

**THE IMPACT OF FRANTZ FANON ON  
CONTEMPORARY WRITING AND  
POLITICS**

**By  
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### CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled, "The Impact of Frantz Fanon on Contemporary Writing and Politics", is an authentic record of bonafide research carried out by C. Rajan under my supervision and guidance. Further, I certify that this thesis or any part of it has not formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, or recognition at any time.

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## DECLARATION

I, C. Rajan, hereby declare that the thesis entitled, "The Impact of Frantz Fanon on Contemporary Writing and Politics", is the culmination of the bonafide research work I have been doing for the past six years. I also declare that this thesis or any part of it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or any other similar title.



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## Chapter 1

### **Introduction**

Though Frantz Fanon has to his credit four books, it is his The Wretched of the Earth which has created tremendous impact on the contemporary socio-political and literary spheres. Since the publication of The Wretched of the Earth in 1961, there has been conflicting views supporting as well as condemning Fanon's justification of collective violence for the total emancipation of the oppressed people of the world at large. In spite of the fact that Fanon's concepts on authentic decolonization, true culture, and the total freedom of the individual have been analyzed and discussed in depth in several Third World countries, and in the West, no exhaustive attempts have been made in India till date to explore his impact on his contemporaries, and on the posterity. Even the European intellectuals, except for Sartre, have not diagnosed colonialism and its disastrous consequences in honest and proper perspectives. An in-depth study of Fanon's works has revealed that his observations on individual freedom, social emancipation, true culture, native literature, colonization, authentic decolonization, neocolonialism and a host of other issues have immense relevance to the socio-political, literary and ethical realms of human life. The realization that a comprehensive picture of Fanon's ideas on various matters could be obtained only after a careful study of all his published works,

prompted a thorough analysis of Black Skin, White Masks, Studies in a Dying Colonialism, Toward the African Revolution, and The Wretched of the Earth. (For the sake of brevity and convenience, hereafter, the abbreviations BSWM, SDC, TAR, and WE will be used in the thesis whenever referring to Black Skin, White Masks, Studies in a Dying Colonialism, Toward the African Revolution and The Wretched of the Earth respectively, except when the contexts warrant the mention of these titles fully).

The only befitting tribute to Fanon's memory on the 45<sup>th</sup> anniversary year of his death would be a retrospect on Fanon's revolutionary ideals in an era of the heyday of neocolonialism, neoimperialism and neoliberalism. The embracing of formal independence and its eventual flaws and failures in the Third World countries make the study of Fanon relevant in all its aspects.

In spite of the fact that Fanon has now become a very popular name not only in the Third and Fourth World countries, but in the West as well, the people of these countries know very little about Fanon's life. With a view to make them familiar with Fanon's life, the second chapter of this thesis is devoted to portray a brief sketch of Fanon's life in general, and to understand the persons, movements and concepts instrumental for Fanon's eventual development as a scholar-activist.

Though born and brought up in a middleclass family of Martinique in the French Antilles, Fanon refused to confine himself to

the rigidity of the middleclass society; nor was his life corrupted and tainted by its complacent attitude to life. That was why, though very sensitive by nature, Fanon turned out to be a difficult son who refused to assimilate to the dominant French culture of Martinique. The alienation which the boy Fanon felt in Martinique as a result of the cultural imposition of the colonizer was aggravated by his close encounter with the racism of the French soldiers while working in the French Army in the Second World War. Despite the fact that France was once the champion of the noble ideals of liberty, fraternity and equality, it turned a deaf ear to the cry of the colonized for the realization of the very same ideals.

The major influences on the adolescent Fanon were Aime Cesaire, Friedrich Nietzsche, Sartre, Hegel, Jaspers, Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Richard Wright, Che Guevara and Fidel Castro. Of these writers and thinkers, the tremendous influence of Cesaire, Sartre and Richard Wright resulted in radically changing Fanon's outlook on life and society at length. Fanon's staunch stand against the politics of assimilation gained further impetus once he was attracted to Cesaire's 'negritude philosophy'. The realization that 'black is beautiful', and that the politics of assimilation has to be resisted at any cost drew Fanon towards Cesaire. Thereafter Fanon began to face the world with a disalienated consciousness. It was this disalienated consciousness which helped Fanon later to evolve the vision of a non-racial society.

Cesaire's seminal book on anticolonialism, Discourse on Colonialism, gave further stimulus to Fanon in this regard.

The plight of Bigger Thomas, the anti-hero of Native Son, as portrayed by Richard Wright, was a pointer to the duplicity of the North American's apparently philanthropic gestures towards the black people of America. Fanon was indescribably provoked by the hypocrisy of Mr. Dalton, the landlord and employer of Bigger Thomas. The quite paradoxical situation of Mr. Dalton simultaneously donating money to 'uplift' the Negro organizations, and owning slums in which Bigger Thomas and his like lived by paying exorbitant rent, was a subtle instance of how the white people exerted economic, social and political control over the blacks. Fanon realized that the 'humanitarian gestures' of the white man in reality were strategic moves to rein in the blacks further. The concerted efforts of the white society to exclude the blacks from the mainstream, as delineated in the story of Bigger Thomas agitated Fanon quite a lot. Bigger's rebellious resentment and consequent existential anguish helped Fanon in strengthening his views on alienation.

The existential philosophy of Sartre had a quite remarkable impact on Fanon. Fanon derived considerable inspiration for the eventual formulation of his theory of authentic decolonization from Sartre's Black Orpheus, Anti-Semite and the Jew, and The Critique of Dialectical Reason. Fanon's ability as a public speaker, and the style

of his conversation further cemented the relationship between him and Sartre.

Fanon's profession as a psychiatrist, and his association with Professor Tosquelles helped him indeed for a better understanding of the psychology of the colonized people. How far has Fanon been benefited from Professor Tosquelles' concept of 'socio-therapy' in the realm of psychiatry, and how best he could make use of this experience in the Blida hospital in Algeria, will be discussed in the second chapter of the thesis.

Fanon's decision to 'abandon' psychiatry for politics on account of his face to face encounter with colonial oppression even at the Blida hospital, where he worked for three years, and his close association thereafter with the National Liberation Front (FLN), will also be discussed in the second chapter. How best the eloquence and leadership quality of Fanon have been fruitfully utilized by the FLN during the course of the Algerian Revolution will be detailed in the chapter on Fanon's life. The indomitable will of Fanon to serve the wretched of Algeria, and the underprivileged people elsewhere in the world, has been borne out in his determination to work hard despite the painful fact that leukemia and bronchial pneumonia posed a great threat to his life. Fanon's short, but eventful life is a great source of inspiration to the scholar-activists of his own generation, and of posterity in the sense that if one cherishes an earnest desire to serve the oppressed of the world, it could be accomplished even within a

short span of life. Fanon's life further drives home the reality that if the commitment to serve the people is heart-felt, no force can be a stumbling block in the way of its fulfillment. It is this commitment for the cause of the marginalized which prompts one to rank Fanon with Che Guevara.

The third chapter of the thesis analyses Fanon's role in the emergence of postcolonial theory. As the resistance to colonialism had begun soon after the colonial occupation of the different countries of the world, and that the neoimperialism of our times points to the fact that the former colonizers have not recovered from the colonial hangover, I believe that no 'space-clearing gesture' (hyphenation) is required in the term 'postcolonial'. Moreover, the term 'postcolonialism' does not elude the concept of decolonization.

Fanon's conviction that the mastery of a language, even the colonizer's language, is a source of immense power, and how effectively he has appropriated the colonizer's language for his radically 'subversive textuality' of anticolonialism, are analyzed in the third chapter of the thesis. Apart from his work as a political activist, Fanon has shown in quite unequivocal terms how authentic decolonization could be brought about through an effective counter-discourse against the repressive textuality of the colonizer, using the cultural tool called language. The quite redeeming feature of Fanon in this respect is that his use of the colonizer's language to call in

question colonialism was not a historical accident. Fanon's perspectives in these kinds of issues are further substantiated in my thesis by citing from the works of Albert Memmi (the anticolonial revolutionary thinker of Tunisia), Ngugi wa thiong'o (the Kenyan radical thinker and writer), Renate Zahar (the German writer and Fanon enthusiast) and Eldridge Clever (the Afro-American revolutionary thinker and writer). But, quite unlike the other revolutionary thinkers and writers, Fanon has emphatically proved that by the effective appropriation of the oppressor's language the colonized can totally transcend colonial alienation.

The third chapter of the thesis further highlights the fact that Fanon was the first writer to diagnose colonialism and its destructive impacts in quite honest, and in the right perspective. While acknowledging the contribution made by Fanon's precursor, Aime Cesaire in this respect in Discourse on Colonialism, and the influence of Sartre, Hegel, Nietzsche, and a number of European theoreticians, philosophers and psychologists on Fanon, the third chapter of the thesis underscores the fact that Fanon had no forerunners when one takes into consideration his theory of authentic decolonization. For, Fanon's theory of decolonization examines all spheres of human life, including its literary and cultural aspects. This chapter substantiates in unmistakable terms that Fanon was the prime exponent of authentic postcolonial theory (and not Edward Said, as Leela Gandhi claims in her Postcolonial Theory), and disclaims the argument that

postcolonial theory has a “poststructuralist parentage” (Leela Gandhi 25-6). Another factor which is emphasized in the third chapter is that unlike Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Homi K. Bhabha and Leela Gandhi, who popularized their theories making use of the leisure time and luxury provided principally by the First and Second World academies, Fanon’s theory of authentic decolonization, native literature, true culture and so on are born by and large out of the revolutionary battlefield of Algeria. In other words, Fanon’s theory of authentic decolonization was refined in the laboratory of his own experience.

A brief picture of Fanon’s vision of anticolonial nationalism is also drawn in the third chapter of the thesis. Fanon visualized a government which “governs with the people and for the people” (WE 145). The urgent necessity of educating the people politically for this purpose, and the kind of education which is conducive to it are briefly sketched in the third chapter. To develop the people’s political and social consciousness out of national consciousness, and for the eventual evolution of a new humanism, the people have to be told that everything depends on them, and that they will be solely responsible if the country stagnates in its progress at any stage.

Fanon’s tracing of the three stages in the development of the native intellectuals/writers/artists are also analyzed in the third chapter. The period of unqualified assimilation, during which the native intellectual merely imitates European models and trends in

various realms of art and literature, the 'disturbed' period, when the he/she gives expression to recollected experiences of childhood and old legends in a borrowed aesthetics, and the 'fighting' phase, when the native addresses his/her own people in a quite radical manner, and in an aesthetics evolved by himself/herself, are the three stages detailed by Fanon with specific examples. The new awareness of the native intellectual could be seen not only in literature and arts, but in music, pottery, ceramics, handicrafts, woodcrafts and other spheres of life.

The fourth chapter of the thesis analyses how effectively Fanon has given expression to his concept of a non-racial society. Fanon's views in this regard are elaborated in Black Skin, White Masks, first published in 1952. Fanon says that his principal intention in writing the book is to evolve "a new humanism" (BSWM 7) as opposed to the European racist humanism. The book is Fanon's response to the self-demeaning attitude of the black bourgeoisie who tried to become as white as possible, as well as an admonition of the white man for having ill-treated the black man for centuries. Fanon's contention is that economic reasons are primarily responsible for the inferiority complex which has been imposed on the black people by the colonizers. The economic aspects of colonialism have been endorsed by the studies of writers like Albert Memmi, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Walter Rodney. Unlike Freud and the other psychoanalysts, what Fanon has done is a socio-diagnostic study of the racial issues. The

colonizer's language also plays a decisive role in creating inferiority complex in the colonized, as the colonizer through the imposition of the imperial language very subtly erases the native's original culture. The conscious move of the colonizer to make the colonized believe that they have no culture of their own is done in the formative period of the colonized children. Consequently, the colonized children, when they grow up, find themselves an alienated lot. Herein lies the importance of Fanon's insistence that the colonized has to master the colonizer's language. For, as Fanon argues, the mastery of the cultural tool, language, is imperative for the colonized to open doors which have been barred to him/her. That Fanon has made effective use of this cultural tool has been borne out in The Wretched of the Earth, in which he comes out with concrete suggestions as to how authentic decolonization can be achieved.

Psychological reasons too, Fanon believed, played a remarkable though secondary role in the inferiority complex of the colonized people. The coloured people's eagerness to "have whiteness at any price" (BSWM 49) is a good case in point. 'Lactification' is the name given by Fanon to this desire of the colonized. In this context Fanon disclaims the argument of Dominique O. Mannoni that the inferiority complex of the colonized is an inborn trait. Moreover, Fanon firmly believed that colonial racism too has been responsible for the inferiority complex of the colonized. In other words, the native's inferiority complex is a creation of the racist Europeans. The views of

Sartre, Albert Memmi and Walter Rodney have been analyzed in the fourth chapter of the thesis to substantiate Fanon's contention that racism is one among the several means adopted by the colonizers for the cultural degradation of the colonized. Fanon's study reveals that the desire of the colonized to become white at any cost is generated by the inferiority complex created by the colonizers. His attempt was to liberate the colonized people from their craze for "hallucinatory whitening" (BSWM 100). Fanon told the coloured people that they were no longer the slaves of their skin. He further helped the coloured people to rediscover their valid past.

Another important task that Fanon has achieved in Black Skin, White Masks is the exposure of the hollowness in Jung's theory of the 'collective unconscious'. With specific details Fanon affirms that 'collective unconscious' is a cultural imposition on the colonized, very subtly done by the European colonizers over the years. 'Collective unconscious' is not at all a cerebrally inherited quality of a particular race or section of people, as made out by Jung. The mistake committed by Jung, according to Fanon, was to go back to the childhood of Europe to analyze the psychic realities of man, instead of going back to the childhood of the world at large. That is why in Jung's concept the Negro symbolizes all kinds of negative qualities. The black Antilleans and all other colonized peoples on whom the European cultural imposition has been done have taken over the archetypes belonging to the Europeans. But, by the age of twenty,

when the effect of the 'collective unconscious' is almost over, the colonized people realize what they really are. The ambiguous existence in which the colonized people find themselves thereafter is what Fanon calls 'psychopathological' condition. Hence, Fanon's effort to 'disalienate' the coloured people. For this absolute reciprocity of relationship among individuals is essential. In short, good relationship between Blacks and Whites will be possible only if both these groups shed their inferiority complex and superiority complex respectively. This is the only way for "restoring man to his proper place" (BSWM 88).

The fifth chapter of the thesis is an evaluation of Fanon's attempt to analyze colonialism and its impact in a sociological and scientific perspective. Fanon's observations in this regard are moulded by his conviction that any person who adopts a passive attitude to the developments taking place around him/her is subscribing to an "impoverishment of human reality" (TAR 3). He probes into the "burning past" (TAR 4) of the North African, his pseudo-invalid status, and his "perpetual sense of insecurity" (TAR 12). Fanon comes out with the conclusion that the consistent moves of the European racist humanists to 'thingify' the North African have been primarily responsible for his sorry predicament. The emptying out of the essence of the colonized by the colonizers has been responsible for the existential anguish of the colonized. In Fanon's view, it is the moral responsibility of the colonizer to 'reclaim' the colonized people. All the

same, Fanon once again stresses his conviction that economic factors are principally responsible for the 'thingification' of the colonized people. Fanon is of the strong view that the 'negritude movement', spearheaded by Aime Cesaire as a protest against the politics of assimilation, and the blatant racism resorted to by the French soldiers of the West Indies after the Second World War helped the West Indians to recast their world, and to valorize their colour. Fanon calls this change of attitude in the West Indians, their "first metaphysical experience" (TAR 23).

Fanon does not minimize the disastrous effects of European racism on the colonized. In fact it is the unabashed racism of the colonizer which forces the natives to admit that all the misfortunes of them are the result of their own racial and cultural peculiarities. It is when the colonized realize their mistakes that they express their "craving for forgiveness", and in turn, they "plunge into the chasm of the past" (TAR 41). What is most praiseworthy about Fanon is his concept of the reciprocal relationship between the rediscovered original culture of the colonized and the occupant's newly liberated culture, and the eventual emergence of the true culture of the people. The quite positive observations of Kwame Nkrumah and Fidel Castro on the necessity of the integration of different cultures further confirm Fanon's universal vision on culture. It is a pity that in spite of all these positive trends, even in the new millennium institutional racism and covert racial discrimination are practiced in the United States and

in Britain, the countries which are the professed champions of 'democracy'.

Fanon's first-hand experience with the grim and inhuman aspects of colonialism prompted him to formulate his theory of authentic decolonization. The systematic dehumanization of the people of Algeria by the French colonizers with a view to "decerebralize" them (TAR 53) was the immediate reason behind Fanon's resignation from the Blida hospital in Algeria, and then to join hands with the people of Algeria in their liberation struggle.

The sociological ramifications of the Algerian war of liberation on the African people in general, and on the Algerian women in particular as detailed by Fanon in Studies in a Dying Colonialism is the object of analysis in chapter six of my thesis. However best the French colonizers tried to exploit the clothing tradition of the Algerian women, and the means of dissemination of news, especially the radio, the collective will of the people of Algeria gave a befitting reply to the colonizers to the effect that they were competent enough to take their destiny into their own hands. The colonizer's dream of unveiling the Algerian women, and thereby making use of them as allies in the task of the destruction of the culture of the natives met with stiff resistance. The determination of the Algerian women to resist the cultural war waged against them by the colonizers, and the strong resolution of the Algerian men not to make their women preys to the imperialist agenda of deculturation, were concrete instances of the

Algerian people having created their own history of sort. However, once the Algerian women began to involve themselves directly in the war of liberation, to the surprise of the colonizer, they removed and reassumed their veil as and when the occasions demanded such gestures. What was more, exigency of circumstances made the Algerian woman the “woman arsenal” (SDC 58) of the Algerian soldiers by carrying revolvers, grenades and bombs concealed in their veils. When the women had to move through the European dominated cities, shedding their timidity and clumsiness, they unveiled themselves on their own.

Similarly, since the outbreak of the Algerian rebellion there took place a remarkable change in the attitude of the Algerian towards the radio. Traditions of respectability and all other inhibitions related to listening to the radio set were swept away, as the Algerians realized that the radio was the easiest means of obtaining the news from the warfront. The new signaling system gained further momentum with the emergence of the ‘Voice of Free Algeria’ operated under the direct supervision of the National Liberation Front (FLN).

The radical development of the individuality of each member of the Algerian family during the course of the war of liberation further points to the sociological impact of the struggle. The political maturity and the national consciousness of the people as a whole have been instrumental for such a revolutionary change in society. The most noteworthy development in this regard was the empowerment of the

Algerian women. The women of Algeria, through the dynamism of the veil, and their political activities, succeeded in coming to the forefront of the national liberation movement from their formerly exclusive domestic tradition. Fanon's extolling of the role of the Algerian women in their national liberation movement itself is sufficient proof that he is not a misogynist as alleged from some quarters.

Chapter seven of the thesis analyzes in depth Fanon's justification of emancipatory violence, his diagnosis of colonialism further and the eventual prescription, i.e. his concept of authentic decolonization. That Jean Paul Sartre, who was staunchly opposed to the very idea of violence, has written the preface to The Wretched of the Earth, itself is indicative of the magnitude of Fanon's thesis. Simone de Beauvoir testifies this in Force of Circumstances. For, she says:

While in Cuba, Sartre had realized the truth of what Fanon was saying: it is only in violence that the oppressed can attain their human status. He was in agreement with Fanon's book – an extreme, total, incendiary, but at the same time complex and subtle manifesto of the 'Rest of the World': he agreed gladly to do a preface for it. (De Beauvoir 605-06)

Sartre firmly believed that Fanon has appropriated the colonizer's language and shaped it to suit his task of addressing the colonized people of the entire Third World. He further says that this is the first

time that he has come across an objective and truthful account of European colonialism and its disastrous consequences. While endorsing Fanon's advocacy of collective violence for the emancipation of the wretched of the earth, Sartre admits that no gentleness can efface the marks of violence; the counter-violence of the oppressed alone can erase them. The violent process of decolonization, Fanon believed, results in putting into practice of the saying that 'the last shall be the first, and the first the last'. The complicity of the church, Catholic as well as Protestant, in colonization and its eventual maintenance is exposed by Fanon in his thesis on authentic decolonization. Hence, there is nothing surprising about the neoimperialists like George Bush and Tony Blair invoking God while unleashing untold atrocities on the people of Iraq and Afghanistan in the new millennium. This further highlights the longstanding collusion between imperialism and the church in justifying the encroachment on the freedom and self-determination of the marginalized and underprivileged.

The failure of the nationalist parties and the national elites to work towards authentic decolonization was yet another concern of Fanon. Obtaining concessions, and a certain degree of power from the colonizers, were the real motives of these groups. At a crucial juncture of the liberation struggle of the people, the colonialist would start playing the card of nonviolence which would be supported by the capitalists, economic elites and the intellectuals of the colonized

country. All these elements have to bear in mind that the concept of nonviolence itself is the product of centuries-old oppression. Thanks to the machinations of the nationalist parties and the elites of the country, the people would be forced to accept what Fanon calls the "farce of national independence" (WE 53).

Unlike Marx and Engels who considered the urban proletariat as the true revolutionary force, Fanon had infinite faith in the revolutionary fervour of the starving peasants of the colonized countries. Fanon's stress on the revolutionary potential of the exploited peasants is more or less in tune with the concepts of Mao Tse Tung. For, Mao believed that the general direction given to the revolution by the impoverished peasants would always be the correct one. According to Fanon, the starving peasants and the underpaid working class constitute the 'lumpen-proletariat' (WE 103), which will be a decisive force in the liberation struggle of the colonized country. Their realization that violence only could destroy the oppressive political and social structures of colonization will lead to authentic decolonization. For, Fanon had the strong conviction that for the self-defence of the colonized people, violence was a legitimate means. Fanon's ideas on emancipatory violence are quite contrary to Mahatma Gandhi's ideals of non-violent passive resistance. But, it is a fact that the kind of freedom India achieved in 1947 through non-violent methods was only flag independence. This has been proved by the Indian experience of the past fifty-eight years. In many respects

India has not recovered from the colonial ethos till date. Hence the ever-widening gulf between the haves and have-nots of India.

Fanon's vision of the post-independent socio-political scenario of the formerly colonized countries is prophetic indeed. The absence of infrastructure as a result of the colonizer's shrewd withdrawal of capital from the colonies creates innumerable problems to the newly independent countries. Consequently, the people have to renew their struggle to fight poverty, illiteracy and unemployment. The Europeans, whose opulence has been built upon the exploitation of the colonized people for centuries, turn a deaf ear to the plight of the newly independent people. Fanon's assertion that the 'European opulence is scandalous' is shared by Che Guevara, Castro and the other revolutionary thinkers of the world. Besides refusing to make reparations for the harm done to the people of the former colonies, the neoimperialists resorted to economic embargo against those countries which refused to follow the neoliberal agenda. The success of Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia, Argentina and the other Latin American countries in resisting the U.S. hegemony is what gives the Third and fourth World countries of the new millennium hope and expectation regarding their future. It may be noted that the post-independent Cuba and Algeria could rebuild themselves thanks to the indomitable will of the people to fight against poverty and hunger. Though Algeria has now fallen prey to neoliberalism, the effective implementation of 'autogestion' (the workers' management of their own affairs) in the first

two decades after independence could perform wonders in that country.

In the final analysis, it is Fanon's commitment to socialist ideals which pervades the pages of The Wretched of the Earth. Fanon was very particular that the national liberation movement and the socialist revolution must be welded together to materialize the much hoped for emancipation of the marginalized and underprivileged people. Fanon expected the European people to help the people of the Third World to fulfill their desire for total emancipation. For, only if the European people exerted tremendous pressure on their respective governments, the European rulers would carry out their moral responsibility of reparation for their economic pillage in the former colonies.

