humanize the “dehumanized men”, he can only succeed to create a Frankenstein because of the damage on his identity caused by colonizers. On the other hand, Kurtz is another Frankenstein whose plans are based on economic profits that transforms him into a greedy capitalist from a mere colonizer. Even so, what makes imperialistic looking plans of Kurtz differ from colonization of Mustafa can be clearly distinguished through Loomba’s description of colonial and imperial norms:

“…we have defined colonialism as the forcible takeover of land and economy, and, in the case of European colonialism, a restructuring of non-capitalist economies in order to fuel European capitalism. This allows us to understand modern European colonialism not as some trans-historical impulse to conquer but as an integral part of capitalist development.” (2005, p. 23)

Because of brain drain from Sudan, Mustafa immigrates to London for education at first appearance. However, he undergoes his whole educational process with schools of colonizers in Africa, he transforms into a vindictive person running for revenge against colonialism after a time of his education in England. To avenge colonialism, he symbolizes his ideal by minimizing it into a clash between men and women. He seduces women by constructing a counter-discourse including oriental tales and oriental décor of his room. Yet, what he tells to his victims is not originated by him but he takes advantage of the previous oriental discourse of colonizers. While doing this, he remembers past crucial Arab figures in Europe such as Tarik ibn-Ziyad who conquered Spain a very long time ago. Mustafa’s interior dialogues present psychological layers of the vengeance which roots in colonial period. But, what is worth to mark that until the murder of Jean Morris Salih does not bring forth any specific reasons for the protagonist’s first three actions of revenge. He says that “Everything which happened before my meeting her was a premonition; everything I did after I killed her was an apology; not for killing her, but for the lie that was my life.” (p. 29) Although, the death of Ann Hammond, Sheila Greenwood and Isabella Seymour is just a “premonition” for him; his sudden awakening in the metropole is by reason of his marriage with an English woman who, unlike the others, always insults him by destroying his cultural values of Africa in exchange for a sexual engagement. Her deconstruction of his reconstructed colonized identity annoys him in time but his epiphany turns into a nightmare because he kills her at the end.

As it is mentioned above, Mustafa’s sexual desires are results of the colonial discourse which has root in the first encounter Western colonizers and the natives. In the picture of Jan Van der Straet’s Amerigo Vespucci Discovers America, Loomba quotes Hulme’s phrase: “discovered” which claims that America is dis-covered both figuring the continent as discovering the woman in the picture and the real meaning of discovery. (2005, p. 128) Against backgrounded and systematic discourse of colonialism, Mustafa mimics the sexual discovery but his first three attempts are the natural result of his Oedipal unconscious. Deleuze and Guattari oppose standard models of Oedipus which are productions of the unconscious and they criticize Freud because his universal theory neglects psychoanalysis of Third World whose social identity is constructed by colonizers: “There or here, it is the same thing: Oedipus is always colonization pursued by other means, it is the interior colony, and we shall see that even here at home, where we Europeans are concerned, it is our intimate colonial education.” (1983, p. 170) Loomba advances the criticism to Oedipus as not handling it through growth process of a Western baby but of non-civilized people: “These associations between European male adulthood, civilisation and rationality on the one hand, and non- Europeans, children,
primitivism and madness on the other, are also present in Freudian and subsequent accounts of the human psyche.” (2005, p. 138)

For this reason, Mustafa’s sexual abuses are because of his desire of being civilized in the deepest of his unconscious. Yet, he kills his wife consciously since he witnesses disruptions of colonialism in the mask of Jean Morris with his own eyes. Besides, he is not regretful and says that he must be killed not because of his murder but of a lie that ruins his life for vengeance: “This Mustafa Sa’eed does not exist. He’s an illusion, a lie. I ask of you to rule that the lie be killed.” (p. 32) Finally, while he wants to be hanged; the English court does not sentence him with capital punishment but imprison him for seven years. He is not punished like the natives of *Heart of Darkness* by the same Eurocentric concept of judgement but he is punished just as how European people are punished while the natives are attacked wildly by colonizers against their resistance attempts in *Heart of Darkness*. Mustafa is so alienated to his identity that; he cannot become either Western or Eastern. Further, his fragmentation does not manage to place him in-between and thus commits suicide at the end.

