the colonial society precludes the formation of social relations designated through the money-form, so why do the colonial relations become expressed through the form of skin color? In adjusting Marx’s economic analysis of capitalism to colonial society, Fanon answers this question by applying his psychoanalytic theory that the epidermalized social relations arise from the colonizers’ psychological compulsion to satisfy the inferiority complex caused by alienation under capitalism. In his argument, Fanon draws from the analysis of French psychoanalysis Octave Mannoni who, in his book *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization*, argues that the inferiority complex of the white colonizers, along with the dependency complex of the colonized natives fostered by their loss of societal stability, creates the patterns of domination which characterizes the colonial context. While rejecting Mannoni’s diagnosis of the dependency complex of the colonized, Fanon concludes that “the white colonial is driven only by his desire to put an end to a feeling of dissatisfaction on the level of Adlerian overcompensation” [23]. According to Austrian psychotherapist Alfred Adler, certain individuals compensate for their inferiority complexes by developing superiority complexes in which they degrade the differentiating characteristics of other individuals or groups. Fanon adapts this argument to the colonial complex by explaining that the superiority established by the colonizer arises from the comparison to the colonized where “each understands the other only in relation to what they are not” [24]. The colony consequently serves as an outlet through which the colonizers compensate for their dissatisfaction by asserting their superiority over the colonized through the endowment of the visible difference of skin color with value. The colonizers recognize the colonized through their blackness, while the colonized recognizes the colonizers through their whiteness. The result is an epidermalized Manichaean society defined by the universal equivalent of whiteness through which all members assess their value, just as the members of capitalist society recognize each other through their respective exchange-values. By confining colonizers to their superior whiteness and the colonized to their inferior blackness, colonialism nurtures an appearance of psychological and social coherence.

The social relations of capitalism and colonialism originate from and conceal the underlying fetishism which distorts the personal identities of these society’s members and their interpersonal interactions. However, the relationship between these fetishisms is not merely structural but also causal. Fanon’s theory of colonial racial fetishism proceeds from Marx’s account of the alienation in capitalist society due to the fetishism of the commodity. Because of the impalpability of labor within the capitalist system, the products’ exchange-values “appear to result from the nature of the products,” rather than from the labor that is responsible for their value [25]. Labor thus becomes reified as a commodity, and the commodity in turn becomes fetishized with value that appears inherent yet only exists as a result of the labor that created it. Through this phenomenon of commodity fetishism, the process of labor that provides for self-recognition and recognition of one’s humanity is commodified and perceived as estranged from the laborer.

Like the commodity fetishism of capi-