As the nationalist parties failed to rise up to the expectation of the colonized people, the people had no option but to resort to armed struggle for their total liberation. The political education of the people is imperative for their liberation in the true sense of the word. The main impediments to socialist revolution of any country, according to Fanon, is the national middleclass which takes over the reins of power, once the country succeeds in liberating itself from colonial rule. Instead of undertaking the task of socialist revolution, the national middleclass, without any economic power and dynamism about it, becomes the mangers of Western enterprise. Fanon's exhortation to the people of the newly liberated countries is that it is

their duty to keep this harmful middle class away from power. What the people require is a government which “expresses its desire to govern with the people and for the people” (WE 145). What Fanon envisages is a non-repressive and non-authoritarian society in which the people will have quite meaningful and fruitful relations among themselves. Fanon had the strong conviction that only in a socialist society could these ideals be materialized. And the first precondition to bring about socialism is to nationalize the means of production, distribution and exchange. What Fanon had in mind was an equitable distribution of the wealth of the country in question. By nationalization Fanon meant the reorganization of the economy under the control of cooperatives. In short, Fanon’s concept was that of a society in which there would be no landlords, and the land would belong to those who till it.

In Fanon’s ideal society there will be only a single, revolutionary party with a strong base in the urban as well as rural areas. Instead of a few persons taking decisions for the whole people, the party must do everything possible for decentralized and participatory planning. Unless the party undertakes the right kind of political education of the people, it would not be able to materialize the aforesaid goals. The party must tell the people that everything depends on them, and that if they become sluggish, the progress of the country will be in peril.

Fanon underscores the role of the native intellectuals, writers and artists in the socialist revolution. Apart from the task of coming

out with revolutionary art and literature, the native intellectuals must take weapons on the people's side, when the occasion demands such a gesture. Through their works of art and literature, the native intellectuals must address their own people. In the field of literature, such an attitude will generate a national literature, a literature of combat. The new outlook on life will be quite reflected not only in literature, but in music, dance and singing too.

Authentic decolonization, Fanon believed, would result in the disappearance of the colonizer and the colonized. With the birth of the new citizens, a new humanism will emerge, a humanism which is the product of true culture, the culture of the revolution, the culture of the liberated humanity. Fanon exudes the optimism that the new humanity and humanism will be able to resolve all outstanding socio-political issues to which Europe could not find a solution.

The eighth chapter of the thesis analyzes Fanon's prophetic revelations about the advent of neocolonialism, the relevance of Fanonism today, and the impact of Fanon on the Black Nationhood concept and Black Arts Movement. The neoimperialist onslaught engineered by the former colonizers and the highly industrialized nations on the Third and Fourth World countries vindicate Fanon's warning that unless the people of the newly independent countries prevented the possibility of the national bourgeoisie wielding their power, they would become victims of neocolonialism. As Fanon predicted in 1961, in almost all the Third World countries in which the

national middleclass came to power, one could see the new rulers frantically approaching the former colonizers and the highly industrialized countries for what Fanon calls “aid and assistance programme” (TAR 121). The remarkable influence of the IMF, The World Bank, the World Trade Organization (WTO), and now, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) – organizations practically managed by either the former imperialists or the highly industrialized countries – proves Fanon’s prediction that the national economies of those countries governed by the national middleclass would be virtually controlled by the neocolonialists. Moreover the neoimperialist maneuvers of today even surpass Fanon’s apprehensions. For, the modern neoimperialists adopt all kinds of callous measures, including their military might, against the countries which reject their dictates, or pose a threat to their economic and military hegemony.

Now that Fanon’s fear of the former colonizer controlling the economy of the newly independent countries has been confirmed in Algeria itself, a detailed assessment of the Algerian situation will be done in the eighth chapter of the thesis. A close analysis of the impact of the neoliberal agencies on the other Third World countries also is intended in this chapter to highlight the magnitude of Fanon’s prophecy in this respect. How disastrous has been the effect of the Structural Adjustment programmes (SAPs – renamed as Poverty Reduction Strategy Programmes, PRSPs), on the economies of the underdeveloped countries will also be discussed. The fraud involved in

the much applauded Official Development Assistance (ODA) of the developed countries will be exposed in the chapter. All possible ideal solutions to the impasse created by the neoliberal agencies will also be looked into in this chapter.

The atrocities committed in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere in the world by the U.S.-allied forces in the name of democracy, the persistent threat of 'regime change' posed against the Latin American countries by the U.S., and all other neoimperialist offensives will be analyzed in this chapter.

The remarkable influence of Fanon on the Black Power and Black Arts Movements will be a topic of discussion in the eighth chapter. Fanon's influence in the Middle East, and especially on the Palestinian liberation movement will also be examined in this chapter. In short, all aspects of Fanon as a scholar-activist will be examined in the entire thesis to drive home his multifaceted aspects which raised him to the stature of the Saviour of the downtrodden and marginalized people of the world at large.

## Chapter 2

**The Life of Frantz Fanon: A Brief Sketch**

Frantz Fanon was born on 20 July 1925 in an assimilated and conventional black bourgeois family of Martinique in the French Antilles. His father was a customs officer of the French government in Martinique, and his mother was a shop-keeper. Irene L. Gendzier, based on his conversation with Joby Fanon, Fanon's brother, says that Fanon's father was of mixed Indian-Martiniqan origin, and that his mother was of Alsatian origin. (Frantz Fanon: A Critical Study 10). Fanon was the fourth and youngest of the four boys, and the middle child in a total of eight. Gendzier further observes that Fanon was "a highly sensitive child and a difficult man" (Gendzier 11). Quoting the authority of Peter Geismar (Fanon), Joby, and Marcel Manville (one of Fanon's bosom friends), Gendzier writes that Fanon was very much influenced by Nietzsche, especially by his Thus Spake Zarathustra. Fanon, like Nietzsche was always "in a hurry, a man bent on doing as much as in as little time as possible" (Gendzier 12).

Like his brothers and sisters, Fanon had his early education in Forte-de France, the capital of Martinique. Fanon was proud of being the student of Aime Cesaire, who taught him and his friends "to be proud of their blackness" (Gendzier 14). In 1940, Fanon and Manville, along with their common friend, Mosole, joined the Free French Army, and proceeded to the European front. At that time Fanon did not

realize that the Second World War was a white man's war, and that the Martiniquans had no part in it. After two years of military service, and winning decorations, Fanon left the army. It was while working for the "Free French" in Algeria that Fanon and his friends witnessed rampant racism in the French army. Fanon then realized that France had actually reserved a different place for its black citizens. Emmanuel Hansen, in his Frantz Fanon: Social and Political Thought, observes that Fanon was "touched by the poverty, famine and destitution in Algeria" while working in the French army (Hansen 26). From here onwards Fanon was committed to revolutionary violence for the liberation of the oppressed. Later, Fanon's experience as psychiatrist in Algeria from 1953 to 1956, confirmed the thesis that he had already shaped in his mind while working in the French army. Fanon was wounded twice in the Second World War, and was decorated for 'Brilliant Conduct' in the last months of fighting. He used to work for seventeen hours a day. He had an astounding memory, a cutting sense of humour, and an unusual stage presence.

As already hinted, the early Fanon was very much influenced by his teacher, Aime Cesaire from the Lycee of Forte-de France. Later, he was remarkably influenced by Cesaire's seminal work on the disastrous effects of colonialism, Discourse on Colonialism. While he was a student of Cesaire at Lycee, Fanon evinced a keen interest in literature and philosophy. After returning from the warfront, for a period, Fanon was actively involved in Martiniquan politics. In the

parliamentary election to the first National assembly of the Fourth Republic, Fanon actively campaigned for Aime Cesaire, who was running on communist ticket. It was Fanon's interest in Cesaire's 'negritude philosophy' which prompted him to work for Cesaire.

Apart from the influence of Cesaire and Nietzsche, Fanon was very much influenced by the existential philosophy of Sartre, Hegel, Heidegger, Jaspers, and Kierkegaard. He was also well acquainted with the works of Lenin, Marx and Trotsky. Richard Wright's works, especially his Native Son, tremendously influenced Fanon. Fanon was equally influenced by the revolutionary theories of Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara. Of these writers and leaders, the most remarkable people who had a lasting impact on Fanon, were Cesaire, Sartre and Richard Wright.

Aime Cesaire was one of the founders of the "Negritude Movement" – the others being Leon Damas of Guyana, and Leopold Senghor, the Senegalese poet. Negritude was a cultural expression of the most eloquent kind. It was a movement for the revival of the indigenous cultures of Africa, and an energetic negation of the politics of assimilation. In Martinique, assimilation and French education were intertwined. Fanon and his siblings had to learn French patriotic songs in which French culture was exalted to the skies. On account of this intensive form of French colonial education, Fanon felt himself alienated. But for his association with Cesaire as a student, Fanon would not have been able to counter this alienation. Cesaire told

Fanon and his friends that there was nothing wrong in being 'black', on the contrary, it was indeed good to be so. In other words, what Cesaire taught them was that 'black is beautiful'. Fanon believed that the negritude movement "in the dialectical progression would ultimately erase black and white racism to create a new human synthesis" as Irene L. Gendzier observes (Gendzier 38). That was why even while acknowledging the historical significance of 'negritude', Fanon later took a strong position against it. Fanon later proved himself to be a perfect example of linguistic assimilation. His works evidence how language could be used as a tool of assimilation, and consequently, as a tool of rebellion against alienation.

Bigger Thomas, the anti-hero of Richard Wright's novel, Native Son profoundly influenced Fanon. Wright very effectively portrays the tyranny of alienation, anxiety and fear experienced by the American Negroes through the story of Bigger Thomas. Bigger's violent, though inept rebellion against the stifling, murderous and totalitarian white world moved Fanon quite a lot. Fanon was really touched by the profound political, economic and social issues raised by Richard Wright through his anti-hero, Bigger. Bigger, the black rebel of the ghetto is the product of a dislocated society. He is a dispossessed and disinherited man. In spite of the fact that Bigger lives amidst the greatest plenty on the earth, nothing ever happens in his life. This existential anguish of Bigger agitated Fanon a lot. Bigger, like the Antillean Negro, is a person who is excluded from, and unassimilated

in the white American society. He has been earnestly aspiring to gratify his impulses, which are more or less akin to the impulses of the white people. His realization that the white society has been denying him all opportunities to fulfill his desires makes him a rebel. Thereafter, every movement of his body is an unconscious protest; every thought of his is a potential murder. Bigger murders Mary Dalton quite accidentally, without thinking, without plan, without any conscious motive. But, after the murder, he accepts the moral guilt and responsibility for the murder. He feels elated. He has a feeling that he is free for the first time in life. Like Fanon, Wright also speaks strongly of the silent complicity of the church in the oppression of the Negroes. Fanon was all the more moved by the story of Bigger Thomas when he realized that Native Son is an autobiographical novel. The dialectics between resentment and rebellion as presented in the character of Bigger Thomas strengthened Fanon's outlook on alienation.

When Fanon was twenty-two years old, his father died, and consequently, he was financially hard-pressed. He had no other option but to seek a scholarship in some French university, which he eventually obtained. After getting the scholarship, Fanon, along with Manville and Mosole, departed for Paris, to become a dentist. But, within three months, he realized that he could not cope with the people of the dentist school, for, in the eyes of the French, a Negro was always a Negro. Then he moved over to Lyons with the objective of

becoming a surgeon, and then, switched on to psychiatry. While Fanon was in Lyons, he was actively involved in student politics, debates and left-wing meetings. While at the university in Lyons, Fanon continued his interest in literature and philosophy. He was very much impressed by the existential philosophy of Sartre. Orphee Noir (Black Orpheus), Anti-Semite and the Jew, and The Critique of Dialectical Reason, were the major works of Sartre which influenced Fanon in formulating his theory of decolonization later.

Since the days of the defense of his medical thesis at Lyons, Fanon was an effective public speaker. His first major speech, before he became a member of the National Liberation Front of Algeria (hereafter referred to as FLN due to the peculiarity of translation from the French), was given at the Congress of Black Writers and Artists held in Paris in September 1956. Fanon was by nature very talkative. He would be very much offended if anybody tried to check him during his conversation under any pretext. One day, a year before his death, Fanon joined Sartre for lunch, and the conversation lasted until two in the next morning. It was Simone De Beauvoir who broke the conversation in her best polite way, saying that Sartre was sleepy. But Fanon was offended so much so that he retorted that he did not like people who hoard their resources. Commenting on this gesture of Fanon, De Beauvoir says that like the Cubans, the Algerian revolutionaries never slept more than four hours a night (Force of Circumstances 606). Fanon was so fond of Sartre that on another

occasion, he told Jaques Lanzmann that he would give twenty thousand francs a day to be able to talk to Sartre from morning to night for two weeks. Fanon's revolutionary fervour was quite conspicuous in his expression that, as Simone De Beauvoir says, "He communicated this fire to others" (De Beauvoir 611). De Baeuvoir further observes that when one was with Fanon, life seemed to be a tragic adventure, often horrible, but of infinite worth.

Fanon was very fond of good food and dress, and he almost always dressed nicely. In 1951, Fanon defended his medical thesis on psychiatry before a board of five professors. In that year itself Fanon fell in love with Josie Duple, a white woman slightly younger than himself, whom he had met at Lyons. They got married in 1952. Josie being an intelligent and sensitive woman, later became an important intellectual influence on Fanon. In 1952 itself Fanon was admitted to the residency programme at the Hospital de Saint Alban, under Professor Tosquelles. The professor's influence on Fanon was one of the most tremendous and far-reaching in his life. Fanon derived a lot of inspiration from Professor Tosquelles' concept of 'socio therapy' in psychiatric treatment. (Under 'sociotherapy' or 'communal therapy', the hospital functions as a community of doctors, nurses and patients helping each other, apart from the other hospital staff taking care of the patients). Fanon's experience in the company of Professor Tosquelles has been instrumental in his undertaking of medical

reforms at Blida Hospital in Algeria, where he was appointed as a psychiatrist by the French government there in 1953.

Fanon was very attractive, and was an extremely good athlete. He was a very good football player, and it was his interest in football and communal therapy which guided him to form the soccer team at the Blida hospital.

The beginning of the armed revolution against the French presence in Algeria, on 1 November 1954 had a decisive impact on Fanon the psychiatrist. His first-hand experience of torture at the Blida Hospital itself made Fanon believe that the economic oppression, political violence, racism, murder and the overall dehumanization of the natives of Algeria were the direct consequences of the social system there. Fanon's earlier realization in Martinique that alienation was the major stumbling block to the self-realization and freedom of the colonized was further confirmed by his experience in Algeria. And the only solution to the problem of alienation, Fanon realized, was to put an end to the colonial system itself. As the Algerian War for Liberation began to gain momentum, in 1956, in his quite dramatic letter of resignation from the Blida Hospital, addressed to Lacoste, the French minister in charge of his department, Fanon stressed this need, and thus openly declared himself an Algerian. For, Fanon says: "A society that drives its members to desperate solutions is a non-viable society, a society to be replaced" (TAR 53). Such a conclusion was arrived at when Fanon realized that "the social

structure in Algeria was hostile to any attempt to put the individual back where he belonged" (TAR 53). He had the strong conviction that the events which took place in Algeria were "the logical consequence of an abortive attempt to decerebralize a people" (TAR 53).

While working at the Blida Hospital as its director (as a French civil servant), as Simone De Beauvoir observes, Fanon "harboured guerilla leaders both in his home and in the hospital, gave them drugs, taught the freedom fighters how to care for their wounded, trained teams of Moslem nurses" (De Beauvoir 607). Fanon remained at Blida until he was expelled from Algiers (Jan., 1957), and then went to Tunis to work for the FLN. Fanon's arrival in Tunis was the beginning of the most politically active phase in his life. From Tunis he began to write for El Moujahid, the mouthpiece of the National Liberation Front, and for The African Resistance. This resulted in his intense collaboration with the political leadership of the Algerian National Movement. Within a couple of years of his arrival in Tunis, Fanon became a militant supporter, and later, a member of the FLN. As Renate Zahar remarks, "Here was the committed revolutionary incarnate, the French intellectual who had broken with the motherland to fight in the frontline of the anti-imperialist struggle . . ." ("Biographical Sketch" Frantz Fanon: Colonialism and Alienation xiv).

Fanon was immensely pained to note that neither the French democratic left nor the communist left favoured the concept of the

liberation of Algeria from France. He realized that the French Left feared the FLN would turn too much towards the then Soviet Union, while the Communist Left feared that the Algerians would replace American imperialism for French colonialism. As Gendzier observes, "The question of neo-colonialism and economic dependence was a subject which haunted him to the end" (Gendzier 188). From 1957 onwards (since Fanon went to Tunis), there was a significant change in the attitude of Fanon towards the Algerian revolution. His total dedication to the cause of the rebellion is evident in the language he used thereafter. For, as Emmanuel Hansen comments, "the reflective 'I' that had characterized Black Skin, White Masks, gave way to the committed 'we', the Algerians" of The Wretched of the Earth (Hansen 45).

In December 1958 Fanon attended the All-African People's Conference in Accra, where he met The African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah and Patrice Lumumba. In 1959 he participated in the Second Congress of Black Writers in Rome as part of the Algerian delegation. Again, as a member of the Algerian delegation, Fanon attended the Second Conference of African Peoples in Tunis in 1960. Through his speeches in these conferences Fanon succeeded in internationalizing the Algerian struggle for freedom. By then he could convince the people of the world at large that the Algerian Nationalist Movement was part of the whole world movement for the liberation of the Third World as a whole. In March 1960, Fanon was appointed as

the representative of the Algerian Provisional Government in Accra. That Fanon had survived numerous assassination attempts against him drives home his commitment to the cause of the Algerian people.

In late 1960 Fanon and his friends realized that he was suffering from leukemia. He was flown to the Soviet Union for medical treatment, but the Russians advised him to go to the National Institute of Health in Bethesda, Maryland, America. But Fanon refused to be taken to America saying that it was a 'country of lynchers', and returned to Tunis. A further relapse in his health prompted his friends to make arrangements for his eventual travel to Maryland. Emmanuel Hansen, quoting the authority of Joseph Aslop, a columnist of the Washington Post, says that it was the CIA which had arranged the transportation of Fanon from Tunis to Washington. Simone De Beauvoir tells us that when Fanon was flown to Washington to treat his leukemia, he had "been left to rot in his hotel room for ten days, alone without medical attention" (De Beauvoir 621). Her observations in this regard are supported by the letters and telephonic conversations with Joby Fanon, Fanon's brother.

As a result of another relapse, due to double bronchial pneumonia, Fanon breathed his last on 6 December 1961, at the young age of 36. By then, Fanon had read the proof of The Wretched of the Earth, the book which has been described as the Bible of Decolonization, in which he diagnoses colonialism, and suggests in

quite unmistakable clarity and precision the ways for authentic decolonization.

Fanon was buried in a National Liberation Army territory. Simone De Beauvoir's comment on Fanon's funeral ceremony is moving indeed. For, she says, "for the first time, and in the middle of the war, the Algerians gave one of their people a national funeral" (De Beauvoir 621).

By the end of his short and active life Fanon had done the maximum he could to realize his ideals. Even while he was face to face with death, the irresistible urge to uphold his ideals was his prime concern. For, in a letter addressed to his friend Roger Tayeb, four weeks before his death, Fanon says:

We are nothing on earth if we are not, first of all slaves of a cause, the cause of the people, the cause of justice, the cause of liberty. I want you to know that even at this moment, when the doctors have given up hope, I still think . . . of the Algerian people, of the people of the Third World. And if I've held on this long, it's because of them. . . . (qtd. by Geismar in Fanon 185 from a new collection of Fanon's works, ed. by C. Pirelli)

Fanon's wife, Josie Fanon, and their son, remained in Algeria even after his death, and assumed Algerian citizenship.

That in Algeria places have been named after Fanon, and in the United States and in Italy, research centres have been established in

his memory are pointers to the popularity which Fanon enjoys even today. The French speaking Canadians invoke Fanon to support their claims for self-determination for Quebec. Blida Hospital in Algeria has been renamed as Frantz Fanon Psychiatric Hospital after the liberation of Algeria in 1962. Aime Cesaire, his one-time teacher and for some time one of the major influences on him, pays perhaps a very glowing tribute to Fanon. For, Cesaire observes, if the word 'commitment' has any meaning, it was with Fanon that it acquired significance. He further says that Fanon's "violence . . . was that of the non-violent . . . the violence of justice, of purity, and intransigence" (as qtd. in Hansen 52 from Presence Africaine 12 [1962]: 131-32).

The very fact that the four books Fanon has to his credit (Black Skin, White Masks, Studies in a Dying Colonialism, Toward the African Revolution, and The Wretched of the Earth) have been so widely discussed not only in the Third World, but in the West as well, drives home the fact that the problems Fanon discussed are not unique to Algeria only. David Caute ranks Fanon with Che Guevara, and comments that Fanon "spoke for the black Antilles, for Algeria and black Africa with the same inexorable logic and the same transparent love of justice that Guevara spoke for the peasants and peons of Latin America" (Fanon 7). A close analysis of Fanon's works has revealed that Fanon indeed is the Che Guevara of the oppressed of the whole world. For, Fanon was not only a political theoretician, but a true scholar-activist who dedicated his life for the liberation of the wretched of the earth.

## Chapter 3

### **Postcolonial Theory and Fanon**

Since the postcolonial societies have not completely recovered from the disastrous impacts of European colonialism, and, in many postcolonial countries formal independence has not succeeded in decolonizing the socio-political, economic and cultural spheres of life, the process of resistance which began with the onset of colonialism still continues. Besides, neo-colonialism is making subtle inroads into the newly independent Third and Fourth World countries. The psychological resistance to colonialism, and its expression actually began with the onset of colonialism. Therefore, as the editors of The Post-colonial Studies Reader observe, "Post-colonial theory has existed for a long time before that particular name was used to describe it" (Introduction. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin eds. The Post-colonial Studies Reader 1). Arif Dirlik airs the same view when he observes that "most of the critical themes that postcolonial criticism claims as its fountainhead predates the appearance, at least the popular currency of postcolonial" ("The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism" in Padmini Mongia ed. Contemporary Postcolonial Theory: A Reader 294-320). In fact, there is no 'ambiguity' in the 'post' of 'postcolonial' as Ella Shohat declares. For, as she observes, "the twin process of colonization and decolonization are evoked by it". Moreover, she says, postcolonial

embraces the two terms – colonialism and postcolonialism (“Notes on the Postcolonial” Social Text 31/32 [1992] 99-113). Further, the ‘post’ of ‘postcoloniality’, as Kwame Antony Appiah observes, is a ‘post’ that challenges earlier legitimating narratives (“The Postcolonial and the Postmodern” in The Post-colonial Studies Reader 119-24). Simon During is of the view that postcolonialism is emblematic of the unpolluted identity of the nations which were once subjugated by the imperial colonizers. During observes that “post-colonialism is regarded as the need in nations or groups which have been victims of imperialism, to achieve an identity uncontaminated by universalist or Eurocentric concepts and images” (“Post-colonialism Today” in Ashcroft et al, 1995 125-29). When one takes into account all these factors, “thinking at the limit”, the description of Stuart Hall regarding the present status of ‘postcolonial’ is a too hasty one (“When was ‘the Post-colonial’? Thinking at the Limit” in Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti ed. The Post-colonial Question 242-59).