After his punishment for seven years in prison, Mustafa is taken into service for the sake of capitalist profits of colonizers since he is perfectly suited for goals of colonizers. Because Mustafa’s actions are personal, self-organized and violent; he never thinks having a hybrid child from any of the English women including his wife which makes construction of a diaspora impossible in colonial metropole London. Backwards, he is governed by a much farther systematic colonial organization because of his education in field of economy in England and so, there is no better choice than him who knows adequately about lands planned to be capitalised. Just like fireman of Marlow’s steamer who “was useful because he had been instructed” (p. 44), they are both useful for colonizers even if instruction methods and levels changes between the two who become guiding *Friday* for their colonizers. As Professor Maxwell Foster-Keen, who is a colonizer and lawyer of Mustafa in the court, says to him: “You, Mr. Sa’eed, are the best example of the fact that our civilizing mission in Africa is of no avail. After all the efforts we’ve made to educate you, it’s as if you’d come out of the jungle for the first time.” (pp. 93-94), it is clearly seen that neither of his betrayal to Sudan caused by a tool of colonization, who says “I’ll liberate Africa with my penis” (p. 120), nor his vengeful actions by seducing women against the very same colonization are of avail because he disappoints the both sides when his hidden goals are revealed in the novella. In short, by Mustafa, Salih leaves question of violent revenge against colonialism to his colonized readers who have been made double centred and alienated to both sides by colonial period just like Mustafa. The protagonist was born in the same year with the beginning of English dominance in Sudan when the first armed opposition of Sudanese people against colonialism were repelled. In him, Salih challenges debates on non-Western, unorganized and traditional resistance through violence: “Mustafa was born in Khartoum in 1898, the year of the bloody defeat of the Mahdist forces by Kitchener’s army in the battle of Omdurman, which signalled the final collapse of Sudanese resistance to British encroachment.” (Makdisi, 1992, p. 811)

Mustafa is decentred firstly in his homeland, through schools of colonizers which has stayed even after colonialism, and then, decentred again by staying in England because he has a totally new alternative centre there where is not deprived of civilization and modernity in Eurocentric terms. His deformed ground of being is not “logocentric” anymore as Derrida coins (1976) for Western conceptions but reshaped by new discourses of the colonizer land where itself is a discourse as the West, just like Kurtz’s reshaped ground of beings by the colonized land which is not merely the discourse of the East anymore but of the colonizer West too.

This double centrism of both Kurtz and Mustafa bears their double characters in each novella. This doubleness of the two is also felt by their creators. Both Conrad, who had a Polish
origin apart from being a citizen of England, and Salih lived long in abroad which caused them to have fresh and concomitant centres which made them bent on for their escaping identities:

Conrad’s early life predisposed him to become eventually the writer who characteristically sees familiar situations, arguments, attitudes and personalities from radically contrasting viewpoints. Loyalty could entail betrayal; responsibility could appear as escapism; solidarity could entail subversion. (Watts, 2012, p. 4)

As it is implied from following words of Marlow; he becomes double of Kurtz where he explores it through an inner journey to darkness of his heart because his narration of his dream is a part of him with its whole components, including Kurtz: “It seems to me I am trying to tell you a dream--making a vain attempt, because no relation of a dream can convey the dream-sensation…” (Conrad, 2005, p. 32) While Marlow review his adventure through a dream or a nightmare in the heart of darkness, he confesses to himself that it is not his own extremity but is Kurtz’s extremity that he seems to have lived through. What he remembers is not his own dream as a whole but the actions circling around Kurtz in the very same dream. In this dream, they are so interrelated that they become one:

Kurtz “was just a name for me,” Marlow says, suggesting at once his distance from a man he had never met and his intimacy, even his tentative identification, with him. So close is the affiliation between the narrator and those he narrates, so constructive is the narration itself, that the Conradian hero may be considered a kind of demonstration of the Lacanian dictum that, as Zizek puts it “What the Other thinks I am inscribed into the very heart of my own most intimate self-identity.” (Harpham, 1997, p. 52)

While Conrad is keen on double-centrism and alienation, he does it in a modernist perspective and his primary goal is totally different. Conrad represents alienated Kurtz as a victim of grasping colonization with Marlow’s words: “I saw him open his mouth wide--it gave him a weirdly voracious aspect, as though he had wanted to swallow all the air, all the earth, all the men before him.” (p. 71) Beyond being a part of idea of colonization, he also has his own personal reasons: “He had given me some reason to infer that it was his impatience of comparative poverty that drove him out there.” (p. 90) His poverty ends with ivory hunting in Congo and he cannot leave that richness when he becomes ill and deficient for company’s profits, he says: “This lot of ivory now is really mine. The Company did not pay for it. I collected it myself at a very great personal risk.” (p. 88) The idea of being taken away makes him so annoyed that it is seen after a time that he is the one who ordered some natives to attack on Marlow’s steamer who was in search of Kurtz to replace him. He is alienated to his colonizing goals.

Apart from showing colonizers’ personal profits, Heart of Darkness’s second most crucial message to his readers in London metropole is a danger of rebellion of colonized people. Kurtz’s last words “the horror! the horror!” simply designates a highly possible future resistance against order of colonization because Marlow feels the possibility through course of the novella causing him to become explorer of the current situation of so-called “civilizing role” of colonization in Congo as Said says that “To represent Africa is to enter the battle over Africa, inevitably connected to later resistance, decolonization, and so forth.” (p. 68) Kurtz does not care colonial profits after a time but his own, like other colonizers in the story which causes colonialism to be confined into personal profits. No matter Kurtz is an idol for the natives and no matter Kurtz is said that “everything belonged to him” (p. 58), his “crawling on all fours” (p. 77) is symbolised as a natural consequence of a lower idea (personal profits) than civilization for Conrad. Said (1994) and Achebe (1977) are right in their claims who say Conrad’s awareness of natives’ position in Africa is limited and careless. Still, as Wesley advocates that natives are nothing more than tools but carry great significance for the narrative because through them “the story can therefore be read as an attempt to mitigate or make sense of the haunting anxiety of the imperial administrator stemming from the continual threat of the loss of control.” (2015, p. 26)
Kurtz and other colonizers deviate from the mission of civilizing and it is Marlow who alerts the readers as an outsider and tells that: “Let the fool gape and shudder--the man knows, and can look on without a wink. But he must at least be as much of a man as these on the shore.” (p. 43) When he conceives present position of civilizing mission when he is there, he narrates to create awareness for the reader that “The only real feeling was a desire to get appointed to a trading-post where ivory was to be had, so that they could earn percentages.” (p. 28) Financial worries reach such a stage that he thinks colonizers worship to ivories: “The word ‘ivory’ rang in the air, was whispered, was sighed. You would think they were praying to it. A taint of imbecile rapacity blew through it all, like a whiff from some corpse. By Jove! I’ve never seen anything so unreal in my life.” (p. 27) They even present sacrifices to the worshipped: ivory. However, Marlow does not approve Kurtz’s ultimate point for the sake of ivories by covering his station with heads of the natives; he then figures them as sunshine in the darkness which gives a kind of relief to him. Through violence, he thinks that resistance of the natives can only be driven back which is a shining solution in dark possibilities of resistance against colonialism. At first, Marlow realizes that dehumanized men are not monsters and whenever he thinks about they are human beings contrary to rooted prejudices against them; he comprehends their potential and says on the steamer: “Why in the name of all the gnawing devils of hunger they didn't go for us--they were thirty to five-- and have a good tuck in for once, amazes me now when I think of it.” (p. 49) These comments about the natives have misled many critics like Skinner (2010) and Denby (2008) on Joseph Conrad so far. He is not concerned with the situation of the natives caused by colonialism. His interest is to be conscious of their possibility to resist against the rulers. The history has shown that he was right on his case because most of the colonized lands are independent now however most of them have been in a neo-colonial period. Greediness of colonizers reaches such a point that Marlow urges what hunger may cause ultimately. At this rate, if the ruled people continue to starve because of the insatiability of the rulers, they may transform into ungovernable crowds:

No fear can stand up to hunger, no patience can wear it out, disgust simply does not exist where hunger is; and as to superstition, beliefs, and what you may call principles, they are less than chaff in a breeze. Don't you know the devility of lingering starvation, its exasperating torment, its black thoughts, its somber and brooding ferocity? Well, I do. It takes a man all his inborn strength to fight hunger properly. It's really easier to face bereavement, dishonor, and the perdition of one's soul--than this kind of prolonged hunger. (Conrad, 2005, pp. 49-50)

In the light of such an anxiety of Conrad, the first attempt to resist against colonialism is materialized by killing of captain of the steamer in the novella. In consequence of being deceived by natives in a payment for two black hens, the captain is killed by one of them. Their unconscious rebellion makes Marlow give the chance of replacing the old captain and of investigation for Kurtz which constitutes main body of the story. In colonial order of Heart of Darkness, native exchanges ivories with “a stream of manufactured goods, rubbishy cottons, beads, and brass-wire.” (p. 21) Though, just before Marlow’s voyage to Kurtz, a native burns a hut loaded with such materials whose flames are named by “avenging fire” (p. 27) by Conrad. By narrating such a scene, Conrad directly remarks the danger of defiance. And for him, response of the colonizer men should be: “Pitiless, pitiless. That's the only way. This will prevent all conflagrations for the future…” (p. 30) To suppress such an attainable insurrection, they have a steamer symbolizing technological power of European modernity of which whistle seems enough to repulse them who are deprived of even such kind of a very simple whistle, who have slim black wrists against big white hands and who “had tied a bit of white worsted round his neck” (p. 20) against “starched collar of white men.” (p. 20) They are not enemies for Marlow because to be an enemy against the West it is necessary to have a modern power, rather than a primitive revolt. For him they are just “criminals” (p. 70) whose fate is designated by the colonizers according to Eurocentric standards of judgement: “It was the same kind of ominous
voice; but these men could by no stretch of imagination be called enemies. They were called criminals, and the outraged law, like the bursting shells, had come to them, an insoluble mystery from over the sea.” (p. 18)

In *Season of Migration to the North*, Tayeb Salih introduces these “criminals” a chance of defending and representing themselves against colonial discourses through the story of postmodern tragic characters. Mustafa is in trial of resisting against colonization much more actively than nameless natives of *Heart of Darkness*, but results of his actions are questioned by their virtues. While he constructs a room full of Eastern symbols to victimize English women, he builds another room in his country loaded with Western icons and books. After his death, the room is locked to everyone because of Mustafa’s fears for infection of Westernization’s “germs” gathered by him. The only one who has permission to step into the room is his double: Narrator. Just like ultimate actions of Kurtz and Mustafa (killing people); he wants to burn the room which is depicted as “the heart of darkness” by Salih unlike Conrad who narrates “the heart” as Congo River. But, Narrator turns up because he is the symbol of passive resistance in the novella. The book’s contradiction between activeness of Mustafa and passiveness of Narrator to reply colonization can also be seen in the native characters of *Heart of Darkness*: “Conrad's fiction also reveals that so long as people remain oblivious to the deeply embedded forces that control them, they will be unable to combat those forces.” (Caminero-Santangelo, 1999, p. 26) Such personal, unorganized, withdrawn, active looking and passive resistances fail because of the psychology and norms of the metropole behind it:

Darwin wonders “what prompted rebellion as a collective act of resistance?” But the real question is why colonial subjects did not rebel more often. The answer was that the British managed to diffuse power through local allies, co-opting a native elite to such an extent that in some locales the empire took the form of “indirect rule,” governed nominally by indigenous sovereigns, with British advisers directing affairs by the merest “Whisper behind the Throne.” The British also “projected a moral and cultural authority” over their subjects that, while it lasted, successfully established “British values, beliefs, institutions and habits” as “the norm against which all others should be measured.” (Corthorn & Davis, 2007, pp. 49–50)

Both Mustafa and Kurtz practice violence on the land they reside but in different ways. Kurtz hangs chopped heads of natives on hedges of his station and Mustafa kills his first wife; Jean Morris. Mustafa deceives people of the village by picturing himself as a devoted man for the welfare of the country just as the company misleads the natives to exchange goods with ivories in *Heart of Darkness*. However, Kurtz’s greed reaches such a final point that he seeks genocide by stressing “the white man’s burden” (see Kipling 1899): “Exterminate all the brutes.” (p. 60) On the other hand, Mustafa’s ultimate point for his actions after killing his English wife, causing death of three other English women and betraying his country is punishing himself by suicide. While personal crimes of Mustafa are limited, Kurtz is not satisfactory for his operations as a colonizer and expects the annihilation of the whole natives.

Then, Salih shifts the conflict between the West and the East to another contradiction in the novella between modernism and tradition. Hüsna is the other active rebellious character, just as her husband Mustafa, who resists this time not to colonization but to her own land’s tradition as a woman whose struggle is insulted by people of the village by stressing her as a modern woman. Salih directly criticizes the tradition by narrating suicide of Hüsna as a desperate resistance resulting with end of her life not to marry a man who is far older than her. Narrator is the only one who opposes this marriage in the village but he is lack of action even if he has a choice to rescue her by making his wife; he fails though he wants her. As Mustafa is tempted between revenge and betrayal, Narrator is located in between tradition and modernism. He is aware of resistance, yet he is incapable of putting it into action. Both Mustafa’s struggle to resist against colonization and his wife’s (Hüsna) against tradition conclude with their own suicides.
The whole multi-layered confusing stories of *Season of Migration to the North* are resolved by Narrator’s passive resistance in the final section. His dialogues with his grandfather takes him to an older time before imperialism where he feels secure with the roots like “a palm tree”: “I go to my grandfather and he talks to me of life forty years ago, fifty years ago, even eighty; and my feeling of security is strengthened.” (p. 5) His words from pre-colonialism are precisely directed to Marlow’s: “I don't think a single one of them had any clear idea of time, as we at the end of countless ages have. They still belonged to the beginnings of time--had no inherited experience to teach them as it were.” (Conrad, 2005, p.48)

After independence, life seems hard to cope with on account of local people’s weakness to govern themselves without systematic order of colonization. Even if Narrator claims that “by the standards of the European industrial world we are poor peasants” (p. 73); he finds richness in his grandfather’s ability to live despite of “plague and famines, wars and the corruption of rulers.” (p. 73) Even though Africa is “the heart of darkness” for Conrad, the grandfather’s “small lustreless eyes were sightless, yet he can see with them in the pitch darkness of night.” (p. 73) He symbolizes that the locals can become self-sufficient no matter what is told about them in *Heart of Darkness* before.

With help of Narrator who is a European educated man bounded to local roots, Salih gives an alternative solution to the contradictions of both Mustafa and his wife; Hüsnə. To him, there is no escaping from the conflict between the West and the East. He is silent to the struggle of Mustafa avenging the West violently. He is also silent for the struggle of Hüsnə between modernity and traditionalism. Even so, Narrator does not remain unresponsive for his decolonized country’s future and describes his grandfather as a symbol of a life without colony. He may be weak without progressive power of colonialism but he is decisive to live on his own:

> By the standards of the European industrial world we are poor peasants, but when I embrace my grandfather I experience a sense of richness as though I am a note in the heartbeats of the very universe. He is no towering oak tree with luxuriant branches growing in a land on which Nature has bestowed water and fertility; rather is he like the sayal bushes in the deserts of the Sudan, thick of bark and sharp of thorn, defeating death because they ask so little of life. That was the cause for wonder: that he was actually alive, despite plague and famines, wars and the corruption of rulers. And now here he is nearing his hundredth year. All his teeth are still intact; though you would think his small lustreless eyes were sightless, yet he can see with them in the pitch darkness of night; his body small and shrunked in upon itself is all bones, veins, skin and muscle, with not a single scrap of fat. None the less he can spring nimbly on to his donkey and walks from his house to the mosque in the twilight of dawn. (p. 73)