That language was one of the most decisive tools instrumental for effective decolonization has been proved by almost all the radical anticolonial thinkers of the world through their writings. The authors of The Empire Writes Back are of the view that “one of the main features of imperial oppression is control over the language”. The “hierarchical structure of power” which was perpetuated through imperial language is “rejected in the emergence of an effective post-colonial voice” (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2002 7). What Fanon had

done in the 1950s was this actual abrogation of the authority of the imperial French language, and the very effective appropriation of the real power of it. It was Fanon's seizure of the imperial language, and its eventual moulding for an effective discourse which helped him to come out with his concepts of authentic decolonization, true culture, and native literature. As Jean Paul Sartre observes in the Preface to The Wretched of the Earth, Fanon "bends" the French language, "to new requirements, makes use of it, and speaks to the colonized only". Sartre further comments that, "the Third World finds *itself* and speaks to *itself* through his voice" (WE 9). The power of Fanon's language, which he has wrested from the colonizer, Sartre says, is competent enough to ashame the Europeans as a whole. Definitely, Fanon's language is not *French* (emphasis mine), but an Antillean French. It is the very same language that strip-teases the much acclaimed European humanism, or what Sartre calls, "racist humanism" (Preface. The Wretched of the Earth 22), since the Europeans have been able to become men only through creating slaves and monsters.

Like Fanon, Albert Memmi, the Tunisian anticolonial revolutionary intellectual and writer, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, the Kenyan radical thinker and writer, and Renate Zahar, the German writer and Fanon enthusiast, have underscored the importance of the power that language can wield. It is the power of language that has contributed to the "insolent provocation" and "militant aspect" of Memmi's anti-colonial classic, The Colonizer and the Colonized (Memmi, Preface xvi).

It is indeed language, "that wonderful reservoir constantly enriched with new experiences" that makes The Colonizer and the Colonized one of the foremost theses on resistance to colonialism, and an "arm in the war against colonization" (Memmi 16). Memmi speaks of the "linguistic dualism" (Memmi 106) experienced by the colonized people on account of learning the history, literature, art and philosophy of the colonizer in the language of the colonizer and the eventual necessity of the colonized becoming bilingualists. He further says that in the ensuing 'linguistic conflict', the mother tongue of the colonized is crushed. The only way out of this 'linguistic ambiguity' (Memmi 108) is to write in the colonizer's language. When the colonized finally gathers up the courage to write, he has no other option but to write to the conqueror's own people. Quite naturally, the colonized writer in the newly appropriated language writes about the "malaise and revolt" of the colonized (Memmi 109). But unlike Fanon, Memmi argues that only through the liberation and restoration of the language of the colonized, can the colonized can "find again his lost continuity and that of his history" (Memmi 110). Though the liberation and restoration of the language of the colonized may hasten the recovery of the colonized from linguistic ambiguity, for authentic decolonization this is not imperative has been proved by Fanon by the effective appropriation and use of the imperial language.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o too speaks of the "psychological violence" perpetuated in the classrooms through the medium of the imperial

language. For, he observes: "In my view language was the most important vehicle through which that power fascinated and held the soul prisoner. The bullet was the means of the physical subjugation. Language was the means of the spiritual subjugation" (Decolonising the Mind 9). In order to "transcend colonial alienation", caused, among other factors, by the imposition of the imperial language (English), Ngugi demands that the Kenyan people use their native 'Gikuyu' language. But, Fanon had shown in concrete terms how best the colonized people can transcend colonial alienation by making use of the language of the oppressor. Paradoxically enough, Ngugi admits that he would not have been able to open his mind's door to a wide range of fiction, had he not been proficient in the English language. He further affirms the need of a national language (in the case of Kenya, the English language), but cautions that such a move must not be at the expense of the regional languages" (Ngugi 72-3). Even while deciding to make use of his native language for his creative imagination, Ngugi has no option but to turn to the European models for the form, thematic concern, and the range of techniques for writing novels. Curiously enough, in the proposed new literature syllabus at the Nairobi Conference of English and Literature Departments of the Universities of East and Central Africa, English is suggested as "the mediating language" (Ngugi 95). In other words, the conference stressed the inevitability of the continued use of the English language. All the same, the ultimate motive of Ngugi is the decentering of an

otherwise Eurocentric world. That is why Ngugi gives a new twist while interpreting the character of the much talked about, and celebrated gentleman of Kipling's poem, *If*. Kipling's man is a typical gentleman of the former European colonies, "who had not the slightest doubt about the rightness of colonialism" (Ngugi 93); he is not a totally liberated world citizen. However, Ngugi admits that a complete break with the colonizer's language is quite impossible. For, even Ngugi requires the English language, the colonizer's language, to "continue dialogue with all" ("A Statement" Ngugi xiv).

Even Chinua Achebe, while emphasizing the unassailable position of English in African literature, does not have in mind the *English* (emphasis mine), but a new 'english' "altered to suit new African surroundings" (qtd. from "The African Writer and the English Language" in Ngugi 8). Renate Zahar too has no doubt about the power of the language mastered by the colonized in effective decolonization. For, in her view, "learning the language of the colonizer is a prerequisite for any social advancement, for the mother tongue either has always only been passed on orally, or it has been deprived of its written form and is completely banned from public life . . ." (Zahar 42). Zahar has the strong conviction that the colonized who has no opportunity of learning the foreign language will sometimes be a stranger in his/her own country. In this context, it may be noted that the colonizer's language has been appropriated and properly made use of by Fanon in such a way that when he speaks of

a new humanism, the traditional ideological content of that word has been redefined. As Zahar observes, in another context, “the necessity of expressing oneself in the colonial language turns out to be a virtue” especially in the case of Fanon (Zahar 47).

Most probably, it was on account of the undercurrent of the racist humanism that the European theorists could not diagnose colonialism’s impact on the respective societies in the right perspective, and in an effective manner. The emergence of Aime Cesaire in the Martiniquan socio-political and cultural field, and the publication of his seminal work on colonialism and its impacts, Discourse on Colonialism in 1950, paved the way for Fanon, the liberation theoretician. Though Fanon has been inspired by Sartrean existentialism and the works of thinkers like Hegel, Nietzsche, and a host of European philosophers and psychologists, and political theoreticians like Marx, Engels, Che Guevara and the like, he had no forerunners as far his theory of authentic decolonization is concerned. Quite unlike the recent postcolonial theorists, whose major task has been academic, Fanon’s theory of emancipation analyses almost all the aspects of human life, be it political, economic, racial, psychological, or matters related to literature, fine arts, painting or culture in general. All the same, Fanon’s theory can be viewed as “the counter-narrative of the colonized” against the colonizer’s “seductive narrative of power”, as Leela Gandhi’s terminologies qualify the textualities of the colonized and the colonizers respectively. An

analysis of the works of Fanon substantiates the argument of Leela Gandhi that “postcoloniality derives its genealogy from both the narratives” (Postcolonial Theory 22). Fanon’s theory, in fact, subverts all Eurocentric master narratives, but it does not repudiate Marxism. Moreover, as Adolfo Gilly observes, Fanon was “approaching Marxism” (Introduction. Studies in a Dying Colonialism 2).

The term ‘postcoloniality’, one can argue, is the most apt term for the Third and the Fourth World socio-political, literary and cultural scenario at present. In this context, the question of applying the term ‘postcolonial’ indiscriminately to both Second and Third World textualities is very pertinent. For, as Stephen Slemon observes, “the experience of colonialism is not the same in, say, Canada as it is in the West Indies” (“Unsettling the Empire: Resistance Theory for the Second World” in Padmini Mongia 72-83). Really, the appropriate intellectual inheritance of postcolonialism can be traced back to Fanonism. In fact, the ‘principal catalyst and reference point for postcolonial theory’, to borrow the words of Leela Gandhi, is not Edward Said’s Orientalism. Moreover, even before the emergence and popularity of postmodernism and poststructuralism, through the writings of Fanon, postcolonialism had shown its particular inception. Hence the claim of a “poststructuralist parentage” (Leela Gandhi 25-6) to postcolonial theory is not at all tenable.

Even while dealing with the issue of the Franco-British involvement in the ‘Orient’, (Orientalism 3), Edward Said does not

make even a passing reference to Fanon, whose condemnation of colonization in general, and French colonialism in particular, in quite pungent and unmistakable terms had gained wide currency all over the world. It may be borne in mind that Said in his Orientalism by and large speaks about the British and French cultural enterprises. Moreover it is quite surprising that, Said, who has examined “generous number of books and authors” (Said 4), does not make an analysis of Fanon’s works, especially, his Wretched of the Earth which has been described as a classic of anti-colonialism by Sartre. Sartre’s Preface to The Wretched of the Earth, perhaps the greatest encomium, one of the reputed western intellectuals has showered on the foremost anti-colonial revolutionary thinker of the World, itself is more than enough to question why Said did include Fanon in the list of “a much larger number” of books and authors” that he “had to leave out” (Said 4). Besides, The Wretched of the Earth, Studies in a Dying Colonialism, and Toward the African Revolution reveal that Fanon has given a first-hand, and a very concrete description of the Algerian people creating their own history. Whereas, even while claiming that the Islamic Orient for him was the centre of attention, Said willfully ignores Fanon, whose life was dedicated to the cause of the wretched of the Near East (especially, the Algerians), in particular, and to the under-privileged of the world in general. Yet another stark reality is that, Said in his Orientalism makes only a passing reference to the French occupation of Algeria (Said 124). In other words, Said in his

book under reference, tries to portray the wretchedness of Islam only under British and French imperialism, which too is painted with a broad brush of affection for Islam. What Said has actually done in Orientalism is a description of “a particular system of ideas”, and it is quite noteworthy that he does not propose a new system or concept to “displace the system” as such (Said 325). Curiously enough, in the ‘Afterword’ to the 1995 edition of the Orientalism, Said emphatically says that there is nothing seriously anti-Western in his book. For, he says, he is trying in his best to overcome “the book’s alleged anti-Westernism” (Said 330). His claim in the ‘Afterword’ that the book is a “kind of testimonial to subaltern status – the wretched of the earth talking back” is out and out fraud (Said 336). Orientalism indeed is not a multicultural critique of power. Said becomes all the more cynical and pessimistic in his outlook on the socio-political scenario of the Third World countries, when he speaks with his tongue in the cheek about the “charismatic leaders who undertook decolonization and independence”, without pinpointing any of these leaders (Said 348). As both Fanon and Said are now no more, a person who makes a study of these two authors has to depend entirely on their primary works for authenticity. And, I have tried my best to be impartial to both of them while making my observations.

Postcolonial writers like Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Homi K. Bhabha and Leela Gandhi wrote and popularized their theories enjoying the luxury and surplus pleasure provided by the Anglo-

American, French and Australian Academies. For, it is in the U.S.A., Britain, France, and Australia most of the postcolonial intellectuals live and do their theorizing. Critics like Arif Dirlik even refuse to consider certain masters of postcoloniality as 'postcolonial critics'. For, Dirlik observes: "It is also misleading in my opinion to classify as postcolonial critics and intellectuals as widely different as Edward Said, Aijaz Ahmed, Homi Bhabha, Gyan Prakash, Gayatri Spivak, and Lata Mani" ("The Postcolonial Aura" in Padmini Mongia 294-320). Another prominent postcolonial critic, Ella Shohat, levels a very serious allegation against the postcolonial critics who theorize on the oppressed of the world sitting in the Western Academies. Shohat's allegation is that these theorists "leave no space" for the liberation struggles of the aboriginals of Australia and the indigenous peoples of the Americas and elsewhere in the world ("Notes on the Postcolonial Social Text 31/32[1992]99-113).

One is bound to argue that an authentic diagnosis of colonialism and its aftermath could be given only by persons who have undergone the disastrous impacts of colonization. Herein lies the importance of anti-colonial revolutionary thinkers like Fanon, Albert Memmi, and Elridge Cleaver, the Afro-American intellectual and the author of Soul on Ice. Fanon's theory of authentic decolonization as detailed in The Wretched of the Earth itself is postcolonial political theory, and his observations on the role of the writer in society is the beginning of postcolonial literary theory. His concepts on the Third

World and its political leaders and writers are no longer the imaginative observations of an arm-chair revolutionary intellectual. Fanon's theory is indeed born out of the revolutionary battlefield of Algeria. For, he was a person who felt the harmful effect of colonization in his blood, and along his heart. It may be noted that Fanon being the fifth child of his parents, and the blackest of the boys, suffered quite a lot on account of his maternal rejection. (Fanon's mother was a totally assimilated middleclass woman, who expected her son to behave and act like a white boy).

Fanon's fight was not against the mere "epistemological violence of the colonial encounter" (once again, to borrow an expression from Leela Gandhi 63), but, by and large, against the socio-political and economic pillage of the colonizers against the colonized. What is more, instead of speaking for a "very limited constituency" (Leela Gandhi 63), Fanon speaks for the oppressed of the world at large. When one bears in mind the socio-political and economic dimensions of The Wretched of the Earth, one could describe the book as one of the foremost classics of postcolonial political and literary theory. So, in every aspect, Fanon is the exponent of the first phase of postcolonial theory, and not Edward Said, as Leela Gandhi claims (Leela Gandhi 64). It must be borne in mind that Fanon had unmasked the ideological disguises of imperialism in his The Wretched of the Earth, two decades before Said's publication of Orientalism, in all pungency, in the language which he had appropriated from the colonizer.

What, in fact, the radical exponents of postcolonial theory such as Fanon and Albert Memmi had done was the dismantling of the European intellectual tradition. In this context Aime Césaire can be looked upon as the forerunner of radical postcolonial theory. For, Césaire's Discourse on Colonialism, first published in 1950, anticipates the postcolonial theories of Fanon and Memmi. Césaire in his Discourse makes a very close study of colonialism and its dangerous impacts on the colonized and the colonizer. In his view, besides being 'thingifying' the colonized, colonialism decivilizes the colonizer too. This situation has been described by Césaire as the "boomerang effect of colonialism" (Discourse 41). Césaire further observes that Western humanism, which justifies slavery, colonialism and genocide, is in reality, pseudo-humanism. In this sense, Césaire believes, there is a direct link between colonialism and the rise of fascism. In other words, colonialism and fascism are blood relatives of slavery and imperialism. Hence the colonial mission of civilizing the 'primitive' is just a smoke-screen. All the same, Césaire never advocates a return to pre-colonial Africa, though he knows that "there has been beautiful and important black civilizations" ("An interview with Aime Césaire" in Discourse 92). Even Césaire's concept of 'negritude' is future-oriented and modern. Césaire envisages "a new society rich with all the productive power of modern times, warm with all the fraternity of olden days" (Discourse 52). Césaire's study of colonialism reveals that in reality we now live in a semi-postcolonial

moment. Though the colonizer has been removed from the corridors of power, all the vital aspects of the 'liberated' people of the former colonies are still managed on the lines of traditions set by the colonizer. For, as Robin D. G. Kelley observes, "the official apparatus might have been removed, but the political, economic, and cultural links established by colonial domination still remain with some alterations" ("A Poetics of Anticolonialism". Introduction. Discourse 27).

One need not go to Martinique or Algeria to drive home the fact that the preceding observations are out and out true. Our own India is a good case in point. To cite a few examples, the Indian Police Act which even now guides and formulates the policies of our police force, was enacted in 1861. The administration of the Indian criminal law is governed by the Indian Penal Code and the Indian Criminal Procedure Code, which were passed in 1860 and 1898 respectively. The much acclaimed Indian Evidence Act was promulgated in 1885. Therefore, as S. S. Gill observes, "The fact that India is still governed by a legal system conceived and formulated in the colonial era, and most of it in the nineteenth century, shows that this country is even today ruled by the colonial ethos of that period" (Dynasty 72).

Both Cesaire and Fanon believed that the Marxist analysis of the society, and the world at large ignored the racist aspect of colonization. Both of them shared the view that Marx and Marxism would not be competent enough to find a lasting solution to the

problems faced by the wretched of the earth. Both of them believed that neoimperialism posed a formidable threat to the total liberation of the marginalized and underprivileged people of the world. Césaire's observations on American imperialism are as prophetic as the observations of Fanon and Sartre. For, Césaire observes: "American domination is the only domination from which one never recovers. I mean from which one never recovers unscarred" (Discourse 77). The observation made by Eldridge Cleaver in 1968 is perhaps highly prophetic than the analysis of all these writers, when one takes into account the authority which America wields today in the name of neo-liberal globalization. It is quite noteworthy to recollect Eldridge Cleaver's views on American domination, three and a half decades after his prediction. For, he wrote:

The United States has the yes-or-no power of decision over all colonialism in the world today. There is not a colonial regime on the face of the earth today that could survive six months if the U.S. opposed it; and in many cases, without the active military and economic support of the U.S., the exploiting murderous regimes would be dashed to bits by the exploited people themselves. (Soul on Ice 116)

In short, by appropriating the imperial language and abrogating its power, not only Fanon, but the other militant anticolonial thinkers and revolutionaries have been successful enough to mould a 'voice-

consciousness' for the subaltern to speak. Fanon has also shown in unequivocal terms how the 'gendered subaltern' also could express themselves in a very concrete way, through the glorification of their role in the Algerian Revolution in Studies in a Dying Colonialism.

Fanon's observations on the various spheres of human life do not rule out features like hybridity and syncreticity in the formation of the new culture of the decolonized society. "Syncretism", as the authors of The Empire Writes Back defines, "is the process by which previously distinct linguistic categories, and, by extension, cultural formations merge into a single new form" (Ashcroft 2002, 16). In Fanon's case, syncreticity is all the more conspicuous whenever he speaks of the national culture of the decolonized society. For, after the struggle for liberation of the colonized, Fanon believed, the reciprocal relationship of both the culture of the colonized and the colonizer would result in a remarkable change for the better, in the newly evolved culture. As authentic decolonization will result in the disappearance of the colonized as well as the colonizer, the emerging new society will be courting the new culture envisaged by Fanon. Hybridity and syncreticity are the decisive factors in the moulding of national consciousness, and in the exceptionally rich new culture which it will generate. All the revolutionary postcolonial thinkers, who could be called ideal world citizens, have directly or indirectly driven home the importance of the role of hybridity and syncreticity in the evolution of a genuinely true culture. Kwame Nkrumah, the former

president of Ghana, and Fidel Castro, the Cuban president have expressed the view that the multiplication of all the cultures will help mould a much better culture. Hence the assertion of the writers of The Empire Writes Back that “cultural syncreticity is a valuable as well as an inescapable and characteristic feature of all post-colonial societies”, is quite true (Ashcroft 2002, 29). Ella Shohat also acknowledges the mutual relationship between different cultures, with a certain degree of reservation. For, she observes: “The foregrounding of hybridity and syncreticity in post-colonial studies calls attention to the mutual imbrication of ‘central’ and ‘peripheral’ cultures” (“Notes on the Post-colonial”. Social Text 31/32[1992] 99-113). Her reservation is obvious in the warning that “the defacto acceptance of hybridity as a product of colonial conquest and post-independence dislocations, as well as the recognition of the impossibility of going back to the authentic past do not mean that the politico-cultural movements of various racial-ethnic communities should stop researching and recycling their post-colonial languages and cultures” (“Notes on the Post-colonial”). Helen Tiffin is yet another critic who stresses the hybrid nature of postcolonial society and culture. For, according to Tiffin, “post-colonial cultures are inevitably hybridized, involving a dialectical relationship between European ontology and epistemology, and the impulse to create independent local identity” (“Post-colonial Literature and Counter-discourse” in Ashcroft et al 1995, 95). Amilcar Cabral also, while endorsing the reciprocal

relationship between history and culture, says that the hybridized nature of postcolonial culture is strength rather than a weakness. Cabral further observes that “culture is an essential element of the history of a people. Culture is, perhaps, the product of this history just as the flower is the product of a plant” (qtd in Ashcroft 1995, 160 from Return to Sources: Selected Speeches 42). All these observations on the reciprocal relationship between different cultures once again highlight Fanon’s concept of a new humanism, and the role the newly liberated people have to play in moulding an egalitarian society.

The analysis of Fanon’s contribution to postcolonial theory would be incomplete, if one leaves un-discussed his concepts of ‘nationness’ and ‘nationalism’. If ‘nationness’ and ‘nationalism’ are European concepts, as Leela Gandhi claims, (Leela Gandhi 113), what Fanon has done is the rewriting of the European notions of these two terms. What the critics of anticolonial nationalism have to remember is that the Europeans have no right to ‘patent’ the concepts of ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’. There is nothing ‘surreptitious’ and ‘unlawful’ about Fanon’s concept of anticolonial nationalism. What Fanon has done is the wresting of the power of the imperial (French) language, to make use of it to mould his own theory of anticolonial nationalism.

According to Fanon the prime task of the governments of the newly liberated nations must be to educate the people politically. Political education becomes a reality only when the new government “expresses its desire to govern with the people and for the people” (WE

145). In order to uplift the people, the government must develop the brains of the people filling them with ideas so that the people will become real human beings. It is the duty of the leaders of the newly liberated nation to exhort the people that, for the progress of the nation it is imperative that the masses be educated politically. Political education must aim at opening the minds of the people to realize that everything depends on them, and that if they stagnate, their country too will stagnate. In this context Fanon stresses the need for the reciprocal relationship between the people and their government. For, as he observes, "A government or a party gets the people it deserves and sooner or later a people gets the government it deserves" (WE 160). Fanon further says that if only the new government and the people succeed in rapidly developing a political and social consciousness out of national consciousness, the country will attain real progress in all walks of life. For the political and social freedom of the people, a well defined economic programme governing the division of wealth and social relations is a must. If the people are offered nationalism alone as food, the masses will fail in their mission, and get caught up in "a whole series of mishaps" (WE 165). If nationalism fails to transform itself to humanism, that is, if it does not cater to the social and political needs of the people, it will lead up to a "blind alley" as Fanon puts it (WE 165). What Fanon ultimately envisaged was a government which acts according to the popular will of the people, a government which gives back "their dignity to all citizens" (WE 165).

Fanon's concept of nationalism has in it a cosmopolitan outlook as he has a broader vision of the liberation of the oppressed of the whole world.

Fanon's observations on the different stages of the development of the native intellectual show his keen insight into the psyche of the native writer. The psychopathology which the native intellectual undergoes during that phase of his consciousness which is in the process of being liberated from the influence of the Western culture and aestheticism (which he had imbibed from the colonial university), is quite disturbing. At this stage the native intellectual writes in a harsh style, full of images which give expression to his scattered consciousness. The vigorous style, the rhythm bursting with life, and the violence in colour at this stage, according to Fanon, "reveals the need that man has to liberate himself from a part of his being which already contained the seeds of decay" (WE 177). Fanon calls this phase in the native intellectual's life "a banal search for exoticism" (WE 178). This trend, Fanon says, is all the more discernible in the poetry of the native writer at this phase. This quite apparent change in the outlook of the native intellectual shocks the colonialists who have been under the impression that the native intellectual is a totally assimilated person.

Fanon is of the view that one can trace three stages of development in the works of the native intellectuals. In the first of these phases, the native intellectual almost apes the culture of the

occupying forces. In the works of this phase, the native intellectual gives expression to more or less the similar themes, styles, and narrative techniques of the colonizer, as he has been inspired by European models. Fanon calls this phase “the period of unqualified assimilation” (WE 179). The works of this period show point by point imitation of European symbolist and surrealist trends.

The native intellectual gets disturbed in the second phase of his/her development. Recollection of childhood memories and ancient native legends will be reinterpreted in a borrowed aesthetics suited to European environment, during this phase. Fanon calls the writings of this phase as the “literature of just-before-the-battle” which is dominated by a kind of disgusting humour and allegory (WE 179).

It is in the third stage of the development, in the “fighting phase” that the native intellectual succeeds in “shaking” his people. In this phase, through his fighting literature, revolutionary literature, the native writer awakens his/her people. The writer, in fact, becomes “the mouthpiece of a new reality in action” (WE 179). In the initial stage of this ‘fighting phase’, the native writer unconsciously makes use of the techniques and language which are borrowed from the colonizer. But, gradually, the native writer succeeds in evolving a new aesthetics suited to his/her fast liberating country. The new writer turns his/her back on the foreigner’s culture, and sets out to look for a true national culture. Fanon admonishes the liberated native intellectual to pursue his/her motive until he/she has found “the

seething pot out of which the learning of the future will emerge” (WE 181). He further exhorts the liberated native intellectuals and artists to take up arms on the people’s side to bring about authentic decolonization.

The native intellectual who formerly used to produce his works to be enjoyed exclusively by the oppressor, now acquires the habit of addressing his own people. It is only from this moment, according to Fanon, “we can speak of a national literature”. Fanon calls this literature, “a literature of combat”. It is this literature which helps mould the national consciousness. “It is a literature of combat”, Fanon adds, “because it is the will to liberty expressed in terms of time and space” (WE 193). The revival of epic poetry in Algeria, and the poetry of revolt in the African countries and elsewhere in the world after the liberation struggles, endorse Fanon’s contention. Fanon quotes profusely from the Guinean poet Keita Fobeda’s poem African Dawn to illustrate how best the native writer can interpret the rhythmic images of his country from a revolutionary stand-point. The refrain of the poem, “Dawn was breaking”, in fact, heralded the new day which was at hand as far as the African people were concerned.

The reflection of this newly acquired vigour could be seen in the fields of handicrafts, wood work, ceramics and pottery. Abandoning of formalism and using vivid colours are the most important features of the new ceramics and pottery making. As for Jazz, it was no longer the expression of the “despairing broken down nostalgia of an old Negro

who is trapped between five glasses of whisky . . .” (WE 195). Quite contrary to the concept of Jazz as “an expression of niggerhood” (WE 196), it acquired a new dimension; it became the music of the liberated Negro. In dancing and singing too the native began to rebuild his/her perceptions through a newly acquired dynamism. All these changes, according to Fanon, are brought about on account of “the state of maturity of the national consciousness” consequent on authentic decolonization (WE 196). All the factors discussed hitherto substantiate my earlier contention that the beginning of genuine postcolonial theory can be traced back to Fanon. Moreover, my analysis of Fanon’s works has proved that his writings are not at all ‘prematurely postcolonial’, as Benita Parry claims (“Resistance theory/theorizing resistance or three cheers for nativism”. in Francis Barker et al ed. Colonial discourse/ Postcolonial theory 172-196).

## Chapter 4

**Fanon's Concept of a Non-racial Society**

In this chapter, the prime concern is to evaluate how effectively Fanon has analyzed the possibility of the process of the liberation of the colonized and the colonizer from their inferiority and superiority complexes respectively. The assessment will be by and large based on Fanon's book, Black Skin, White Masks. Though Black Skin, White Masks is autobiographical in tone and style, Fanon's ultimate purpose in this book is to show how to disalienate the black as well as the white men.

The motto lines quoted from Aime Cesaire's Discourse on Colonialism, at the beginning of the introduction to Black Skin, White Masks condition and punctuate the fabric of thought expressed in the book. The abject fear, inferiority complex, despair and abasement enforced on millions of men by the European colonizers for centuries provoked Fanon to explore the psychology of the colonized individuals, especially the black people. The pent up feelings of the oppressed, Fanon observes, will definitely explode one day. In all humility Fanon affirms that the purpose of writing Black Skin, White Masks is to evolve "a new humanism" as opposed to European racist humanism (BSWM 7). Such a move on the part of Fanon is necessitated because of the stark reality that the black man has been robbed of his manhood. The man of colour, Fanon strongly feels, has been cast

away into a zone of non-being as a result of the violence perpetuated by colonialism. Fanon's earnest attempt in BSWM is the liberation of the man of colour from himself. Neither does Fanon favour the man who adores the Negro, nor the man who abominates himself. Fanon claims that now that he is mature enough, he won't be carried away by passion when he speaks out the truths which he has been cherishing in his mind for some years. (Fanon was only 27 when he wrote Black Skin, White Masks). Such an attitude, Fanon believes, is imperative for a better understanding of the racial rigidity or what he calls "the dual narcissism" seen in the whites and the blacks (BSWM 10). Fanon further says that the white men consider themselves superior to the black men, and the black men want to prove to the white men the richness of their thoughts and the equal value of their intellect. He has the strong conviction that only through a psychoanalytical interpretation of the racial issues can he be able to evolve a new humanism. Fanon believes that the inferiority complex enforced on the Negro is primarily on account of economic reasons. Another contemporary of Fanon, the Tunisian revolutionary thinker and intellectual, Albert Memmi also believed that the economic aspect of colonialism was fundamental to it. For, Memmi observes: "the idea of privilege is at the heart of the colonial relationship and that privilege is undoubtedly economic . . ." (Preface. Memmi xii). In other words, the basic motive of colonization is profit. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, who is very much influenced by Fanon's works, has more or less the

same view on the economic motive behind colonialism. For, Ngugi says, "The real aim of colonialism was to control the people's wealth . . ." (Ngugi 16). Walter Rodney, another writer equally influenced by Fanon, also believes that the European colonizers enslaved the Africans for economic reasons. According to Rodney, "European planters and miners enslaved the Africans primarily for economic reasons, so that their labour power could be exploited" (How Europe Underdeveloped Africa 99). Rodney further says that oppression follows logically from exploitation, so as to guarantee the latter. Rodney, like Fanon, believes that the race question is subsidiary to the class question in politics, and he emphatically says that "to think of imperialism in terms of race is disastrous" (Rodney 100). The psychological reasons, in this case, are of secondary importance. Unlike the nineteenth century psychoanalysts and Freud, who stressed phylogenic and ontogenic perspectives respectively, Fanon approached the individual and racial problems through a sociogenic perspective. In other words, the entire issue, as far as Fanon is concerned, is "a question of a socio-diagnostic" (BSWM 11).

In the first three chapters of BSWM, Fanon deals with the modern Negro. The modern Negro, Fanon asserts, has two selves – the self that he evinces when he speaks with his fellows, and the other self is evident when he speaks to the white man. Fanon is sure that "this self-division is a direct result of colonial subjugation" (BSWM 17). The ability to speak a language manifests a culture. Now that the Negro of

Antilles has mastered the French language, the oppressor's language, he/she is whiter in proportion to his/her mastery of that language. For, Fanon says, "Mastery of a language affords remarkable power" (BSWM 18). He goes a step further and adds that every colonized people finds itself face to face with the language of the colonizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The erasing of the cultural originality of the oppressed by creating in them an inferiority complex has been the reason for such an impasse. Fanon illustrates this point further saying that the Antillean who has mastered the colonizer's language, is "inordinately feared" in Antilles because "he is almost white"; whereas, in France he is admired, for, "He talks like a book" (BSWM 20-21). When the black man of Antilles, who has lived in France for a considerable period, returns to his native land, one can notice a radical change not only in his language but in his entire behaviour too. He no longer greets his native friend or relative with the wide sweep of the arm; instead he bows slightly. Fanon further clarifies this change of attitude in the Antillean by citing a story from the folklore of Antilles. The story is that of a country boy who returns to Martinique after several months of stay in France. At home, when he makes it out that he has forgotten the name of a farm-implement, his father 'replies' by dropping the implement on the boy's feet, and the "amnesia vanishes". Fanon calls this "remarkable therapy" (BSWM 23-24). The middle-class of Antilles refuses to speak Creole except to their servants. The middleclass

mothers of Antilles are very particular that their children must speak the French man's French, the *French* (emphasis mine).

The native of Martinique arriving in France becomes very self-conscious about his diction. Fanon is of the view that there are definite reasons behind this apparent change in the Negro who comes to France. It is from France that the Negro of Martinique has acquired knowledge of philosophers like Montesquieu, Rousseau and Voltaire. One can discern two groups of people among the Martinicans who return home from France: those who speak only in French (the alienated or duped blacks), and those who even after mastering French, speak to their natives in Creole when the occasion demands it. What Fanon tries to do in Black Skin, White Masks is to "help the black man to free himself from the arsenal of complexes that has been developed by the colonial environment" (BSWM 30). Fanon has the strong conviction that there has been an 'unconscious' move on the part of certain whites to classify, imprison, primitivize, and to decivilize the Negro. The portrayal of Negro stereotypes in picture magazines and films with a view to make out that the Negro has no culture, makes the Negro angry. The Negro is conditioned to believe that he has no culture, no civilization, no historical past. As Fidel Castro observes, imperialism will use "all its might and force to keep away anything that stands in its way and culture is one of those things very much in its way" (On Imperialist Globalization 88). It is on account of the colonizer's negative attitude towards the Negro's

culture that the Negro strives to prove that there exists a black civilization. Fanon's attempt in BSWM is to teach the Negroes not to be the slaves of their archetypes. In other words, what Fanon attempts in BSWM is "the disalienation of the black man" (BSWM 38).

In quite clear and specific terms Fanon highlights why the Negro has to master the oppressor's language. To acquire the ability to speak a language is gaining mastery over the "cultural tool that language is", as Fanon puts it (BSWM 38). Aime Cesaire, Fanon's teacher, and the well-known orator of Antilles had proved in his election campaign in 1945 that the eloquence of the Negro, who has mastered this 'cultural tool' called language, would leave the Europeans breathless. For, a European woman apparently fainted on account of the excitement caused by the refined style of Cesaire's speech in impeccable French. It was a specific instance of "seizing the language of the centre, and replacing it in a discourse fully adapted to the colonized people", to use the words of the authors of The Empire Writes Back (Ashcroft 2002, 37). In Fanon's case, as Renate Zahar observes, "the necessity of expressing oneself in the colonial language turns out to be a virtue" (Zahar 47). The Antillean Negro wants to speak French because, to quote Fanon, "it is the key that can open doors which were still barred to him" (BSWM 38). It may be noted that Fanon did make use of this cultural tool in a very effective manner in The Wretched of the Earth, and thus proved the power of language.

In the second chapter of BSWM Fanon illustrates to what extent authentic love will remain unattainable in the relation between the woman of colour and the white man. Unless one purges oneself of inferiority complex, one cannot enjoy the bliss of authentic love. Fanon elucidates this point citing fictional and real life characters. Citing the autobiographical novels of Mayotte Capecia of Martinique, Fanon makes it clear that the women of colour are never respectable in the white man's eyes. The coloured woman's earnest desire to embrace whiteness ends up in eventual frustration. By citing the works of Mayotte Capecia, Fanon once again underscores his earnest conviction that historically, inferiority has been felt economically. As the heroine of the novel *je suis Martiniquaise* observes, "One is white above certain financial level." (Quoted in BSWM 44 from Mayotte Capecia's *je suis Martiniquaise*). Apart from whiteness, Capecia has been motivated by the mansions of Didier, the center of the richest people in Martinique. Fanon wants to drive home the fact that white love is beyond the reach of the coloured women of all nations. The coloured people's eagerness to embrace whiteness has been described by Fanon as "lactification" (BSWM 47). That this eagerness to embrace whiteness at any cost has been felt by the coloured people is borne out by the observations of Albert Memmi and Eldridge Cleaver. As Memmi observes, "The first attempt of the colonized is to change his condition by changing his skin" (Memmi 120). By copying everything about the colonizer, the colonized eventually tears away from his/her

true self. The desperate attempts made by the Negro women to uncurl their hair (which keeps curling back), and torturing their skin to make it a little whiter are the other attempts at lactification resorted to by the coloured people, according to Memmi. Eldridge Cleaver, in his autobiographical book, Soul on Ice tells that the white woman occupied a peculiarly prominent place in the frames of references of himself and his friends. In the psyche of the colonized individual even rape was “an insurrectionary act” (Cleaver 14), and the coloured man is very delighted when he defiles the white women, because he is “very resentful over the historical fact of how the white man has used the black woman” (Cleaver 14). Fanon tells us that even among students who have been educated in France this desire for lactification, or to have “whiteness at any price” (BSWM 49) persists. Commenting on Capecia’s ‘achievements’ as a novelist, Fanon says that, “all the Negroes whom she describes are in one way or other, either semi-criminals or “sho’ good” *niggers* (Fanon’s emphasis BSWM 52-53).

The attitude of the mulatto woman towards the black man is worse than the attitude of the white man towards the woman of colour. Fanon emphasizes this idea by quoting from Abdoulaye Sadjji’ story, *Nini*. In spite of the fact that Mactar the Negro makes himself the slave of Nini, the mulatto woman of St. Louis, to win her love, she and her fellow mulattoes consider the move of Mactar as a gesture of “utmost insolence”, a grievous offence which warrants castration (BSWM 56). Being a mulatto, Nini considers herself as an “almost

white" woman (BSWM 55). On the other hand when a white man formally requests a mulatto to marry him, the mulatto society enthusiastically looks upon this gesture as a mulatto woman joining the white world. Fanon believes that the Negro woman and the mulatto woman through their frantic attempt to embrace 'whiteness', are feigning to understand the "proofs of a genuine black aesthetic" (BSWM 58). This attitude is all the more professed in the case of the mulatto students who consider Negro men as either "lacking refinement" or having "ugliness" (BSWM 58). Fanon's argument is that the aspiration of the Negro woman to win whiteness can be traced back to inferiority complex. What aids the Negro woman to materialize her aspiration, according to Fanon, is "affective erethism" (BSWM 60). In the relationship between the woman of colour and the white man, both are enslaved by inferiority and superiority complexes respectively. Fanon is of the view that the superiority complex of the white, and the desire in certain Negroes that the white man should be made to adopt a Negro attitude to them are to be condemned.

After having dealt in detail about the relationship between the woman of colour and the white man, Fanon analyses what happens when the man is black and the woman is white. In this instance, the principal characters of a seemingly autobiographical novel of Rene`Maran are analyzed. Jean Veneuse, though born in Antilles, has had his education in Bordeaux (France), and is now holding a supervisory post in Bordeaux. So, virtually he is a European; but he is

a black. He has a feeling that the Europeans ignore and repudiate him. Being a voracious reader, Jean Veneuse befriended the well-known writers and philosophers of the world from his school days onwards. His association with 'dead' and 'absent' writers (BSWM 65) has helped him a lot in forgetting his orphan-like lonely life, especially during vacations, in the provincial boarding school in Bordeaux. He knows that the Negro is a man like the rest of the people, and that he is the equal of others. But, curiously enough, when he falls in love with Andree Marielle, he is "incapable of escaping his race" (BSWM 67). This traumatic state is caused by his strong belief that the white race would not accept him as one of its own; and the black would virtually repudiate him. He has a strange notion that 'when a man loves he must not speak' (qtd in BSWM 67 from Rene` Maran). Andree Marielle loves Jean Veneuse without any reserve. But, it is very difficult to convince him of this fact. Jean Veneuse's bosom friend Coulanges assures him that for all practical purposes he is a European. He further tells him that unlike other Negroes, he is "extremely brown" (BSWM 69), implying that European education and culture have brought about a colour change in him. In spite of this assurance Jean Veneuse is not convinced. For, when he is face to face with Andree again, he takes refuge in silence. Fanon's conclusion in this case is that Jean Veneuse is a neurotic, and that "his colour is only an attempt to explain his psychic structure" (BSWM 78). Jean in fact fails to stand up to the world. "Abandonment neurosis" (BSWM

76) is the term which Fanon has borrowed from Germaine Guex to describe the state of mind of Jean Veneuse. Through out his life, Jean has been cherishing the feeling that he was abandoned by his mother to be apprenticed to loneliness in a provincial boarding school in France. Like all abandonment neurotics, Jean also demands proof of the love of Andree. He is still under the hangover of his neglect (abandonment) in childhood days, when he desired the tenderness of others, including his mother. That is why Jean finds it very difficult to reciprocate the love of Andree frankly. By downplaying his worth and ability, Jean is evincing his "Cinderella complex", as Fanon puts it (BSWM 77). By analyzing the story of Jean Veneuse, Fanon is trying his best to make the man of colour understand that certain psychological elements are responsible for his alienation from his fellow Negroes. Fanon was confident that a healthy encounter between black and white was possible. Fanon's exhortation to the man of colour is to try to formulate a healthy outlook on the world. The Negro should not regard his colour as a flaw. Such an outlook, Fanon feels, is imperative for the restructuring of the world.

While analyzing the book of Dominique O Mannoni, Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization, Fanon quite honestly acknowledges the fact that Mannoni is a writer who has grasped the psychological phenomena that govern the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. Fanon calls this book 'dangerous', and later tells us why he differs from Mannoni. While endorsing the view

of Mannoni that “the white colonial is motivated only by his desire to put an end to a feeling of unsatisfaction” (BSWM 84), Fanon disapproves of Mannoni’s argument that ‘inferiority complex’ is an inborn trait of the Malagasy (the citizen of Madagascar). In other words, Fanon rejects Mannoni’s contention that the inferiority complex of the Malagasy is something which antedates colonialism.

Fanon wonders how, Mannoni could be objective in delineating the man of colour confronting the white man. Fanon’s unmistakable honesty is quite evident when he says that “it is not possible for me to be objective” (BSWM 86). He has the strong opinion that all racisms show the “bankruptcy of man” (BSWM 86). He further rejects the argument of Mannoni that colonial exploitation is not the same as other forms of exploitations, and adds that “all forms of exploitations resemble one another” (BSWM 88). Man being the object of these exploitations, Fanon’s prime task is that of “restoring man to his proper place” (BSWM 88). He emphatically argues that “colonial racism is no different from any other racism” (BSWM 88), and that he will be committing “metaphysical guilt” – a term which he borrows from Jaspers – if he remains silent. But, unlike Jaspers, Fanon does not see any role for God in the task of restoring man to his ‘proper place’. For man’s obligation and responsibility towards the fellow man does not stem from God. The remarkable influence of Aime Cesaire on Fanon is conspicuous, when he disapproves of Mannoni’s argument that European civilization was not responsible for colonial racism. In

fact, every European is responsible for the racism perpetuated in the guise of a benevolent colonialism. And, Fanon further says that, “the feeling of inferiority of the colonized is the correlative to the European’s feeling of superiority” (BSWM 93). In other words, Fanon courageously asserts that “*It is the racist who creates his inferior*” (BSWM 93 Fanon’s emphasis), just as “it is the anti-Semite who *makes the Jew*” (qtd. in BSWM 93 from Sartre’s Anti-Semite and the Jew). “Racism”, as Sartre observes, “is ingrained in the actions, institutions, and in the nature of the colonialist methods of production and exchange” (Introduction. Memmi xxiv). Albert Memmi also opines that “racism is part of colonialism through out the world” (Memmi 69-70). In Memmi’s opinion, racism sums up and symbolizes the fundamental relation which unites the colonialist and the colonized. He further observes that racism is “a consubstantial part of colonialism” (Memmi 74). Memmi, like Fanon, denounces the moral and cultural mission of colonialism, in pungent language. Though Memmi does not pinpoint Mannoni, when he speaks of the myth fabricated by the colonized, he has in mind Mannoni’s book. Mannoni’s book is a specific example of the buttress myth fabricated by the colonized in support of the myths of colonization propagated by the colonizers. Memmi’s virtuous task, like Fanon, is that of “debunking the myth of colonization” (Preface. Memmi xv). Benevolent colonialism is only a myth, for, as Memmi observes, “humanitarian romanticism is looked upon in the colonies as a serious illness, the

worst of all dangers” (Memmi 21). Walter Rodney further confirms this view. Rodney is of the opinion that the racist theory of the inferiority of the black man was one of the pretexts for lowering the wages of the black people. All these observations substantiate Fanon’s contention that racism is one of the instruments of cultural degradation. But Mannoni says that the Malagasy has “no choice save between inferiority and dependence” (BSWM 93). Mannoni makes it out that the arrival of the Europeans, strangers from the sea, bearing wondrous gifts with them, was unconsciously expected by the natives of the different countries of the world. In other words, the white man comes with an “authority complex”, and the Malagasies (and the other colonized peoples) obey a “dependency complex” (BSWM 99). Fanon pooh-poohs Mannoni’s contention that the colonizer has a “Prospero complex” (BSWM 107). He further calls in question the argument that the “paternalist colonial” (BSWM 107) finds it very difficult to discipline his urge to dominate. But, Fanon is of the strong view that the racist society derives its stability from the perpetuation of inferiority complex in the colonized. The unconscious wish of the colonized to become white is generated by this inferiority complex. Fanon’s task is to make the Negro conscious of his unconscious desire, and to help him abandon his attempt at “hallucinatory whitening’ (BSWM 100). Fanon’s ultimate aim is a change in the social structure itself.

Fanon, who has had ample opportunities to understand the predicament of the black man on account of his colour, speaks of the objectifying tactics of the white man. The culture of the colonized is being wiped out as it is in conflict with a culture that has been imposed on him. Fanon reminds the black man that however best he tries to throw away "the burden of that corporeal malediction" (BSWM 111), he will not be able to achieve this unless he understands the historical and social schema behind colour prejudice. Over the years the white man has come out with several anecdotes and stories to make it out that the man of colour is a symbol of evil. As the white man repeatedly refuses to acknowledge the worth of the coloured man, he has no other option but to assert his blackness. In other words, Fanon tells the Negro that he is no longer the slave of his own appearance. A black man who tries to run away from his existential condition of blackness manifests alienation. For Fanon, alienation is always a pathological condition. In fact, alienation is another word for assimilation. In other words, alienation is the condition of the separation of the individual from his individuality, his culture, or his existential condition. Physical violence, political oppression, economic deprivation, and social and cultural degradation are the real reasons behind colonial alienation. The predicament of the Negro is that however best he tries to rationalize the world, the world rejects him on the basis of colour prejudice. Fanon's comment on this trauma is that

“for a man whose only weapon is reason, there is nothing more neurotic than contact with unreason” (BSWM 118).

Fanon’s subjective approach to the problems faced by the man of colour has helped him to ‘rediscover’ the valid historic past of the man of colour. The substantiation of this argument has been made beforehand by white scholars who delved into the antiquity of the black man. Fanon makes special mention of the contributions done in this regard by Frobenius, Westermann, and Delafosse – all white scholars (BSWM 130). It is now sure that the black man is not a primitive as the whites make it out. What is more, his ancestors were “gentlemen, polite, considerate, unquestionably superior to those who tortured them”, as Aime Cesaire observes (qtd. in BSWM 130 from Cesaire’s introduction to Victor Schoelcher’s *Esclavage et Colonisation*). Thus Fanon succeeds in the demystification of the “Negro myth” as propagated by the whites. Fanon’s attempt is to prove that Negro civilization is one among the numerous civilizations the world has witnessed and experienced. It is this realization of a pre-existing culture which will be the torch with which the black man will burn down the world, make history. He outrightly rejects the view of Jean Paul Sartre that “the Negro . . . creates an anti-racist racism for himself” (qtd. in BSWM 132 from the preface to *Orphee Noir* xi). Fanon regrets that “the friend of the coloured peoples”, Sartre, fails to render the much sought after help (BSWM 133). It is this attitude of Sartre

that draws Fanon more and more towards Aime Cesaire, the exponent of “negritude”.

“Negritude”, as Aime Cesaire observes, was really the resistance of the Negro against the politics of assimilation. It was the violent affirmation of the defiant will of the Negroes. It was, in fact, “. . . a militant metropolitan diasporic anti-colonial radicalism . . . which would enable African colonized subjects to transform themselves from the object status of abject deculturalization to which they had been reduced” as Robert J. C. Young observes (“Sartre: the ‘African Philosopher’”. Preface. Colonialism and Neocolonialism By Sartre vii-xxiv). In short, ‘negritude’ is the celebration of black authenticity, the first step towards disalienation. For, Fanon says, “I need to lose myself completely in negritude. One day, perhaps, in the depths of that unhappy romanticism . . . .” (BSWM 135). It is from the depth of this unhappy romanticism that the black consciousness emerges. For Fanon says, “My Negro consciousness does not hold itself out as a lack. It is. It is its own flower (Fanon’s emphasis BSWM 135). In this black consciousness, coupled with the rhythm of the Negro art and the accompanying tom-tom one can see the germ of a black aesthetic, later developed by the Afro-American poets and playwrights. In short, Fanon proudly says that the Negro is no longer the slave of his appearance.