On the other hand, his loyalty to his own traditional roots is shaken as result of death of Hüsnə who is loved by him. While the whole village approves the marriage of her with a very old man, Narrator is the only one who opposes even to his grandfather on whom Mustafa has constructed a close similarity between them. In Hüsnə, Narrator opposes to traditionalism on which he has structured his life until the death of her. What he calls as “germ of love” deconstructs him and awakens him to colonial and post-colonial periods at the end. In *Heart of Darkness*, while Kurtz is engaged in his homeland, he cheats her with a native mistress around his station. However Kurtz kills the natives as he wishes, he ironically makes one of them his mistress which reminds us again Fanon’s analysis of the relationship of colonizer and colonized as relationship of male and female. (See *Black Skin and White Masks*) Kurtz is never married but Mustafa marries twice, firstly in London then in Sudan. Unlike Kurtz, he is the one who is cheated by his English wife. Against her humiliation of Mustafa’s manhood and her destroying acts of his identity by vanishing oriental items of his house; he kills her to defend his traditional identity. When he returns his country, he also deceives his second wife, Hüsnə, there by hiding his past and serving to colonizers. In Mustafa, it is clearly seen that how his alienated identity struggles in vain to revenge the colonizer England by going bed with English women just as what Fanon asserts the situation “a wish to be white.” (p. 6) Besides; by depicting
Narrator’s response to suicide of Hüsna, Salih shows how colonized people are stuck into modernity and traditionalism through post-colonial period. While Mustafa affords to kill a woman for the sake of defending his traditional identity, Narrator questions that identity by the time Hüsna kills herself due to local norms of the region. Hence, passiveness of Narrator ends with a huge grief and regret and he begins to set the conclusion of “mental miscegenation” in contrast with myths of colonial period:

The fact that they came to our land, I know not why does that mean that we should poison our present and our future? Sooner or later they will leave our country just as many people throughout history left many countries. The railways, ships, hospitals, factories and schools will be ours and we’ll speak their language without either a sense of guilt or a sense of gratitude. Once again we shall be as we were — ordinary people — and if we are lies we shall be lies of our own making. (1969, pp. 49–50)

Salih reveals how traditionalism is linked with neo-colonialism at the national level. London metropole is replaced by Khartoum metropole. Exorbitance in traditionalism takes the place of cruelty of colonialism. Narrator reminds seduced English women after death of Hüsna and compares them by saying “I imagined Hosna Bint Mohammed, Mustafa Sa'eed's widow, as being the same woman in both instances: two white, wide-open thighs in London…” (p. 87). On the condition that, avenger Mustafa and traditional people of the village has committed similar crimes, the essential problem, then, is how Sudan may leave extremism of the colonial and traditional myths.

He notices that people like Mustafa continue to exist in shapes of different colonizer-like ones in Sudan. One of them is a Minister who has worked with Mustafa in a so-called libertarian think tank which is called as “Struggle for African Freedom”. Mustafa was teacher of him, and his student is now in a position where he governs economics of the country. He is awaken to capitalist profits of people who are just like the colonizers in Heart of Darkness who has left the idea of colonization for their own financial profits. For Narrator, decolonized citizens of Sudan are very similar to them:

Everyone who is educated today wants to sit at a comfortable desk under a fan and live in an air-conditioned house surrounded by a garden, coming and going in an American car as wide as the street. If we do not tear out this disease by the roots we shall have with us a bourgeoisie that is in no way connected with the reality of our life, which is more dangerous to the future of Africa than imperialism itself. (pp. 119-120)

However, he believes that the cure of such kind of capitalist disease is returning to their own roots; there appears Hüsna who again stalemates him where traditionalism stands at the end of the way. At last, his reciprocations cause him to a desire of burning the room of Mustafa which symbolizes the West which reminds us a native’s burning of the hut in Heart of Darkness. But what he gets in return is cruelty which makes his personal resistance useless against an invincible-like colonial power. In light of this scene, Salih shifts Narrator into passiveness again while he was about to do the biggest action in the novella.