According to Fanon, “a normal child that has grown up in a normal family will be a normal man” (BSWM 142). But, in the case of

the Negro child, he says, this assumption is not at all true. For, he adds, "A normal Negro child, having grown up within a normal family, will become abnormal on the slightest contact with the white world" (BSWM 143). Fanon is of the view that "the abnormal man is he who demands, who appeals, who begs" (BSWM 142). Fanon, for the time being, calls this abnormality "psychic trauma", a term he borrowed from Freud. He asserts in unquestionable terms that this traumatism in the Negro child occurs in his/her formative period. Because, in childhood, the Negro child, especially of Antilles is introduced to the games and illustrated magazines which are organized by the white man for the white child. "In the magazines," Fanon observes, "the Wolf, the Devil, the Evil Spirit, the Bad Man, and the Savage are always symbolized by Negroes or Indians" (BSWM 146). Thus colonial alienation is brought about in the Negro child by dissociating himself/herself from his/her natural and social environment. Moreover, the teaching of history, geography, music etc. in the colonial system of education is based on the concepts of Europe as the centre of the world. Similarly, the aggressive tendencies of childhood are given outlet through games organized in schools. As the games and magazines are primarily meant to cater to the interests of the white children, the Negro children too are forced to indulge in what Fanon calls "the collective catharsis" (BSWM 145). In a broader sense, "the white family is the workshop in which one is shaped and trained for life in society" (BSWM 149). In Fanon's view, the establishment of

childhood magazines, especially for the Negro children, and the publication of history texts for them, at least during their formative period, are imperative to avoid the possibility of "psychic trauma" in the Negro children. Albert Memmi is also of the view that, generally speaking, the heritage of a people is bequeathed and recorded in their history. But, curiously enough, the history that the colonized children learn from their class rooms is not their own history. As Walter Rodney remarks, "to be colonized is to be removed from history" (Rodney 246). This is equally true in the case of the literature, art and philosophy the colonized children are taught as they grow up. What they learn is the history, literature, art and philosophy of the colonizer in the colonizer's language. This in turn creates in the children, what Memmi terms, "linguistic dualism" (Memmi 106). Hence bilingualism becomes a necessity as far as the colonized children are concerned.

Fanon has the strong conviction that psychoanalysts like Freud, Adler and Jung did not take into consideration the Negro in their investigation. He is of the view that the cultural situation in which an individual lives is very decisive in shaping his or her personality. That is why he comes to the conclusion that "every neurosis, every abnormal manifestation, every affective erethism in an Antillean is the product of his cultural situation" (BSWM 152). Herein lies the importance of Aime Cesaire's concept of 'negritude'. Whatever may be the impact of the cultural imposition on the Negro, he cannot

negate the fact that he is a Negro. For, as Fanon puts it, “wherever he goes the Negro remains a Negro” (BSWM 173).

Fanon once again highlights the need to restructure the world to bring about a true culture. Then only one can think of speaking about a Black genius. Being a psychoanalyst, Fanon’s first step in this direction is to expose the hollowness implied in Jung’s concept of the “collective unconscious”. The “collective unconscious”, Fanon asserts, is not dependent on cerebral heredity (as Jung defines it), but “it is the result of . . . the un-reflected imposition of a culture” (BSWM 191). In other words, the collective unconscious is purely and simply the sum of prejudices, myths, collective attitudes of a given group. Fanon makes his point specific when he says that “the collective unconscious is cultural, which means acquired” (BSWM 188). He shares the view of Jung that in order to grasp certain psychic realities one has to go back to the childhood of the concerned individuals. But the mistake committed by Jung, according to Fanon, is that he went back to the childhood of Europe, instead of going back to the childhood of the world at large. The result is that in the collective unconscious of the European, the Negro symbolizes evil, sin, wretchedness, death, war and famine. Hence, Fanon says, there is no wonder in the Antillean (on whom the European cultural imposition has been done) partaking the same collective unconscious as the European. Fanon further adds that “through the collective unconscious the Antillean has taken over all the archetypes belonging to the European” (BSWM 191). In short,

the black Antillean is a slave of this cultural imposition. It is when the Antillean is twenty years old that he recognizes that he is living in error. In Fanon's view, by the age of twenty, the collective unconscious has been more or less lost or resistant at least to being raised to the conscious level. At this stage the Antillean recognizes the fact that he is a Negro. In his collective unconscious black for him symbolized ugliness, sin, darkness and immorality. Thus, Fanon observes, "cultural imposition is easily accomplished in Martinique" (BSWM 193). The ambiguity in which the Negro has to live hereafter is what Fanon calls "psychopathology" (BSWM 192), a term perhaps stronger than "psychic trauma". The Antillean realizes that he cannot achieve a white totality however best he tries to be white. Fanon very well knows that the blame for the baser drives and impulses of any individual has to be shouldered by the entire culture, not the individual alone. But in reality, this 'collective guilt' as Fanon calls it, is being borne by the 'scapegoat', namely, the Negro. The only solution for this impasse as far the Negro is concerned, Fanon thinks, is "to rise above this absurd drama that others have staged" around the Negro (BSWM 197). In other words, the Negro has to come out of his 'black hole' from which will come "the great Negro cry with such force that the pillars of the world will be shaken by it" (BSWM 199). The ultimate aim of Fanon is to lead the Negro "on the road to disalienation" (BSWM 184).

Fanon observes that the sense of insecurity experienced by the individuals should not be attributed to individual psychology only, as

Adler would have it. That this is especially true of the Antillean Negroes is driven home by Fanon's study. According to Fanon, all Antilleans suffer from a feeling of inferiority. An analysis of the social structure is imperative for a better understanding of such a situation. For, Fanon says, if there is a taint, it lies not in the 'soul' of the individual, but rather in the environment. Being a Martinican by birth, Fanon knows that the cultural environment has made the Antilleans 'inferior' to the European. In other words, the colonizers have imposed a sense of inferiority in the colonized. That is why he pooh-poohs the arguments of Mannoni and Adler to the effect that the Martinicans have an indisputable complex of dependence on the white man.

After having rejected the arguments of Adler, Fanon analyses the attitude of Hegel towards the Negro. Hegel is of the opinion that man's individual effort to impose his existence on another man, and the eventual recognition of each other's being makes man human. In other words there must be absolute reciprocity in the relationship between man and man. Fanon further clarifies this point quoting from Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind: "Action from one side only would be useless, because what is to happen can only be brought about by means of both" (BSWM 217). Fanon makes a clear differentiation between this reciprocal relationship and the concession being granted to the slave by his master. In the latter case, what the master wants from the slave is not recognition, but work. Hence the master's

concession to the Negro. In this instance, Fanon extols the fighting spirit of the American Negro. Whatever the American Negro has achieved so far is the result of his fighting spirit. And when the colonized fights, that fight has a boomerang effect. For, as Albert Memmi observes, "The colonized fights in the name of the very values of the colonizer, uses his techniques of thought and his methods of combat" (Memmi 129). Memmi adds that the colonizer can understand only this kind of action. And this action of the colonized is the expression of his self-realization. While responding positively to life, love and generosity, Fanon observes, man has to develop the guts to say "NO to the scorn of man, NO to the degradation of man, NO to the exploitation of man, NO to the butchery of what is most human in man: freedom" (BSWM 222).

While speaking about the quest for disalienation, Fanon opines that there is a remarkable difference in this regard between the well-educated intellectuals and the ordinary labourers. In the case of the educated intellectuals the alienation is intellectual in nature, whereas, in the case of ordinary labourers, "it is a question of a victim of a system based on the exploitation of a given race by another" (BSWM 224). Fanon does not think that appeals to reason or to respect for human dignity can alter reality. As far as the Negro is concerned the only way disalienation is possible is to fight against exploitation, misery and hunger. In this context Fanon says that "Intellectual alienation is a creation of middle-class society" (BSWM 224). And,

according to Fanon, “middle class society is any society that becomes rigidified in pre-determined forms, forbidding all evolution, all gains, all progress, all discovery” (BSWM 224). He describes middle-class society further as “a society in which life has no taste, in which the air is tainted, in which ideas and men are corrupt” (BSWM 224). In Fanon’s opinion, a man who takes a stand against this rigidity is in a sense a revolutionary.

Even while validating a very good historic past, Fanon does not want the Negro to be a slave of the past. Fanon does not have in mind the revival of a dead society. It is a non-racial society, “a society rich with all the productive power of modern times, warm with all the fraternity of olden days” as envisaged by Fanon’s teacher, Aime Cesaire (Discourse 52). Fanon is quite sure that only those Negroes and white men “who refuse to let themselves be sealed away in the materialized Tower of the Past” (BSWM 226) will be disalienated. In quite emphatic terms Fanon says that he does not want to exalt the past at the expense of his present and his future. He cites the heroic fight of the Vietnamese adolescents of the Resistance Movement to highlight this point. For, he says, “The Vietnamese who die before the firing squads are not hoping that their sacrifice will bring about the reappearance of a past. It is for the sake of the present and of the future that they are willing to die” (BSWM 227). Fanon is not “a prisoner of history” (BSWM 229). Moreover, his strong conviction is that “the real *leap* consists in introducing invention into existence”

(BSWM 229). In other words, he is “not the slave of the Slavery that dehumanized” his ancestors (BSWM 230). Fanon stresses the need to spoil all the attempts to encase man, for, as he asserts, it is man’s “destiny to be set free” (BSWM 230). Everyone, irrespective of the fact that he or she is a Negro or a white, who has “contributed to the victory of the dignity of the spirit” and “said no to an attempt to subjugate his fellows” can feel himself or herself as disalienated individual (BSWM 226). Fanon says that he is even ready to sacrifice his life for upholding two or three truths. For, he says, “I undertake to face the possibility of annihilation in order that two or three truths may cast their eternal brilliance over the world” (BSWM 228). (It is generally believed that the CIA and some other agencies conspired against Fanon that he was not given timely medical care, and that resulted in his untimely death. He was annihilated indeed). What Fanon demands from the white is humane behaviour. Fanon’s exhortation to humanity at large is to love the fellow beings. The enslavement of man by man has to cease forever, Fanon says. The Negro and the white, Fanon entreats, must turn their backs on inhuman voices which were those of their respective ancestors, in order that authentic communication is possible. In other words, “freedom requires an effort at disalienation” (BSWM 231) before it can adopt a positive voice.

What Fanon has been trying to drive home is that normal relationship between Blacks and Whites can be possible only if both

Blacks and Whites succeed in disalienating themselves from their inferiority and superiority complexes respectively. In The Wretched of the Earth, Fanon ultimately succeeds in fulfilling his earnest desire of “restoring man to his proper place” (BSWM 88).

## Chapter 5

### **The Sociological and Scientific Analysis of Colonialism**

This chapter analyzes how far Fanon has succeeded in evaluating colonialism and its impact on society at large in a sociological and scientific perspective. This analysis is based primarily on Fanon's book, Toward the African Revolution, a collection of the political essays, articles and notes written by him from 1952 to 1961.

Fanon believed that the struggle of the colonized all over the world has a common nature. He begins his analysis of colonialism emphasizing the fact that "man is constantly a challenge to himself" (TAR 3). A person who adopts a very passive attitude to the developments taking place around him/her is contributing to an "impoverishment of human reality" (TAR 3). Fanon enlists three 'popular' theses of his times, and tells us in detail the reality behind these theses. The first thesis is that the behaviour of the North African often causes a medical staff to have misgivings as to the reality of his illness. As "the past for him is a burning past" (TAR 4), the North African never tries to speak about the past symptoms of the disease when the doctor questions him. The doctor has to make a "diagnosis of probability", and, in turn, he proposes "an approximate therapy" (TAR 5). The patient has a strong feeling that it is because he is an Arab that the doctor does not treat him like others.

The second thesis is that the North African does not come with a substratum, common to his race, but a foundation built by the European (pre-existing framework). The cardinal feature of the North African symptom is that the North African fancies himself/herself to be ill, and so, the Arab is a pseudo-invalid. Every Arab is a person who suffers from 'an imaginary ailment'.

The third thesis concerns with the necessity of making a situational diagnosis. The doctor who treats a patient (especially a North African), has to find out the patient's relationship with his/her associates, occupations and preoccupations, sexuality, sense of security or insecurity, the dangers that threaten him/her, etc. In other words, one must make a situational diagnosis. Fanon responds to this thesis citing all the limitations of the North African patient. As the patient is alone, he/she has no associates. The patient busies himself/herself looking for work; the patient has no occupation. The word 'preoccupation' does not exist at all in the North African's language. The North African's sexuality means 'rape' and 'prostitution'. Above all the North African is in a perpetual state of insecurity "a multisegmented insecurity", as Fanon calls it (TAR 12). While speaking of security, Fanon remarks that "threatened in his affectivity, threatened in his social activity, threatened in his membership in the community – the North African combines all the conditions that make a sick man" (TAR 13). In short, the North African leads a death-in-life existence.

The Arab has been branded as a thief, and the Arabs in general are looked upon as a do-nothing race. Fanon strongly finds fault with the colonizer for having put the Arab in such a sorry predicament. Over the years the European colonizer has succeeded in 'thingifying' the Arab, and the European racist humanism has been responsible for this. As Richard Schmitt observes, "Objectification is what racism is all about: exclusion, infantilization, ridicule, scapegoating, violence, exploitation are only so many means to the final goal of objectification" ("Racism and Objectification: Reflections on Themes from Fanon". in Lewis R. Gordon et al ed. Fanon: A Critical Reader 35-50). Schmitt further says that in reality objectification is not really turning people into things, for, that cannot be done. But the colonizers are 'pretending' that the colonized people are things, and in turn they are forcing the colonized to accept that pretense. The maintenance of this pretense was a prerequisite for colonialism to thrive ("Racism and Objectification"). Aime Cesaire observes that as far as the colonizer was concerned, colonization was only a "bridgehead in a campaign to civilize barbarism" (Discourse 40). Cesaire equates colonialism with "thingification" (Discourse 42). According to Fanon, The essence of the North African has been emptied out by the colonizer. And, how can existence precede without essence? Unless the inhuman attitudes of the French colonizer towards the North African were fought, unless the condescending ways of speech were ruled out, unless the colonized man was humanized, the North African predicament would

not improve. Fanon's admonition to the French colonizer was to "reclaim" the colonized man so that the colonizer would be able to reclaim the man that was in him. For, as Aime Cesaire observes, colonialism has a boomerang effect on the colonizer, and to ease his conscience, the colonizer "gets into the habit of seeing the other man as *an animal*, accustoms himself to treating him like an animal" (Discourse 41).

While discussing the problems of the West Indian Africans, instead of calling the people of Africa and West Indies Negro people, Fanon called them the African people, and the West Indian people respectively. This was because Fanon felt that the pressing problems these people faced were not racial, but economic. "Questions of race," according to Fanon, "are but a superstructure, a mantle, an obscure ideological emanation concealing an economic reality" (TAR 18). It was on account of the economic oppression meted out to the colonized that the colonizer enjoyed a very high standard of living. For, as Renate Zahar remarks, the higher the standard of living of the colonizer, the lower the standard of living of the colonized. She further says that "the more deeply the colonizer breathes the more the other suffocates" (Zahar 20). Walter Rodney believed that the economic reason was the predominant factor behind colonialism. According to Rodney, the European planters and miners enslaved the Africans for economic reasons, so that the labour power could be exploited to the maximum. Rodney substantiates his argument quoting from C.R.L. James, the

noted Pan-African and Marxist: "The race question is subsidiary to the class question in politics, and to think of imperialism in terms of race is disastrous" (Rodney 100). Ngugi wa Thiong'o also expresses a more or less identical view on the economic aspect of colonialism. Ngugi believes, "The real aim of colonialism was to control the people's wealth: what they produced, how they produced it, and how it was distributed; to control, in other words, the entire realm of the language of real life" (Ngugi 16). Albert Memmi too has the strong conviction that "the economic aspect of colonialism is fundamental" (Preface. Memmi xii). The idea of privilege, which was at the heart of colonial relationship, was undoubtedly economic. Memmi adds that the basic motive of colonialism was profit (Preface. Memmi xii).

Fanon believed that in the West Indies, irony was a mechanism of defense against neurosis. If in Europe it was irony which protected against existential anguish, in Martinique, it protected against the awareness of negritude, and its impact on the West Indian. For the West Indian never considered himself a Negro; he identified himself with the European till Aime Cesaire boldly declared that 'black is beautiful'. Before the Second World War every West Indian (though he/she was a black) thought of himself/herself as superior to the African. In other words the West Indians thought that they were Europeans, and the Africans were Negroes. Curiously enough, the white man justified the West Indian's contempt for the African Negro. It was in 1939 that the West Indian claimed and proclaimed himself a

Negro. Fanon tells us that three events occurred successively to bring about this radical change in the West Indian. The first of these events was the simple announcement of a secondary school teacher, Aime Cesaire to the West Indian society "that it is fine and good to be a Negro" (TAR 21).

Cesaire's glorification of the Negro is now known by the term "Negritude", a word he coined in a passionate tract against the politics of assimilation. (Assimilation, in this context, can be briefly described as turning an African into a Frenchman, with black skin). Besides Cesaire, the Guianan poet Leon Damas, and the Senegalese poet and politician, Leopold Senghor, were the exponents of 'Negritude'. Even while glorifying the Negro culture, Cesaire never called for a return to pre-colonial Africa. His concept of 'Negritude' was future-oriented and modern. All the same, 'Negritude' was the violent affirmation of the defiant will of the Negroes. As Renate Zahar observes, Aime Cesaire gives passionate expression to his feeling of revolt against political and cultural domination in the following lines: "Take me as I am, I don't adapt to you! /I accept. I accept . . . totally, /without reserve . . ." (qtd. in Zahar 60).

The downfall of France in the Second World War, and the eventual occupation of the West Indies for four years by the French fleet numbering nearly ten thousand soldiers, was the second event which had a radical influence on the West Indian Negro. The French soldiers as authentic racists began to ill-treat the natives. It was then,

to quote Fanon, "the West Indian underwent his first metaphysical experience" (TAR 23). It was Aime Cesaire's leadership which at that juncture gave courage for the West Indians to defend themselves. The West Indians realized the need to entirely recast their world and to valorize their colour. The remarkable event about which Fanon speaks of is that of West Indies becoming a Free French colony in 1943. The demonstrations organized to celebrate this event in July-August 1943 was the consequence of the birth of the proletariat. After 1945 it was in the direction of Africa that the West Indians put out their feelers. From 1945 onwards, the West Indians in France also were continually to recall that they were Negroes. In the realm of literature also there has taken place a radical change of outlook in the West Indian writers in general. Before the arrival of Cesaire, West Indian literature was a literature of the Europeans. In short, Fanon observes, "the West Indian, after the great White error, is now living in the great black mirage" (TAR 27). In fact, it was Cesaire who initiated the 'Black-consciousness Movement'.

In a speech delivered by Fanon in September 1956, before the First Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in Paris, he spoke at length about the concerted moves of the colonial racists to erase the culture of the colonized. Fanon had the strong view that the doctrine of cultural hierarchy as propounded by certain dominating groups in society was only one aspect of a systematized hierarchization implacably pursued. It is with the intention of deculturizing certain

people or community that some people came out with the theories of cultural hierarchy. This conscious attempt, Fanon believed, was a more gigantic work than economic and biological enslavement.

Through his analysis of racism and culture, Fanon has come to the conclusion that both these have a kind of reciprocal relationship. For, he says that "if culture is the combination of motor and mental behaviour patterns arising from the encounters of man with nature and with his fellow-man, it can be said that racism, is indeed a cultural element" (TAR 32). The main objective of racism is the systemized oppression of a people. Destruction of cultural values, ways of life, the devalorization of language, dress, and techniques were the measures of oppression made use of by racism.

In the initial phase of colonization the occupant establishes his domination, and massively affirms his superiority. Tortures, exploitation, raid and racism were resorted to make the native an object in the hands of the occupier. Fanon feels that "Vulgar racism in its biological form corresponds to the period of crude exploitation of man's arms and legs" (TAR 35). Fanon argues that the origin of the great Negro music "blues" can be traced back to racism. The "blues" or "the black slave lament" was first said to be offered up for the admiration of the oppressors. Fanon calls this "modicum of stylized oppression" (TAR 37). He further adds that "Without oppression, and without racism, you have no blues" (TAR 37). "The end of racism", Fanon believed, "would sound the knell of great Negro music. . ." (TAR

37). Fanon's attempt was to prove that racism was not an accidental discovery. Racism, the shameless exploitation of one group of men by another, was preceded by military and economic oppression. Fanon rejects the argument that racism is "a mental quirk" or "psychological flaw" (TAR 38). The oppressor through his authority succeeds in making the native make pejorative judgment with respect to his original forms of existing. Hence the native's alienation from his culture. The oppressor looks upon this phase as the phase of assimilation. The native is forced to admit that his misfortunes resulted directly from his racial and cultural characteristics. This in turn prompted him to adopt the oppressor's culture. Commenting on this development Fanon writes: "It is not possible to enslave men without logically making them inferior through and through. And racism is only the emotional, affective, sometimes intellectual explanation of this inferiorization" (TAR 40).

Fanon says that after the phase of deculturation, the inferiorized individual comes back to his original positions. He then becomes passionately attached to his former, abandoned, rejected and despised culture. Fanon calls this attachment "the craving for forgiveness", (TAR 41) and "a plunge into the chasm of the past" (TAR 43). Fanon's analysis of the relationship with racism and culture, and his portrayal of how the native re-discovers his original culture are quite remarkable indeed. His assessment becomes all the more laudable when he says that the occupant's now liberated culture and

the native's original culture collectively make the culture of the people. Thus, the two cultures can enrich each other. The concluding remark of Fanon on culture is all the more praiseworthy. For, he says, "universality resides in this decision to recognize and accept the reciprocal relativism of different cultures, once the colonial status is irreversibly excluded" (TAR 44). The observations made by Fanon on true culture, and his stress on the need for the reciprocal relationship among people at large, prove that he was an ideal world citizen, whom posterity could emulate. Six years after the death of Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, the President of Ghana, in a paper presented at the Cairo Seminar on "Africa: National and Social Revolution" in October 1967, stressed the importance of the reciprocal relationship of different cultures. For, Nkrumah observed: "When one society meets another, the observed historical trend is that acculturation results in balance of forward movement, a movement in which each society assimilates certain useful attributes of the other" ("African Socialism Revisited" in Africa: National and Social Revolution 96-92). Fidel Castro also has Fanon's universal vision when he speaks of culture. Castro is of the view that "The sum of all our cultures would make up one enormous culture and be a multiplication of all our cultures" (Castro 85). He further says that "Integration should not adversely affect, but rather enrich, the culture of every one of our countries" (Castro 85). In short, the observations on culture made by all the revolutionary leaders and thinkers since Fanon really endorsed his

universal vision in this regard. However, it is a pity that racism is even today prevalent not only in the African countries, but in the United States, which claims to be the world's largest and most transparent democracy. It is an appalling paradox that in the U.S. thousands of black people even now live under New York's bridges, wrapped in papers, while the so called 'American Citizens' amass enormous fortunes and live in aplenty. As Fidel Castro observes, "the number of those living under bridges, at the entrance of buildings or in slums is incomparably higher" in the U.S. He adds further: "In the United States millions live in critical poverty, something in which the fanatic advocates of the economic order imposed upon humanity cannot take pride" (Castro 37). It is by and large the people of the black community of America who undergo these kinds of hardships. Perhaps it is in the Bronx district that the impact of discrimination is most felt.

It may be borne in mind that it was Fanon's first hand experience with the inhuman and disastrous impact of colonialism which resulted in the eventual moulding of his concept of authentic decolonization. Fanon had come to Algeria on 23rd of November, 1953 as per the orders of the French government, for the specific purpose of taking up his assignment as psychiatrist in the Blida Hospital. After working in that hospital for three years, frightened on account of the magnitude of the alienation of the Algerian people, and realizing that in Algeria's European hospitals psychiatry was making the native

further alienated from his environment, Fanon submitted his resignation. In the letter of resignation Fanon had informed Lacoste, the French Minister in charge of Algerian affairs in unmistakable terms that systematized dehumanization has been going on in Algeria for years. Fanon further wrote to the minister that "The events in Algeria are the logical consequence of an abortive attempt to decerebralize a people" (TAR 53). Fanon's boldness in this regard further underscores his commitment for the cause of the oppressed. It may be borne in mind that on another occasion Fanon had justified the harshness of tone, and lack of beauty of his voice while talking about the rottenness of man.

Fanon's analysis of colonialism has revealed that the colonialists adopted stereotyped means to cling on to their respective colonies. During the initial stage of colonialism, the colonizers associated themselves with the "official collaborators and feudal elements" (TAR 57). This was true of all African countries except Algeria. Walter Rodney endorses Fanon's observations in this regard. According to Rodney, "One of the decisive features of the colonial system was the presence of Africans serving as economic, political and cultural agents of the European colonialists". He further says that "Those agents or 'compradors' were already serving European interests in the pre-colonial period" (Rodney 156). But in Algeria, the colonizers were totally disappointed and disillusioned by the attitude of the 'faithful and loyal' servants who declined the invitations of the colonizers. This

awareness of the “gigantic awakening of a people in arms” (TAR 58) prompted such a response from the collaborators. Having failed in their attempt, the French colonizers offered certain concessions like fighting poverty and solving the housing problem. This offer was given under the impression that there was nothing called Algerian national consciousness as such, and that the promise of improvement in the standard of living of the people would bring about peace and order in Algeria. But the French authorities failed to understand that the National Liberation Front (FLN) identified itself with the people, and that the movement was rooted in the masses. In quite unequivocal terms the Algerian people told the colonizer that national independence through armed struggle was their only objective.

Fanon’s analysis of the torture meted out to the Algerian people in general, and the Algerian revolutionaries in particular by the French colonizers reveals that the impact of torture is disastrous not only for the tortured, but for the torturers too. He tells us that the Algerian revolution succeeded in the methodical destruction of a certain number of myths. Police domination, systematic racism, and rationally pursued dehumanization were the pattern of torture resorted to by the French colonialists in Algeria. Fanon evinced the hope that the independence of Algeria would result in the disappearance of “a gangrene germ and of a source of epidemic” (TAR 64), meaning racism, and the exploitation of man. While speaking of torture, Fanon says that “Torture is an expression and a means of the

occupant-occupied relationship” (TAR 66). Torture, violence and the massacre of the Algerian people had their indirect impact on police agents and soldiers. Threatening to kill their wives, inflicting severe injuries on their children, insomnia, nightmares, continual threats of suicide, and professional misconduct were the traits shown by the police agents and soldiers. This was why it was said that torture was practised in Algeria through sadistic perversions. And it was to liberate the Algerians from torture forever that they demanded the total and absolute liberation of Algeria from the French domination.

Fanon makes a vehement and pungent attack on the French intellectuals and democrats for their mere lips-service to the Algerian peoples’ right to self-determination. The intellectuals and democrats of any country have the moral obligation to support unreservedly the national aspirations of the colonized people. The support and solidarity rendered by the French intellectuals and democrats to the Algerian cause were limited to holding of a few meetings, and in the adoption of motions. Their failure to respond to the needs of the oppressed, Fanon writes, made the French left to play “the role of a Cassandra” (TAR 77). In reality, their attitude tantamounted to complicity. Fanon calls this attitude “active pseudo-solidarity” (TAR 77). He reminded the French Left that what the Algerian people had been aiming at was the assertion of their sovereignty, and not certain concessions or reforms, or ‘more human’ behaviour from the French

authorities. Later the French Communist Left, and the non-Communist Left offered conditional support to the Algerian cause. The French Communist Left demanded a guarantee from the Algerian people to the effect that Algeria must not allow itself to be taken over by American imperialism. The Non-Communist Left appealed to the Algerians to reject French colonialism as well as Soviet-neutralist Communism. Fanon's appeal to the French Left and to the French democrats in the fourth year of the Algerian war of Liberation was to support the people of Algeria unconditionally, and thereby to bring about "mutual and enriching relations among free peoples" (TAR 90). Albert Memmi also shares the view of Fanon in this regard. For, Memmi too speaks of "the failure of the European left in general, and the Communist Party in particular, for having underestimated the national aspect of colonial liberation" (Preface. Memmi xi).

Fanon tells us that at no moment had the FLN appealed to the generosity, to the magnanimity, or to the good nature of the colonizer. The FLN, from the first days of the revolution had been using a language of authority whenever it wanted to convey something to the colonizer. In this context, Fanon condemns the attitude of sympathy and kindness evinced by the French democrats towards the Algerians. What the FLN had been demanding was the independence of Algeria so that the Algerian people could take their destiny wholly into their hands. In such a condition only the Algerian people could "establish a policy of social democracy in which man and woman have an equal

right to culture, to material well-being, and to dignity” (TAR 102). The Algerian people had always refused progressive solutions to their problems. What the Algerians aimed at was not flag independence. “True liberation”, Fanon says “is not that pseudo-independence in which ministers having a limited responsibility hobnob with an economy dominated by the colonialist pact” (TAR 105). Like Fanon, Che Guevara also drives home the futility of acclaiming flag independence. For, Che Guevara says that the liberation of a country is “not achieved by the mere act of proclaiming independence, or winning an armed victory in a revolution. It is achieved when imperialist economic domination over a people is brought to an end” (Global Justice 18). Flag independence is indeed pseudo-independence which evinces many outward manifestations of independence – own national flag, national anthem, legal system – but, without any real control over the people’s land and their destiny. Fanon further makes it clear that “Liberation is the total destruction of the colonial system, from the pre-eminence of the language of the oppressor . . . to the customs union that in reality maintains the former colonized in the meshes of the culture, of the fashion, and of the images of the colonialist” (TAR 105).

Fanon makes a very critical analysis of the attitude of the European nations towards the Algerian question. Curiously enough, Italy, England and West Germany expressed the necessity of manifesting an implicit hostility to the war waged by France against

the Algerians. Their ulterior motive might have been economic competition, and the desire to preserve their outlets in Africa. The United States of America also took a position contrary to the interest of the French colonizers. The U.S. too might have been prompted to do so to make the impression among the 'international community' that America was in support of the struggle for independence of the colonized peoples. Moreover, they thought of checking the 'communist danger' by taking positions radically opposed to French colonialism.

Fanon urged the young men of Africa not to be complacent seeing countries like Indo-China, Tunisia and Morocco being liberated, for, the colonial "beast was still quite robust" (TAR 113). Unless the oppressed peoples joined up with the peoples who are already sovereign, a humanism of universal dimension could not be evolved. Fanon reminded the African youth that there were factors common to all the colonized African countries. Their respective nations were militarily occupied, economically exploited, culturally enslaved – these were the first of these common factors. The second factor was that the French colonizers had been exploiting the Africans in a multi-dimensional way. The will to independence expressed by the peoples dominated by France was the third common factor referred to by Fanon. These common factors might cement their unity, and this unity in turn would help build the new Africa completely liberated from colonial domination. Once united, Fanon hoped that the African

people could dig the grave in which colonialism would finally be entombed.

Fanon hoped that posterity would remember the twentieth century as the period of one of the greatest upheavals of history, "the conquest by the peoples of the lands that belong to them" (TAR 120). He was disturbed by the tendency of every new sovereign state to be practically under the obligation of maintaining definite and preferential relations with the former colonizer. Those states which accepted "a fragment of independence" (TAR 120), were generally the victims of this kind of exploitation. But, it may be noted that even Algeria became a victim of neo-colonialism to a certain extent within a few years of its liberation from French colonialism. Though, during the initial stage of colonialism, the colonizer had 'civilizing intentions', when he realized that the time had come to withdraw from the territory, he discarded his mask to bargain for his economic interests. The former colonizer comes forward with "aid and assistance program" (TAR 121). Neocolonialism in fact caters to the interests of the middle class and intellectuals of the former colonized countries. But we know that recognizing the values of the elites would not be able to eradicate the hunger and poverty of the masses. Consequently, Fanon says, the struggle resumes with renewed violence. Fanon therefore warned all the colonized countries that were waging the struggle for liberation that "the political independence that they will wring from the enemy in exchange for the maintenance of an economic dependency is only a

snare and a delusion . . .” (TAR 125-6). He advises the colonial people to “redouble their vigilance and their vigour” (TAR 126). A close dependency on the rest of the universe is imperative for the future of every man. This reciprocal relationship will definitely help in evolving “a new humanism” and “a new theory of man” (TAR 125). This, according to Fanon, is the only way to blockade imperialism. Fanon’s concept of a new humanism was born out of a strong reaction to the violence unleashed by the colonizers against the colonized people for centuries. That Fanon’s “hand had shaken uncontrollably while performing autopsies” (Caute 88), poses no problem in understanding his theory of renovating violence, since his advocacy of violence is for a greeter and nobler cause than performing autopsies. The argument that the colonized could have waited further, since the colonizer had promised “a specific date in the near future” (Caute 88) is not tenable. For, in the case of the oppressed of Algeria, they had been hoodwinked for more than a century (1830-1962), with the ‘promises’ of the colonizer. And the ultimate victory of the people of Algeria in 1962 was not as a result of a “caesarean birth”, as David Caute makes it out (Caute 88). In fact the indomitable and infallible will of the Algerian people made their liberation a reality.

Fanon evinces the hope of the possible emergence of a third neutral coalition of the under developed countries, with quite a positive, non-dependent outlook on world affairs at large. This neutral coalition and the ‘communist danger’ would create immense problems

for the world. (All are very well aware of the fact that the involvement of Moscow was discovered behind each demand for national independence). So, as Fanon puts it, "Every challenge to the rights of the West over a colonial country is experienced both as a weakening of the Western world and as a strengthening of the Communist world" (TAR 124).

Fanon believed that, there took place a dialectical strengthening between the movement of liberation of the colonized peoples and the emancipation struggle of the exploited working class of the imperial countries. It is a paradox that the intensity of the struggle for liberation of the colonized people goes counter to the interests of the 'metropolitan' workers and peasants. Similarly, there existed a kind of "illuminating and sacred communication" (TAR 145) between the colonized peoples and the liberated territory.

Fanon ridicules the view of Michel Debre, the head of the French government who came to Algeria and announced that without France Algeria would regress to wretchedness and barbarism. Fanon was fully confident that the Algerians would not be carried away by what he calls the "ultra-colonialist" (TAR 161) principles of Mr. Debre.

The notes written by Fanon in the course of his mission for reconnaissance in Accra, the capital of Ghana, in 1960, show that he was not a romantic revolutionary. His commitment to the cause of the Algerian people is evidenced in his examination of various possible

solutions that might be adopted on the operational level of the Revolution. Among other things Fanon speaks fervently of his long cherished desire of African Unity, for, he says, "African unity is a principle on the basis of which it is proposed to achieve the United States of Africa without passing through the middle class chauvinistic national phase with its procession of wars and death tolls" (TAR 187). But we know that Fanon's dream of a United Africa remains unfulfilled even today, in spite of the fact that conferences and seminars are on to make it a reality.

While speaking against anti-colonialist moves, Fanon strongly condemns the cold-blooded murder of Lumumba, the anti-colonialist militant leader who spearheaded the independence movement of the Congo. Even while extolling the contributions of Lumumba, Fanon does not mince words in pointing out the mistakes committed by Lumumba. Lumumba's request for the U.N intervention in the Congo, according to Fanon, lacked political foresight, because, historical facts show that the U.N has been rescuing the colonialist and neocolonialist powers, and not the oppressed countries. In Fanon's opinion, "the U. N is the legal card used by the imperialist interests when the card of the brute force failed" (TAR 195). Fanon's exhortation to the colonized people was to develop a friendship of combat, namely, the friendship between the colonized countries that were waging wars of liberation. That Fanon could discuss with unprecedented clarity and precision all

the factors related to racism, colonialism, and the irresistible urge of the colonized people for self-determination show the multi-dimensional aspects of a liberated consciousness reaching out in its best possible way to the wretched of the earth.

## Chapter 6

### **The Sociological Aspects of Oppression and Resistance**

This chapter analyzes how far Fanon has succeeded in his assessment of the sociological impact of the Algerian war of liberation on its people in particular, and on the African people in general. The experience accumulated by Fanon in the very thick of the battle furnished the materials for his book, Studies in a Dying Colonialism, in which he discusses the various ways in which the war of liberation made radical changes in the general outlook on life among the Algerian people at large. As the alternate title, Year Five of the Algerian Revolution indicates, Fanon, in this book makes an assessment of the Algerian war which began on 1 November 1954. The entire people of Algeria, with all the resources at their command, have been fighting for five years with admirable fortitude. In spite of this vigorous fight of the Algerian people, the French government did not think of a political change in Algeria. The National Liberation Front (FLN), which spearheaded the Revolution, had given instructions to the people not to indulge in barbarity, and not to violate the international laws of war. The leaders of the rebellion were very well aware that it was a Herculean task to fight against the ferocious French colonizers who have been dominating the Algerian people for one hundred and thirty years.

The French occupation of Algeria began with the surrender of Algiers on 5 July 1830 to the French forces. Immediately after the occupation, through a proclamation, the French made it out that their move was quite benevolent, as they were helping Algeria to liberate herself from the tyrannous oppression of the Turks. It was only 125 years after the French colonization of Algeria, and the consequent assimilation policy, that the people of that country could assert their right through their liberation struggle. The Algerian revolt against French colonization under the leadership of the National Liberation Front (FLN), as already hinted, began on 1 November 1954. On 19 September 1958, the FLN set up the Provisional government of Algeria with Ferhat Abbas as the Prime Minister. In September 1959 General de Gaulle for the first time conceded to the Algerian people their right to self-determination with certain conditions. But the FLN rejected the offer of conditional liberation. Whatever may be Algeria's choice, France wanted to keep control over the Saharan oil, the successful exploration of which had begun as early as 1952. But, by the middle of 1959 the Algerian people had made history by fighting against the French troops in all intensity. By then, hundreds of thousands of people had become victims of the war. People all over the world wondered why the French Government was so obstinate in their decision not to allow the birth of the Algerian nation. The quite positive effect of the war, according to Fanon, is the emergence of "a new humanism" (SDC 28) against the morbid infatuation with war the

French government evinced. The richness of Algeria (the Sahara and its resources) was the only reason why France has been oppressing it. In fact, it was the only real excuse as far as France was concerned for the continuation of the war against Algeria even in 1959. It goes without saying that it is the same oil richness of Iraq which resulted in the American occupation of Iraq today. The people of the world at large today have realized that Saddam Hussein's 'despotic rule' has been a lame excuse for American imperialism to thrive in Iraq. America's Afghan war was also motivated by a similar objective. In fact, the subjugation of Afghanistan was imperative for laying an oil pipeline through the Caspian Sea as far as America was concerned. In Algeria's case, the national consciousness and the collective suffering of the people made them take their destiny into their own hands. The Algerian war of liberation which began as a guerilla war, with about three hundred Algerians in 1954, assumed the magnitude of a large scale war by 1959. By the fifth year of the war, about one lakh French soldiers and six lakh Algerians were killed. On 10 November 1959, General de Gaulle extended further invitation to the FLN to accept independence, again with conditions detrimental to the self-determination of the Algerian people. Quite naturally, the FLN rejected that offer too. On 19 December 1960, the U.N. General assembly formally recognized the Algerian people's right to self-determination and independence. In spite of the fact that the French had five lakh troops and two lakh Algerian auxiliaries, ultimately the collective will

of the people of Algeria got the upper hand by eight years of guerilla warfare. As David and Marina Ottaway observe, "Algeria's attainment of independence in July 1962 was an event of great importance to the Third World, where it was seen as eloquent proof of the ability and determination of colonized peoples to take their fate into their own hands" (Algeria: The Politics of a Socialist Revolution 1).

In the preface to Studies in a Dying Colonialism, Fanon claims that "the thesis that men change at the same time that they change the world has never been manifest as it is now in Algeria" (SDC 30). What we have witnessed in Algeria, Fanon adds, "is man's reassertion of his capacity to progress" (SDC 30). The book, Studies in a Dying Colonialism is divided into five chapters, followed by some concluding remarks. In the first chapter Fanon speaks in detail about the importance attached to the veil by the Algerian woman, and how the colonial master tried to make capital out of it. The most immediately perceptible uniqueness of a particular society is the way in which its people dress. As far as the Arabs are concerned the veil worn by their women is a pointer to the clothing tradition of them. Realizing that the woman constituted the pivot of the Algerian society, the colonial administration tried its best to obtain control over her. Under the pretext of defending the Algerian woman (with the tacit motive of disintegrating the Algerian society at large), who is pictured as humiliated, sequestered, and cloistered, the colonial authorities tried their best to unveil her, hoping that the unveiled woman would aid

and shelter the occupier. In reality what the European evinces in these occasions is his aggressive nature. For, Fanon observes, “unveiling this woman is revealing her beauty; it is baring her secret, breaking her resistance, making her available for adventure” (SDC 45). Fanon is of the view that by unveiling the Algerian woman, the colonizer achieved “a double deflowering” (SDC 45). For, the rending of the veil was preceded by the dream rape of the Algerian woman by a European. And by rending the veil the occupier hoped of making the woman an ally in the work of cultural destruction. The reality was that some Algerian women were unveiled by the colonizer without their consent or acceptance. What the European colonizer did is to capitalize on the abject humility and poverty of these Algerian women. But, by and large, the Algerian men took a firm decision not to make their women the preys to, what Fanon calls, “the colonialist hydra” (SDC 40). The strong determination of the Algerian women to resist the cultural war waged by the Europeans in the name of the veil was an instance of Algerian women creating their own history. As the liberation struggle continued, the usual meaning of the veil was transformed, as and when the occasion demanded it.

After speaking about the European attitude to the wearing of the veil, Fanon shows us how the veil was removed and reassumed by the Algerian women on their own according to the exigency of circumstances. Until 1955 the Algerian women were kept in ignorance as to the revolutionary characteristics and the absolute

secrecy of the combat. As the enemy resorted to new forms of combat, the Algerian revolutionaries felt the urgent need to change their tactics too. Women were at first recruited to help the guerillas, principally to help the wounded and convalescent soldiers. The entry of women into the Algerian army lent respect to the revolutionary nature of the war. Later the Algerian woman quite unassumingly went through the streets "with grenades in her handbag, or sometimes the activity report of an area in her bodice" (SDC 50). It may be noted that at first only married women were recruited. Later widows or divorced women were also chosen. When numerous unmarried women volunteered to participate in the battle against French imperialism, the leaders of the rebellion decided to remove all restrictions, and indiscriminately accepted the support of all Algerian women. Even after joining the Revolution, the women used to wear the veil. But when the centre of activity of the National Liberation Army was shifted to the European cities of Algeria, the women withdrew their veils and entered into the conqueror's city. Lauding the activity of the women of Algeria, Fanon comments: "This revolutionary activity has been carried on by the Algerian woman with exemplary constancy, self-mastery and success" (SDC 54).

By 1956 the Algerian soldiers were forced to resort to certain degree of terror in their fight against colonialism. The massacre of Algerian civilians in the mountains and in the cities prompted them to

adopt such an attitude, hitherto rejected by them. With battling conscience they brought death to the enemy, and thereby gave a new life to the Revolution. The woman who helps the revolutionary has been described as "his woman-arsenal" (SDC 58) by Fanon because she carries revolvers, grenades, hundreds of false identity cards or bombs to help the revolutionaries. Commenting on her endeavour Fanon writes: "the unveiled Algerian woman, moves like a fish in the European waters" (SDC 58). The traditional Algerian society in general and the Algerian woman in particular, looked upon the veil as an object used to discipline and temper the body of women. Without a veil the Algerian woman experienced a sense of incompleteness, with great intensity. But during the Revolution, exigency of circumstances forced her to overcome her timidity and awkwardness. She showed no reluctance to unveil herself. Fanon calls this change as the "new dialectic of the body" (SDC 59) as learned by the Algerian woman in a totally revolutionary fashion. By 1957 the veil reappeared as the enemy learned from some militants under torture that a number of Algerian women, Europeanized in appearance, were playing a decisive role in the battle. Moreover, to their consternation, the French authorities discovered that some European women too were participating in the liberation struggle of the Algerians. The women had to conceal once again the packages of grenades and bombs. Hence, the reassuming the veil by them. "Removed and reassumed again and again," Fanon observes, "the veil has been manipulated,

transformed into a technique of camouflage, into a means of struggle” (SDC 61). This disclaims the argument of General de Gaulle that the Algerian woman liberated herself at the invitation of France. Fanon’s observation has thus brought out the “historic dynamism of the veil” in Algeria (SDC 63). Fanon is of the strong view that “the veil helped the Algerian woman to meet the new problems created by the struggle” (SDC 63). Fanon’s analysis of the dynamism of the veil, and the role it played in the Algerian Resistance disproves the unfounded notions about the veil expressed by the authors of Occidentalism. That “a veiled woman does not do physical labor”, that “the veil is also a sign of status”, and, moreover, “the veil also sent a signal of Islam-based nationalism”, are far from the truth (Occidentalism 131). Further, it was not because “France represented the West” that “the veil became a symbol of resistance to the West”, as the authors of Occidentalism make it out.

In the second chapter of Studies in a Dying Colonialism, Fanon analyses the radical change that has taken place in the attitude of the Algerian towards the radio, thanks to the Algerian Revolution. Radio-Alger, which has been established in Algeria by the French government, was looked upon by the Algerians as essentially the instrument of the colonial society and its values. Apart from the fact that Radio-Alger was a re-edition of the French National Broadcasting system, there was some kind of irrational cause behind even those Algerians financially sound enough refusing to acquire the radio.

Traditions of respectability, the sex allusions and clownish situations in broadcasting method etc. were said to be the reasons why the Algerian family could not listen to radio programmes. But, Fanon's analysis of colonialism in Algeria proves these claims to be artificial sociological approach and "a mass of errors" (SDC 71). The outbreak of the rebellion against French domination on 1 November 1954, forced the Algerian to define new attitudes to the radio for the dissemination of news. The Algerian felt the urgent need of a radio set "to oppose the enemy news with his own news" (SDC 76). Moreover, at this juncture the democratic press of Algeria, well-known for its objectivity and traditional honesty till then, was forced to impose 'self-censorship' on the local newspapers fearing intimidation from the French authorities.