**Conclusion**

Both Heart of Darkness and Season of Migration to the North prophesy before the time when they were written. Joseph Conrad’s narrating violent actions of colonizers against natives has deceived many scholars who are interested in Heart of Darkness. Because, what has been handled as a denunciation of colonization/imperialism is nothing more than a warning to colonizers who forget their “civilizing” mission and concern with personal profits in the novella. Most importantly, Conrad is mainly interested to draw attention to a possible future resistance of the natives. On the other hand, Tayeb Salih opposes to a violent resistance in both colonial and post-colonial process. For him, there is no opportunity to cure escaping identity which has been doubled between “civilizing and modernist” norms of the West and traditional or national occidental mythic discourses dating back to Western originated oriental ones.
Salih’s occidental approach pursues a total independence bereft of rooted colonial myths (Western or Eastern) for his country. However, Occidentalism has not managed to transform into a systematic organization even today, there has appeared a new indestructible reality in time: hybridity which is against a pure, original and logocentric identity of Western colonial and imperial conceptions. For Bhabha, it is a self-inflicted resistance just as what Salih tries to narrate through his Narrator: “Hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. It displays the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination.” (1994, p. 159)

Unlike Conrad, Salih is far nearer to the idea of cultural hybridity because what Marlow hides from Kurtz’s Intended is not the matter of being cheated but the matter of being cheated with a “black” woman. While Kurtz acts as he wishes in Congo, Conrad never thinks to make Kurtz have a child from his African mistress. The reason is declared by Young:

What has not been emphasized is that the debates about theories of race in the nineteenth century, by settling on the possibility or impossibility of hybridity, focussed explicitly on the issue of sexuality and the issue of sexual unions between whites and blacks. Theories of race were thus also covert theories of desire. (Young, 1995, p. 8)

However, neither Mustafa nor Narrator has hybrid children in the novella; Salih is in favour of a mixture named as “mental miscegenation” by Anderson. (2006, p. 91) Moreover, he is after intellectual struggle rather than nationalism by saying that “There are many horizons that must be visited, fruit that must be plucked, books read, and white pages in the scrolls of life to be inscribed with vivid sentences in a bold hand.” (p. 5) Salih is against nationalist struggle because it has caused similar results with the time of colonization and neglected subaltern people. He favours what Fanon favours: “National consciousness, which is not nationalism, is alone capable of giving us an international dimension.” (1968, p. 179) His migration story seeks for a better future just like liberation movement of Cabral (see his efforts in Guinea-Bissauan and Cape Verde), rainbow nation of Mandela (see his struggle in South Africa) and union of Black Atlantic of Gilroy (1993) without getting stuck in history just as Fanon who says that “I will not make myself the man of any past. I do not want to exalt the past at the expense of my present and of my future.” (2008, p. 176)

In the final point, the story of all of the main characters (Mustafa, Narrator and Hüsna) is ended with a scene of suicide. Except Narrator, the attempt of others results with their deaths. Though Narrator decides to commit suicide as a result of being stuck in neo-colonial period, he makes a decision which he could only do at the end of the whole story and chooses life. He does not want to be dead which has become the consequence of Mustafa’s active resistance. He says to colonial period that “If I am unable to forgive, then I shall try to forget” (169) and provides a solution the contradictions of post-colonial process of his decolonized land. Unlike Mustafa, he offers that he “shall live by force and cunning” but in an intellectual and systematic way where he needs “help” in passivity after last stands:

All my life I had not chosen, had not decided. Now I am making a decision. I choose life. I shall live because there are a few people I want to stay with for the longest possible time and because I have duties to discharge. It is not my concern whether or not life has meaning. If I am unable to forgive, then I shall try to forget. I shall live by force and cunning. I moved my feet and arms, violently and with difficulty until the upper part of my body was above water. Like a comic actor shouting on a stage, I screamed with all my remaining strength, ‘Help! Help!’ (pp. 168-169)

The helpers are no one but readers of the novella through which Salih resist actively against decentred notions of post-colonial lands by narrating the story:

He needs others to save him from the river; but he also needs help in determining the significance of his story, and perhaps in creating a positive end for it. This can happen only if others, also, fight to understand, choose, and change. (Camino-Santangelo, 1999, p. 25) This may be why he remains without a name; his individual identity and development are not the final or central concern. In contrast, Conrad gives
Marlow a name, and so makes his individual identity and development a primary focus. (Caminero-Santangelo, 1999, p. 27)

Contrary to closing remark “Horror!” of Conrad’s Heart of Darkness, Tayeb Salih’s last word is “Help!” in Season of Migration to the North. While Conrad is on the trace of constructing a colonial consciousness for his European readers, Salih’s position is superficially the same as Conrad’s but their goals are totally different. Salih’s questioning climbs over colonial period unlike Conrad, but he is concerned with post-colonial process by criticizing neo-colonialism in his own land of which freedom is not before a long time. With his own words in preface of the novella’s Penguin version, he assures his success by saying that: “For some reason my work became incorporated into this process of intellectual questioning. People become to see some realities in the novella which they have not seen before or they did not want to see.” (p. vii) These realities are what pre-colonized people come across with in daily life as a result of the struggle for existence after colonialism and contradiction of the very same struggle whether it should be traditional which reminds their past (but to Salih, it imprisons them in there to some extent); or it should be modern to catch the current era that presents them a future. Yet for Salih, it seems not possible without the past of society no matter how harshly it is damaged through colonialism and no matter core of the tradition may include some faults. It seems that his ground shaking questioning against traditionalism and westernism succeeded to raise awareness in Sudan because the book was banned at intervals ever since it was firstly published for varying reasons and rejected occasionally by the two poles of the country: Islamists and communists.

On the whole, Season of Migration to the North was published after eleven years of Sudan’s independence from England and as it could easily be traced through media experience, within these years The First Sudanese Civil War still continued until 1972 which had resulted to overturn of governments because of military coups. Addis Ababa Agreement was applicable till 1983 when one sided termination of President Gaafar Nimeiry aimed to govern Sudan and non-Muslim and non-Arabic society in southern region under Shari'a law. Yet, it resulted another civil war called Second Sudanese Civil War and ended after twenty-two years with independence of South Sudan in 2005. The contradictory history of Sudan shows how a former colonized country transformed into a colonizer within in its own land against subaltern people of the south. While Joseph Conrad’s Heart of Darkness clearly denunciate colonization of very far lands by European colonizers, Salih’s novella sets out his readers on a journey from contradictions of their new-independent country to a possible future of Sudan which has transformed into a neo-colonialist decolonized land in real life. However, Conrad has been one of the primary colonial writers to be replied by literary people of colonized lands and he has been criticized loudly for his depicting the colonial process as an enlightenment of civilization, Salih’s Sudan during Second Sudanese Civil War got its own share from “the light” as it is understood from a report of a journalist during Second Sudanese Civil War that soldiers of Sudanese government tell a non-Muslim and non-Arabic girl before raping her that “Black girl, you are too dark. You are like a dog. We want to make a light baby.” (Wax, 2004) On the other hand, today’s non-Western world has still into the similar struggles of the past especially in Middle East and some other parts of the world. While civilization means enlightenment for Conrad’s fictional world, it signifies democracy in today’s “civilized” and “enlightened” postmodern real lands. This democracy standing controversially between modernity and tradition is tried to be constructed for Third World by neo-colonizers which returns its people as invasions or new-born civil wars. As a result, emergent violence in the rest of the West may be narrated again and again in literary works in near future just like in Salih’s Season of Migration to the North until his claim for mental miscegenation comes into existence.
References