On the other hand, Radio-Alger "reminds the settler of colonial power" (SDC 71). Fanon further adds that the radio "sustains the occupant's culture, marks it off from non-culture, from the nature of the occupied" (SDC 71). The European had a fairly good idea of the dangers threatening colonial society through the triple network of the press, the radio, and his travels. In the initial months of the war of liberation, the Algerians would buy news papers like L'Express, France-Observateur, and Le Monde because they knew that they would have access to objective news as these papers were published by the democratic press of France. As the public criers sell only local newspapers, the Algerians had to buy these newspapers from the

kiosks managed by Europeans. The purchase of such newspapers by Algerians was looked upon as a nationalist act, and so, "a dangerous act" (SDC 81). Moreover in the first months of the revolution, the generally illiterate Algerians viewed everything in the French language as an expression of colonial domination. In such a situation the Algerians had no other option but to buy radio sets so that they could hear the news of the Revolution from non-French sources. The introduction of the radio sets into the houses of the Algerians became very popular with the announcement of the existence of a "Voice of Free Algeria" in 1956. The "Voice of Free Algeria" brought "to all Algeria the great message of the Revolution" (SDC 82). "Since 1956", Fanon observes, "the purchase of a radio in Algeria has meant not the adoption of a new technique for getting news, but the obtaining of access to the only means of entering into communication with the Revolution, of living with it" (SDC 83). Traditions of respectability and resistances broke down, and the entire members of the family sat together and began to "scrutinize the radio dial waiting for the *Voice of Algeria*" (SDC83). In other words, the decision of the Algerian society to embrace the technique of the new signaling system was guided by the principles of the Revolution. Thereafter, "The radio set was no longer a part of the occupier's arsenal of cultural oppression" (SDC 84).

The French authorities, naturally, could not tolerate the Algerian's new-found love for the radio sets. Legal measures were

initiated and the sale of radios was prohibited. Military officials and police were given the sole authority to issue licenses to own radios. The French authorities began to wage 'sound-wave warfare' and the programmes of the 'Voice of Algeria' were systematically jammed. Broadcasting through different wavelengths at different times, the revolutionaries could circumvent the tactics of the enemy to a certain extent. The same message was transmitted in three languages by the 'Voice of Fighting Algeria' to give it universal dimension.

Fanon further clarifies the new attitude of the Algerian towards the French language: "Expressing oneself in French, understanding French, was no longer tantamount to treason, or to an impoverishing identification with the occupier. Used by the *Voice of the Combatants*, conveying in a positive way the message of the Revolution, the French language also becomes an instrument of liberation" (SDC 90). I hope that Fanon's assessment of the use of the colonizer's language will be an eye opener for those who make a lot of hue and cry against the so called 'imperial' languages. By 1959, in Algeria, radio was no longer the voice of the occupier. It was the genuine voice of the Algerians. Hence owning a radio became almost tantamount to going to the battlefield. By 1959 'Voice of Algeria' multiplied its programmes. Programmes organized by the Algerians began to be broadcast to the people of Algeria from Tunis, Damascus, Cairo and elsewhere in the world. Fanon hoped that after the war, 'Voice of Algeria' would broadcast "revolutionary instructions on the building of the nation"

(SDC 97). He expresses the strong conviction that “the identification of the voice of the Revolution with the fundamental truth of the nation has opened limitless horizon” (SDC 97).

In the third chapter of A Dying Colonialism, Fanon traces the evolution of the Algerian family, and the transformation it has undergone during the war of liberation. Fanon’s analysis shows that the individuality of each member of the Algerian family has been developed to a great extent on account of the impact of the war of liberation. Once the Revolution gained intensity, there took place a radical change in the character of every individual. As the Revolution made the people politically mature, one could not see the old stultifying attachment of the son towards his father. All the same, absolute respect towards the father was observed. It may be noted that as far as national consciousness was concerned, “the father lagged far behind the son” (SDC 102). Later, when the son became a militant in every sense of the word, he began to indoctrinate his father. The father would then have no choice but to join his son.

Similarly in the pre-revolutionary Algerian family, the girl had no opportunity to develop her personality as she had to take her place in the domestic tradition of Algerian society. But, the national liberation struggle knocked over all restrictions imposed on her. The unveiled Algerian woman assumed an increasingly significant role in the revolutionary actions, and thereby developed her personality.

Commenting on this development, Fanon observes, “the freedom of the people from then on became identified with woman’s liberation, with her entry into history” (SDC 107). The Algerian woman who carried the grenades or the submachine gun chargers was actually “writing the heroic pages of Algerian history” (SDC 107). By 1955 the female cell of the National Liberation Army received mass memberships. The parents of the girls relinquishing their veils did not raise any protest. The Algerian woman proved to be no longer a mere complement for man. As Fanon emphasizes, *she literally forged a new place for herself by her sheer strength* (SDC 109 Fanon’s emphasis). Fanon’s observations on The Algerian women in Studies in a Dying Colonialism embody a befitting reply to those critics who accuse him of ‘patriarchal authority’. In fact, to portray “Fanon as a misogynist”, as T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting observes, would be “a postmodern mythology” (“Anti-black Femininity and Mixed-race Identity: Engaging Fanon to Reread Capecia”. in Gordon et al ed. Fanon: A Critical Reader 155-62).

The radical change that has developed among Algerian brothers too has been worthy of note. The measured and ritual relations of the pre-revolutionary period gave way to totally new relations. The traditional respect for the big brother (eldest brother) did not inhibit the militant chief from carrying out his duties.

The relationship between husband and wife has also been changed a lot during the course of the war of liberation. Sometimes

the wife would find fault with the husband for not joining the revolutionary forces, and for leading a lazy life. To everyone's surprise, young Algerian girls vowed never to let themselves be married to men who were not members of the National Liberation Front. In due course of the war of liberation, one could see the united militant couple participating in the birth of the new Algeria. Applauding this change of outlook, Fanon remarks that "*the mingling of fighting experience with conjugal life deepens the relations between husband and wife and cements their union. There is a simultaneous and effervescent emergence of the citizen, the patriot, and the modern spouse*" (SDC 114, Fanon's emphasis).

The liberation movement had its impact on the marriage and divorce systems of Algeria. Formerly one could think only of the marriages arranged by the family. But during the revolutionary period, the close contact between unmarried men and women resulted in love marriages 'arranged' by the leadership of the Revolution. As for divorce, the husband must state explicitly the reasons for such a move. This could be done only after reconciliatory attempts failed. Anyhow, the final decision in this regard rested with the local officer of the National Liberation Army.

In short, the attempt of French colonialism to break the will of the Algerian people, and to destroy their resistance, failed due to the radical changes brought about in society by the Algerian liberation movement. Before the unprecedented unity of the Algerian people,

brought about by the suffering they had to undergo, the French imperialists could not make any remarkable inroads.

In the chapter entitled, "Medicine and Colonialism", Fanon tells the world how western medical science was made use of as one of the repressive measures by the colonial powers. Medical science and medical technology are meant to ease the pain of mankind. But in Algeria these were exploited for negative reaction among the natives. The colonized felt that French medical science in Algeria could not be separated from French colonialism. The lingering doubt as to the real motive and essential humanity of the colonial doctor prompted the Algerian to refuse hospitalization. Fanon is of the view that this attitude of the Algerian patients could be justified to a certain extent, when one takes into consideration the experimentation done on living patients. Consequently the colonized patient who went to consult the doctor was always diffident. The patient had the feeling that he was facing both a technician and a colonizer. The colonized people failed to understand that not all the colonized doctors were abnormal and inhuman. This lack of confidence in the doctor prompted the natives to enforce on the patient who accepted the colonial doctor's medicine, the traditional methods of treatment prescribed by the healer of a particular village or district.

There was no remarkable change in the ambivalent attitude of the colonized towards modern medical technique even when the doctor belonged to the dominated group. The native doctor, the

colonized thought, was Europeanized, westernized doctor, and so, he was part of the dominated society. Fanon's further observations justify once again the diffidence of the colonized patient. For, he says that the colonizing doctor, the European doctor, adopted the attitude of his group towards the struggle of the Algerian people. Medical practice in the colonies sometimes became systematic piracy when the doctor gave injections of twice-distilled water, or salt serum and demanded the charges of penicillin or vitamin B-12. The general concept about a doctor is that he is perpetually in contact with the suffering humanity, and that he has a set of values. Quite naturally, such a professional will have a democratic and anti-colonialist bent of mind. But, curiously enough, Fanon says, "the doctor is an integral part of colonization/of domination, of exploitation" (SDC 134). The doctor forgot even the basics of deontology when he delivered to the legal authority a certificate of natural death in the case of an Algerian who had succumbed to torture. Fanon tells us of cases of psychiatrists giving electric shock to numerous prisoners, and questioning them during the waking phase with a view to 'aid' the police.

Putting an embargo on the sale of antibiotics, ether, alcohol and anti-tetanus vaccine was another inhuman and unethical gesture on the part of the colonizer. Those Algerians who wanted to buy these medicines were required to give detailed information about themselves and the patients. But the timely help of the Moroccan and Tunisian people, and the combined efforts of the Algerian doctors,

pharmacists and nurses resulted in the steady flow of medical supplies that saved innumerable human lives. What was quite remarkable was that, during this period, evincing unreserved spirit of solidarity, medical students, nurses and doctors joined the National Liberation Front. As the struggle for liberation gained momentum the colonized people had no reluctance to reintegrate the native doctor into their group. The native doctor was no longer "an ambassador of the occupier"; he was the doctor of the oppressed people (SDC 142). Witchcraft and belief in the jinn were swept away by the action and practice initiated by the revolution.

Though the European intellectuals and doctors of Algeria in general have taken over the cause of the colonialist, a redeeming fact was that there were anti-colonialist and altruist Europeans, though a minority, who felt the necessity of armed action as the only means of rescuing Algeria. Surprisingly enough, the French Left and the Algerian Communist Party did not endorse the view of the National Liberation Front that only an armed struggle would bring about the liberation of Algeria. The European democrats of Algeria also helped the FLN, though in a semi-clandestine way. Whenever the Europeans who championed the cause of the Algerians were arrested and tortured, they behaved like authentic revolutionaries and never betrayed the FLN.

Though the Jewish tradesmen of Algeria in general looked upon the prospect of an independent Algeria with consternation (for they feared that the end of colonialism in Algeria would be the end of prosperity), several Jewish tradesmen aided and abetted the Algerian revolutionaries. A section of the Jewish civil servants and Jewish police also did their best to help the FLN. Three fourths of the Jewish population of Algeria was common people. They were in reality authentic 'natives'. The FLN had more than once asserted that those Jews were in all respects Algerians.

Fanon refutes the argument that Algeria's settlers were unanimously opposed to the end of colonial domination. In fact, the support given by the European minority of Algeria for the liberation struggle itself falsifies the propaganda of the colonizer. Those Europeans who could not comply with the request for help did not reveal anything against the FLN activists. Fanon gratefully acknowledges the help rendered by certain Europeans in stocking the grains of the Algerian population. Sometimes even weapons of the FLN activists were stored in the farms of the Europeans.

Fanon emphasizes that the launching of a new society is possible only within the framework of national independence. And the five years of struggle for independence waged by the people of Algeria has been successful in resisting oppression at any cost. That any attempt to maintain colonialism in Algeria would be impossible and shocking has been proved by the resistance of the Algerian

population. The Algerian Revolution, like all other genuine revolutions, according to Fanon, "is the oxygen which creates and shapes a new humanity" (SDC 181). But, based on the available information on Algeria today, one can say that Algeria too has become a prey to neo-colonialism, like almost all the Third World countries of the world.

## Chapter 7

**Fanon's Concepts of Emancipatory Violence and  
Decolonialization**

This chapter aims at analyzing Fanon's contentions regarding the feasibility of collective violence for authentic decolonization, and how his conviction related to the evolution of a new humanism, as opposed to European racist humanism, is evolved through The Wretched of the Earth.

At this juncture a discussion of Jean Paul Sartre's 'Preface' to The Wretched of the Earth will be quite advantageous for the study of Fanon, as Sartre was one of the major influences on him. In the 'Preface', Sartre speaks of the classic nature of Fanon's anti-colonial stance. For, he says, here is "an ex-native, French speaking", who "bends that language to new requirements, makes use of it, and speaks to the colonized only; 'Natives of all under-developed countries, unite'" (WE 9). Sartre goes a step further and says that the Third World finds itself and speaks itself through Fanon's voice. Sartre ranks Fanon with Engels when he declares that "Fanon is the first since Engels to bring the process of history into the clear light of day" (WE 12-13). He observes that Fanon has portrayed a truthful and objective picture of the European colonialists in The Wretched of the Earth. Sartre exhorts the Europeans to open the book of Fanon and to enter into it. What is more, he says that Fanon offers "a remedy for

Europe" (WE 12), a Europe, to quote Fanon, "running headlong into the abyss" (WE 252). Sartre seems to endorse Fanon's intellectual justification of violence, for, he says, "Read Fanon: you will learn how, in the period of their helplessness, their mad impulse to murder is the expression of the natives' collective unconscious" (WE 16). The irrepressible violence of the oppressed, Sartre adds, "is man re-creating himself" (WE 18). Sartre becomes all the more emphatic when he says that "no gentleness can efface the marks of violence; only violence itself can destroy them" (WE 18). Sartre believed with Fanon that real violence lay in the heart of the Western colonizers, and that the colonized people were forced to choose violent means of struggle as the only option to achieve genuine freedom. Fanon's book, Sartre says, is powerful enough even to decolonize the Europeans: "we in Europe too are being decolonized: that is to say that the settler which is in every one of us is being savagely rooted out" (WE 21).

Fanon begins The Wretched of the Earth emphasizing that decolonization is always a violent phenomenon. The historical process of decolonization, Fanon says, "is the meeting of two forces opposed to each other by their very nature", and that "their first encounter was marked by violence" (WE 28). Fanon defines decolonization as the replacing of a certain 'species' of men by another 'species' of men. The 'thing' which has been decolonized becomes 'man' in the process of decolonization. In short decolonization is "the veritable creation of new men" (WE 28). Fanon's strong conviction is that a decisive struggle

between the oppressor and the oppressed is inevitable to bring about authentic decolonization. As far as the oppressed are concerned, absolute violence is the only means to call in question the authority of the oppressor. The oppressed is very well aware of the fact that the foreigner who has come from another country has imposed his rule by means of guns and machines.

The quite apparent difference between the world of the colonizer and the colonized is sufficient enough to sow the seeds of hatred in the minds of the natives. The settler's town is 'strongly built', 'all made of stone and steel', and 'brightly lit'. It is a town of 'white people, of foreigners', whereas the town of the colonized people is "a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute" (WE 30). Fanon further says that the native's town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The colonized man quite naturally becomes an envious man. The economic structure of the colonies is also a super structure. For, Fanon says, "you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich" (WE 31).

"The colonial world," Fanon affirms, "is a Manichean world" (WE 31). The settler looks upon the native as the "quintessence of evil" (WE 32). He declares that the native is "insensible to ethics" (WE 32). To the settler the native represents not only the absence of values, but also the negative of values. Even the Christian church did not provide any spiritual solace to the natives. For, "The Church in the colonies is the white people's Church, the foreigner's Church" (WE 32). Fanon

says that “the church in the colonies does not call the natives to God’s ways, but to the ways of the white man, of the master, of the oppressor” (WE 32). Fanon’s conviction about the complicity of the church and the colonizers has been shared by all the other anti-colonial revolutionaries. According to Albert Memmi, “The relations between the church (Catholic and Protestant) and colonialism are more complex than is heard of among thinkers of the left” (Memmi 72). Memmi has the strong conviction that the church has done everything possible to contribute to the acceptance of colonialism by supporting all the ventures of the colonialist. Richard Wright, in his Native Son, vehemently condemns the silence of the church whenever oppression is meted out to the Negro population in general, and to Bigger Thomas, the anti-hero of the novel in particular. Similarly, Walter Rodney, in an ironic vein, observes, “the Christian church participated fully in the maintenance of slavery and still talked of saving the souls!” (Rodney 101). Rodney is of the view that the motive behind slavery was not to carry the heathen natives to Christian lands. What the Christian church did in the colonies as a source of education, rather than as a dispenser of religious values, was to render all possible help to preserve the social relations of colonialism. In order to materialize this objective, the church, as Walter Rodney observes, “stressed humility, docility, and acceptance” (Rodney 278). What the church taught the natives was to turn the other cheek in the face of exploitation. The church further made the natives believe that

every thing would be right in the next world. Renate Zahar, another Fanon enthusiast, also highlights the role of the church in maintaining colonialism. For, she says, that “by condemning the customs and religions of the natives, as heathen and inhuman”, the Christian missions “bolster and uphold colonial racist ideology” (Zahar 22). There is no wonder in neo-colonialist leaders like George Bush and Tony Blair also invoking God while perpetuating atrocities against the people of Iraq and Afghanistan. George Bush’s reported revelation to a Palestinian delegation during the Israeli-Palestinian summit in July 2005, that he was “driven with a mission from God” to fight the “terrorists” of Afghanistan and Iraq, is a good instance in point (The Hindu 8 Oct. 2005:16). Close on the heels of Bush, Blair too, invoked God in his attempt to use religion to justify an illegal war against the Iraqi people, and to escape personal responsibility for the terrible consequences of his own actions. It is by now very clear that imperialists and the church almost always have their lame justification for the pillage they perpetuate.

Fanon says that during the period of decolonization, quite contrary to the attitude of the church, the appeal is made to the native’s reason. The native is offered definite values, he is told frequently that decolonization need not mean regression and that he must put his trust in qualities which are well-tried, solid and highly esteemed. During the period of liberation, Fanon says, the colonialist bourgeoisie takes into confidence the ‘elites’ among the natives and

initiates dialogue on values. But the colonized people as a whole will affirm that, their most essential and concrete value is, first and foremost, the land. For, they are aware that the land would bring them bread, and above all dignity. The morality of the native, according to Fanon, "is to silence the settler's defiance, to break his flaunting violence – in a word, to put him out of the picture" (WE 34). "Decolonization", Fanon argues, "is the putting into practice of the well-known words, 'the last shall be the first, and the first shall be the last'" (WE 28). In other words, the native's desire is to substitute himself for the settler. The permanent dream of the native is to become the persecutor.

Fanon makes a scathing attack on the nationalist parties and the national elites. The nationalist parties often come out with abstract principles but fail to issue definite commands. In their speeches, the leaders of the nationalist parties speak vociferously of "the rights of the people to self-determination, the rights of man to freedom from hunger, and of human dignity . . ." (WE 46), but their action is that of the electoral type. The objective of the nationalist parties and the intellectual elites is not the radical overthrowing of the system. "Give us more power" is their demand (WE 46). Commenting on their attitude to violence, Fanon says: "They are violent in their words and reformist in their attitudes" (WE 46). As the rank and file of a nationalist party is urban, they have special interests at heart. Increased salaries, full electoral representation, the liberty of the

press, and the liberty to association are the main demands of the nationalist parties. What the natives want is to take the place of the settler.

Fanon warns that at this decisive moment there is the greater probability of the colonialist bourgeoisie coming up with the idea of non-violence. This is just to hoodwink the colonized people, because, even the very concept of non-violence preached by the colonialist bourgeoisie is a by-product of oppression. In other words, the colonialist bourgeoisie's non-violent ideas are "conditioned by a thousand-year-old oppression" as Sartre observes" (Preface. WE 21). The colonialist bourgeoisie's concept of non-violence is, in fact, in tune with the thoughts of the economic elites and intellectuals of the colonized countries. Similarly, capitalism also plays a major role at this juncture in the colonies. Formerly, the colonies were a source of raw materials for the capitalists. Now the colonies have become their markets. Consequently, the capitalists too clamour for settling the outstanding issues of the colonized through non-violent methods. In the trade union sector also this nationalist reformist tendency will be quite apparent. The result is that "this caricature of trade unionism", as Fanon calls it, adopts a highly peaceful mode of action (WE 52). Stoppage of work in the few industries in the towns, mass demonstration to cheer the leaders, and boycotting of buses or of imported commodities are the actions planned by these trade unions. This kind of action takes place two or three times a year. This practice

of “therapy by hibernation”, as Fanon calls it, will not help in resolving the crucial issues of the oppressed of the world (WE 52). Non-violence, and those apostles of non-violence, “who have turned the other cheek . . . who have been spat upon and insulted without shrinking”, will not be able to turn the tables against the oppressors (WE 52). What is in store for those natives who are being led by such leaders is “the farce of national independence” (WE 53), or, to quote Sartre, “a simulacrum of phoney independence” (Preface. WE 9). In such countries, Fanon says, there may be certain revolutionaries who turn their back upon the farce of national independence. These elements will be gradually isolated and brushed aside. These “undesirable firebrands”, as Fanon calls them, will play a very decisive role in the violent uprising of the oppressed people.

That Fanon was highly prophetic in these observations has been proved by history. Our own India is a good case in point. Even after fifty-eight years of independence, the oppressed people of India still remain oppressed. It is a pity that, in India, even in the states where the Communist Party is supposed to have made great inroads, oppression still persists. The 2006 Padma Vibhushan Award winning writer, Mahasweta Devi, who has been a champion of the cause of the oppressed of West Bengal, Bihar and elsewhere in the country, draws a very grim picture of the tribals and bonded labourers of India, especially of West Bengal and Bihar, in her book, Dust on the Road. Mahasweta Devi could give a very authentic picture of the plight of the

oppressed as she has been deeply involved in the struggles of the people since her resignation in 1982 from the very lucrative job of an English lecturer. It was her concern for the socially marginalized, the poor, and the tribals, and their struggles, which prompted her to expose the exploitation of these groups through “Bortika” (meaning, ‘torch’), the first significant effort in alternative literature in West Bengal. According to a “Bortika” survey of 1984, the then going rate for carrying thousand bricks was rupees three and half to four. This means that the average daily earning of a worker would be a mere four to five rupees after a back-breaking day’s work. Commenting on the bonded labour system even now prevailing in districts like Palamau in Bihar, Mahasweta Devi observes, “In our India acts are for enactment and not for implementation” (Dust on the Road 17). She further says that “India could and would keep the poor as slaves and sermonize to the outside world” (Dust on the Road 18).

In West Bengal too, little children are hired out as cattle grazers and farm labourers. In spite of the fact there are thousands of primary schools in West Bengal, a large number of children are forced to remain illiterate due to poverty. While bewailing the pathetic plight of Indian children of the new millennium, Mahasweta Devi observes, “In my India, children of 7 years are hired out as child labourers just for a meal” (Dust on the Road 68). It must be borne in mind that this is no ordinary person speaking of the plight of the Indians. Yet another observation of Mahsweta Devi is that the curse of the ‘babu culture’

which runs in Bengali veins is the prime factor behind the rampant abuse of the people of the low-caste there. Commenting of the suicide of Chuni Kotal, the first woman graduate from the Lodha tribe, she says, "In West Bengal, even after so many years of Left Front rule, the first woman graduate from a very backward tribe was openly abused because of her low-caste birth, and nothing has been done about it" (Dust on the Road 140). The much acclaimed People's Planning of West Bengal also turned out to be a fiasco as 'the programme beneficiaries' as they are called, are never involved in planning and implementation projects. Consequently, plans are implemented in a manner that leaves the 'beneficiaries' as deprived as ever.

In India, the government at the centre, and in the states have been, and still are callous to the demands of the Adivasis and the other tribals for the restoration of their alienated lands. It is in the states of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Madhyapradesh, Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Kerala that by and large the Adivasis and the other tribal people live in decisive numbers. Apart from the indigenous bourgeoisie, the state governments also have taken possession of the land of these people by displacing them, for the purpose of the construction of dams, sanctuaries and parks.

The resistance of the Adivasis and the other tribals in Madhyapradesh, Orissa and Kerala has already attracted world wide attention for various reasons. The agitation of the Adivasis of Alirajpur in Madhyapradesh, under the leadership of Medha Patkar's Narmada

Bachao Andolan (The Save Narmada Movement) from 1994 onwards, against the displacement of a whole community by The Narmada Valley Development Authority, has gained the sympathy and support of a host of people, including social activists, environmentalists and certain political leaders. In spite of the fact that Medha Patkar and her associates came to further light on account of their agitation recently, the political leaders at the centre and in the states have not conceded their demand for proper rehabilitation. Thanks to the intervention of the Supreme Court of India, the agitators may find redress for their grievances in the immediate future.

The agitation of the Adivasis of Bapilimali hills of Rayagada, Orissa, against their displacement for the purpose of bauxite mining, has also been suppressed by the Orissa government. Agitations of similar kinds are going on in Chhattisgarh and Andhrapradesh against the eviction of the indigenous peoples, in the interests of miners and business tycoons.

In Kerala too, the lot of the tribals and the other aboriginals has not been improved much, in spite of the fact that Kerala has been ruled even by the Left democratic governments for several spells of time. The forty-five days old agitation of the Adivasis and the other tribals at Muthanga in the Wayanad district of Kerala under the leadership of the Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha, demanding the land promised by the then Chief Minister, Antony, was also brutally suppressed by the police in the third week of February 2003. The

Wayanad Wild Life Sanctuary at Muthanga was 'seized' by the Adivasis to protest against the breach of promise. Though the real statistics of the casualty caused by the unprecedented police brutality at Muthanga is even now unknown, one Adivasi youth, and one policeman were killed and hundreds of Adivasis were terribly tortured by the police. In spite of all these unhappy developments, the government has not fulfilled its promises to Adivasis till date.

In Kerala's case, The Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restrictions on Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands) Act, 1975 came into effect in Jan. 1982. The Act visualizes the restoration of their alienated lands to the Adivasis and the other tribals (that is, the lands which were taken possession of by the settlers from the Adivasis from 1960 to Jan. 1982). But, quite surprisingly, the Act has not been implemented till date. What the successive Left and Right democratic front governments of Kerala have done till date is to bring in two amendments to this Act to safeguard the interests of the settlers. In the second amendment it was stipulated that the settlers need give back lands in excess of two hectares only. This virtually means the Adivasis need not expect any kind of restoration of the lands which originally belonged to them. Both the amendments were returned unapproved by the President of India. And the Adivasi land issue remains unresolved. I have just glanced through one or two issues of the underprivileged people of India just to highlight the fact that even after fifty eight years of 'independence' the lot of the oppressed of India

has not improved much. It is now beyond doubt that the indigenous bourgeoisie and the established political parties have been solely responsible for this.

C.K. Janu, a tribal, and consequently a militant champion of the oppressed of Wayanad and elsewhere in Kerala, and one of the leaders of the Advasi Gothra Mahasabha, who has had first hand experience of the indigenous colonization meted out to the Tribals and the other Adivasis, paints a very bleak picture of their state of affairs in her autobiographical book, Mother Forest. She strongly believes that, the complicity of the 'Party' and the landlords have been by and large responsible for the wretchedness of the Tribals and Adivasis. Janu makes the shocking revelation that "the Party and its workers have a great responsibility in creating unwed mothers" (Mother Forest 35). She is shocked by her experience in the 'Party' which she had hoped would work honestly for the liberation of the tribals and the Adivasis from the indigenous colonizers. The disillusionment of the Tribals in this regard has been aired by her in unmistakable terms when she observes that "The Party's existence itself was based on money power and influence" (Mother Forest 39). Though the present political stance of Janu cannot be endorsed fully, her description of the plight of the underprivileged is really thought-provoking, especially when one analyzes Fanon's portrayal of the wretched of the earth. By citing from the experience of Mahasweta Devi and Janu, it becomes clear that the hope of liberation of the oppressed through the help of

the Left and democratic forces in various regions of India has been thwarted by the ineffective and inefficient moves of those from whom help was expected.

In this context, it is worth mentioning the very significant contribution of K. J. Baby in the realm of alternate literature on the themes of the oppressed of the Wayanad district of Kerala. Baby's play, Nadugadhika, is a truthful and objective portrayal of the typical indigenous colonization. The hopeless Adiyas and Paniyas of Wayanad, in a mad impulse, put on trial their Thampuran (indigenous oppressor). This gesture on the part of the tribals is their strong resistance to the 'cultural imposition' on them, resorted to by the Thampuran for several decades. Though Wayanad lends the resistance movement of the tribals a local habitation and a name, it could be viewed as the beginning; a symbolic beginning to all the resistance movements of the tribals and the other oppressed people elsewhere in Kerala, and perhaps in India. Through their "nadugadhika" the tribals are trying to re-create themselves. Besides, they are trying to find out a lasting remedy to their oppression. In other words, the Paniyas and Adiyas through their Gadhikakkaran are trying to decolonize themselves.

The Thampuran makes use of various means to make the tribals act according to his dictates. Valliyurkkavamma (Mali) is only one among the means of the indigenous bourgeois to impose his will on the natives, and to subjugate them. The Thampuran makes it out

that the tribals are essentially evil people, devoid of ethics. The plight of the tribals drives home the stark reality that even after fifty-eight years of 'independence', the oppressed people of India still remain oppressed. That is why the Gaddikakkaran in the play, Nadugadhika succeeds in making the people assert that the land belongs to those who till it. The tribals realize that their culture has been erased over the years by the Thampurans of this country. Through their 'nadugadhika', the tribals uphold once again their dignity and glory. Violence becomes a cleansing force in achieving this objective.

The author of the Nadugadhika, virtually living the life of a colonized man among the tribals, uses their past (through the recollection of Yachan) so effectively that, he succeeds in instilling among them the hope of a future liberated from the yoke of the Thampuran. Nadugadhika, in fact, can be termed as an instance of the 'literature of combat'. The combined efforts of the tribals may help them shake off the darkness in their life, and to welcome a new dawn, if not in the immediate future, at least in the distant future.

As T.P. Sukumaran, the renowned critic in Malayalam literature observes in the preface to the 1993 edition of the Nadugadhika, "the new Nadugadhika is a return to 'kanavumala', a symbolic representation of the fulfillment of Rousseau's dream of a return to nature" (Nadugadhika ix, translation mine). The Gadhikakkaran of the play, no doubt, is the prototype of A. Varghese, the revolutionary, who was tortured to death by the police for having sown in the minds of

the tribals of Wayanad the seeds of self-respect and revolutionary enlightenment.

Through the preceding examples it is highlighted that the Indian political leaders had no clear programmes to uplift India from its economic perjury once India was liberated from the British yoke. The then national leaders of India made speeches and wrote in the national newspapers, to quote one of Fanon's expressions, "to make the people dream dreams" (WE 53). This is true of all former European colonies where the kind of "simulacrum of phoney independence" (Sartre. Preface. WE 9) was achieved. Fanon further argues that, "for ninety-five percent of the population of under-developed countries, independence brings no immediate change" (WE 59).

Fanon is of the view that the nationalistic parties systematically disregard the peasantry. The starving peasant is the first among the exploited to discover that only violence pays. In Fanon's opinion, in colonial countries only the peasants are revolutionary, for, they have nothing to lose and everything to gain. Fanon's concept in this regard, to a certain extent, is in tune with Mao Tse-Tung's conviction of the revolutionary potential of the exploited and impoverished peasants. Fanon's concept of the revolutionary social force is quite different from the concepts of Marx and Engels. Marx and Engels considered the urban proletariat, the working class as the real revolutionary force. But, Marx and Engels had in mind the Western proletariat. Fanon did not consider the Western proletariat as

revolutionaries. He had the strong feeling that the Western proletariat had no sympathy for the colonized peoples. According to him the 'lumpen-proletariat' constitutes the real revolutionaries (WE 103). He describes the 'lumpen-proletariat' as the "that fraction of the peasant population which is blocked on the outer fringe of the urban centres, that fraction which has not yet succeeded in finding a bone to gnaw in the colonial system" (WE 102). He further elaborates: "the *lumpen-proletariat*, that horde of starving men, uprooted from their tribe and from their clan, constitutes one of the most spontaneous and the most radically revolutionary forces of a colonized people" (WE 103). All the other underprivileged people, including the prostitutes, the underpaid maids, and "all those who turn in circles between suicide and madness will recover their balance" (WE 104), and march forward with the other revolutionary forces. Fanon believes that the violent means adopted by the colonized masses as their means of liberation is of an intuitive nature. It is this intuitive nature that prompted the Algerian revolutionaries to say to the French imperialists thus: "Take your fangs out of the bleeding flesh of Algeria! Let the people of Algeria speak" (qtd. in The Wretched of the Earth 71 from "The Algerian Resistance" No: 4, Mar. 1957). "The settler's work", Fanon says, "is to make even dreams of liberty impossible for the native. The native's work is to imagine all possible methods for destroying the settler" (WE 73). Violence in a way becomes a cleansing force as far as the native is concerned. The native is freed of his inferiority complex, despair and

inaction on account of this violence. The destruction of the social, economic and political institutions, which were the instruments of oppression of the colonial society, is a precondition for the liberation of the colonized. Fanon believed that revolutionary violence only could cure colonial alienation, and destroy the oppressive social and political structures. His constant goal was to foster the full development of humanity, extending human dignity, freedom, love, care and justice to all the exploited. And violence, Fanon believed, was legitimate in the cause of self-defense of the oppressed.

In this context, it would be quite relevant to note the difference between Mahatma Gandhi and Fanon in their attitudes towards the means of liberation of the oppressed. Quite contrary to Fanon's justification of emancipatory violence, Gandhi advocated non-violent passive resistance as the means of liberation. The fact is that Gandhi was out of touch with the dire impacts of colonialism. Both Fanon and Gandhi were motivated by their respective cultural backgrounds. Moreover, even after fifty eight years of independence, in India, the gulf between the haves and have-nots has widened more than ever. Hence it can be said that India did get only flag independence in 1947. However, as Leela Gandhi observes, "Gandhi and Fanon rewrite the narrative of Western modernity to include the repressed and marginalized figures of its victims" (Leela Gandhi 21). Nelson Mandela was considerably influenced by the non-violent passive resistance ideology of Gandhi. But, he too had to advocate limited violence for the

cause of the liberation of the South African people from the Apartheid regime. For, as Gail M. Presbey observes, Mandela was particularly concerned that the “aggressiveness” of the people “would turn inward, and that they would hurt each other and put their own communities under stress” (“Fanon on the Role of Violence: A Comparison with Gandhi and Mandela”. In Gordon et al ed. Fanon: A Critical Reader 283-296).

Like Fanon, Sartre also believed that violence lay in the heart of the Western colonizers, and that the colonized were forced to choose violent means of struggle as the only viable option to achieve genuine freedom. Fanon, as Peter Geismar observes, “was by no means an apostle of violence when he left for North Africa in 1953; it was the violence of the French in Algeria that pushed him into this pattern of thought” (Fanon 190). Geismar further says that “Third World revolutions are the cathartic vengeance for decades of quieter colonial murders” (Fanon 191). Even while upholding violence as the only means to bring about authentic decolonization, Fanon was very anxious about the success of the liberation struggles of the peoples of the Third World. Fanon’s warnings in the chapter entitled “The Pitfalls of National Consciousness” in The Wretched of the Earth against the quite possible machinations of the national bourgeoisie who are expected to rule the newly liberated countries, as Peter Geismar comments, is “a Communist Manifesto for the Third World outlining

the false paths away from the colonial epoch" (Fanon 193). As Adolfo Gilly observes, "in a world oppression is maintained by violence from above, it is only possible to liquidate it with violence from below" (Introduction. SDC 3). The role played by European humanism in the perpetuation of violence in the former colonies was remarkable. This is one of the reasons for Sartre's justification of the counter-violence of the oppressed. For, in the Preface to The Wretched of the Earth, he observes that European humanism "was nothing but an ideology of lies, a perfect justification for pillage; its honeyed words, its affectation of sensibility were only alibis for our aggressions" (WE 21). Sartre adds that even the non-violent ideas of the Europeans are conditioned by a thousand-year-old oppression. Those who condemn the criminality of the colonized willfully forget the criminality unleashed by the colonizers for centuries. In fact, as Renate Zahar observes, when acts of violence are directed "against the true enemy – the colonizer – violence loses its criminal character: it now becomes emancipatory, and hence, a potential instrument of disalienation" (Zahar 56). It was the inhuman apparatus of oppression of the colonizer which generated violence in the colonized. As Hugo Chavez remarks, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible, will make violent revolution possible" (Understanding the Venezuelan Revolution 187). Violence, when directed against innocent people, has to be condemned. As Lewis R. Gordon remarks, "it is when violence is linked to the innocent that there is victimization; and when linked to the guilty, retribution"

("Fanon's Tragic Revolutionary Violence". in Fanon: A Critical Reader 296-311).

The ideas of a common cause, a national destiny, and a collective history, which are developed during the war of liberation, help the natives in the building up of the nation after the liberation. This cement of unity, Fanon observes is "mixed with blood and anger" (WE 74). The people who fought against oppression in the colonial period are called upon to fight against poverty, illiteracy and underdevelopment. The absence of infrastructure is the main stumbling block to progress once national independence is achieved. The colonizers have been very shrewdly withdrawing capital from the colonies once they realized that the colonies were about to be liberated. Fanon's righteous indignation is very well evident when he says, "European opulence is literally scandalous" (WE 76). He reminds the Europeans that the well-being and the progress of Europe have been built up with the sweat and the dead bodies of the Negroes, Arabs, Indians, and the yellow races. Che Guevara too strongly believed that the standard of living in the most powerful countries is based on the extreme poverty of the underdeveloped countries. Walter Rodney also endorses Fanon's views regarding European opulence. For, Rodney is of the view that all the countries named as 'underdeveloped' in the world are exploited by the others, and that the underdevelopment with which the world is now preoccupied is a product of capitalist, imperialist and colonialist exploitation. Rodney

argues that “the development of Europe” was part of “the same dialectical process in which Africa was underdeveloped” (Rodney 162). All of us know how the apparatus of economic pressure has been used the U.S. against nascent states like Cuba. When Castro took over power in Cuba, and gave it to the people, it enraged the United States beyond description. But, the declared will of the people of Cuba resisted, and is still resisting the move of the U.S to strangle its people. The people of Cuba have proved to the U.S that the dollar is not that all-mighty as the U.S believes it to be. Today, the Latin American countries, especially Cuba and Venezuela, are symbols of hope for those who despair at the thought of the U.S. hegemony forever. It is also a warning to those who evince complicity in the machinations of the George Bush government in its efforts to re-colonize the underdeveloped and developing countries. The failure of the Bush government to get the Latin American countries to move towards a Free Trade Area of the Americas (the U.S. grand vision of creating a single market from Alaska to Argentina) is a good instance of the resistance to the U.S. hegemony. The launch of the South American Community of Nations in December 2004 (covering all the thirteen countries of the South) is a formidable threat to the U.S.

It was a Herculean task to build up the nation as far as the Third World countries like Cuba and Algeria were concerned. These countries with the meagre resources they had in hand tried and succeeded in finding an answer to their appalling hunger and poverty.

The nationalist leaders of countries like Algeria and Cuba exhorted their peoples to make a gigantic effort to rebuild their respective nations. A period of austerity and hard work unprecedented in their history followed to find an answer to their nations' baffling hunger and poverty. In due course of time, these nations created history of a sort by establishing, to quote a term from Fanon, "an autarkic regime" (WE 77).

When the FLN leader Ben Bella took over power in Algeria after its independence in 1962, several revolutionary measures were taken to lead the country towards the socialist revolution as envisaged by the Front leaders. On 29 March 1963, Ben Bella, the first President of independent Algeria made a historic announcement to the people of Algeria on television and radio that the government had decided to entrust the workers, once for all, vacant farms and factories. He told them that they were the masters of their destiny, and exhorted them to "undertake the exalting task of the socialist edification" of their country (qtd from Ben Bella's speech of 29 March 1963 in Algeria: The Politics of a Socialist Revolution 59). In March 1963 itself, through a series of decrees known as the 'March Decrees', Ben Bella legalized the takeover of extensive agricultural farms and industrial properties abandoned by the former colonizers, propounded the concept of "Autogestion". "Autogestion", as John P. Entelis says, "was conceived as an economic system based on workers' management of their own affairs" (Algeria: The Revolution Institutionalized 58). Ben Bella felt

that 'autogestion' was imperative for the transformation of Algeria from a colonial to a socialist economy. But, self-management proved to be a failure, as the political education of the workers was sadly neglected by the FLN after Algeria became independent. As David and Marina Ottaway observe, "the party provided no help in educating the workers". Consequently, they add, "Algeria had become a prisoner of the myth of self-management" (Algeria: The Politics of a Socialist Revolution 66-67).

It is curious to note that in spite of the fact that Ben Bella aspired to become a great revolutionary leader of the Third World, he did not make any ideological attack against France, which was trying to maintain its influence on its liberated colonies. For, as David and Marina Ottaway observe, "Ben Bella, a romantic revolutionary, in his vision of a socialist and united Africa, was very much a realist when it came to Algeria's immediate interests, and these lay in good relations with France" (Algeria: The Politics of a Socialist Revolution 148). In other words, due to the unfulfilled promises and half-applied measures Ben Bella could not rise up to the expectation of the people. And on 19 June, 1965, through a bloodless coup' de tat Mohamed Houari Boumedienne , the Defence Minister of Ben Bell's cabinet, who was opposed to the idea of formal democracy, took over power.

Boumedienne, though he came to power through a coup, stressed the importance of participatory democracy, and the role of the citizens in a socialist society. Till his death due to sudden illness

in November, 1978, Boumedienne did his best to stabilize the nation's leadership. He consolidated government control over the economy, and introduced comprehensive economic planning towards a socialist orientation.

Colonel Chadli Bendjedid who succeeded Boumedienne in February, 1979 as the third President of Algeria, also continued the socialist orientation of governance, and by 1984, as John P. Entelis observes, "efficiency, accountability, and productivity" were the hallmarks of the new Algeria (Algeria: The Revolution Institutionalized 66). But the Chadli government and the successive governments had to bow to the tremendous pressure exerted by Muslim fundamentalist elements. The women of Algeria today do not enjoy the kind of freedom envisaged by Fanon. Living in a chauvinistic environment, most of the Muslim women of Algeria continue to wear veil even today

By April 1991 Algeria switched on to multiparty system. In the elections to the National People's Assembly in December 1991, the Muslim fundamentalist group, the FIS became the largest group gaining 47.5% of the total votes cast, and the FLN was relegated to the third place.

In spite of the efforts of the successive Algerian governments since independence to provide basic amenities, as water, electricity, food, housing, education, healthcare and transportation, considerable success has not been achieved in these fields because of the uncontrolled population growth of Algeria. Living conditions remain

woefully inadequate. However education remains mandatory for all children under the age of sixteen. The principal crops of Algeria are wheat, barley and potatoes. Natural gas and petroleum are the major sources of energy. The principal source of imports continues to be France. Italy is the principal market for exports. The other major trading partners of Algeria are the USA, Spain and Germany.

After the resignation of Colonel Chadli, in January 1992, Mohamed Boudiaf became the President of Algeria. But he was assassinated on 29 June 1992 by the Islamic Salvation Group, a fundamentalist organization, and Alikafi succeeded him as President. By 2001 May, the unrest among the Berbers, Algeria's main ethnic community, erupted into violence. In March 2002 Bouteflika, the present President of Algeria agreed to grant the Berber language official status alongside Arabic. Even though privatization is allowed in small-and medium-size businesses in commerce, tourism, and transport, strategic industries like gas and oil, and the large industrial complexes are to remain state-owned. Though at present Algeria has fallen prey to neoliberalism, during the first two decades after its independence the country witnessed remarkable progress in all walks of life thanks to the concerted efforts of its people under the FLN leadership.

Those countries that refused to undergo such ordeals, Fanon says, concluded treaties and undertakings with the former colonizers. Several Third World countries, including India, have now become

victims of neo-colonialism, globalization, and WTO thanks to the machinations of the ruling elites. When the IMF and The World Bank were created in 1944, the IMF had the short-term objective of providing temporary assistance to correct the balance of payment problems of the member countries. Whereas, the World Bank's emphasis was growth and development through long term project funding, initially for reconstruction after the Second World War, but later, the assistance was extended to all the developing countries. But, gradually trade liberalization was forced upon the countries which received assistance from the IMF and the World Bank, in order to open their markets, which in turn crippled the productive structures of these countries. Consequently, devaluation, removal of food subsidies, spending cuts etc. resulted in damaging effects on income distribution in developing countries, especially in the countries of the Third World. The IMF and the World Bank laid its trap in such a way that most countries which receive assistance from these agencies cannot choose, but have to accept the conditions laid down by the IMF and the World Bank in gross violation of the national sovereignty of the developing countries. As Kjell J. Havnevik observes in the introduction to The IMF and the World Bank in Africa, "many countries with fund programs in the 1980s experienced contraction in per capita income, rising unemployment, rising urban poverty, reduced government expenditure per head of the population, rising malnutrition among children, stagnant or falling levels of real

investment and that there was no improvement, but in some cases deterioration in the current account of balance of payments" (9-23). What was more, the per capita income fell in over seventy percent of the IMF-assisted countries of Africa and Latin America in the 1980s.

India became a prey to the IMF conditions for the first time in November 1981, when the government of India drew five billion dollars from the IMF as three-year Extended Fund Facility. Cheryl Payer, in his article, "The IMF and India", observes that the Extended Fund Facility India drew then "was the largest amount ever extended to any borrower, larger even than drawings by industrialized countries such as Great Britain and Italy" (The IMF and the World Bank in Africa 65-83). Extending such a huge amount to a country like India, which did not face any crisis in 1981, drives home the machinations made by the IMF to spread its debt trap on the developing countries of the world. Payer further adds that he sees "a very patient, very long-term campaign on the part of the IMF and the World Bank to open the Indian market to Western exports, Western technology, and Western private investment *whether or not these were needed by India*" (Payer's emphasis, The IMF and the World Bank 65-83). Surprisingly, the loan amount was not spent by the Indian government to resolve the balance of payment crisis. India made use of that money for one of the costly Imports the country did in 1981, the purchase of French Mirage aircraft (which was not indispensable), which incurred an amount equivalent to the IMF loan.

A series of price increases in India, of major consumer products and services in the public sector in 1980, and in early 1981 which preceded the IMF loan agreement, according to Payer, could be viewed against the conditions of the IMF loan agreement (Payer quotes from supportive documents published by the government of India and the IMF). The demand on the part of the IMF for the devaluation of the Indian rupee, accepting the World Bank conditions for foreign participation in offshore oil exploration, urging India to borrow more and more from the international monetary agencies are the consequences of the Indian indebtedness to IMF in 1981. Over the years it has been proved beyond doubt that import liberalization is not a panacea for the economic ills of the developing countries of the Third and the Fourth World, but a heinous trap which cannot be broken that easily. In short, the IMF and the World Bank are indeed like the stepmother of Cinderella, who advised her daughters to cut off their toes and heels so that their feet could fit into the glass slipper, as Cheryl Payer's analogy drives home (The IMF and the World Bank 65-83). The admonition of the IMF and the World Bank to the various countries of the world is, definitely, to cripple their productive sectors in the hope of winning the grand prize of an export market.

It may be noted that, even decades before Isebill Gruhn (the author of the essay, "The Recolonization of Africa: International Organizations on the March"), and Cheryl Payer, Fanon with his remarkable foresight had predicted and warned (in 1961) about the

above mentioned predicament of the countries which fall prey to the IMF and World Bank debt-trap. It was not any kind of paranoia which prompted Fanon to make these predictions, but, on the contrary, his sharp, acutely sane, and out and out rational revolutionary thinking.

Curiously enough, the French government has a considerable hold on the oil companies of Algeria today. The Western financial groups demand political stability and a calm social climate in the newly independent colonies. Such a condition, Fanon asserts, is impossible to obtain in these countries since the state of the people is appalling. This frightful condition, especially, the periodic famine and starvation in the newly independent countries is again the creation of the former colonizers. That colonialism has 'modernized' the colonized is a superficial and blatantly bogus claim of the colonizer is evidenced in the harsh realities of malnutrition and starvation in Africa and in several other countries of the world today. The fact is that, as Walter Rodney puts it, "the vast majority of Africans went into colonialism with a hoe and came out with a hoe" (Rodney 239). The concerted move of the colonial rulers to replace the diversified agriculture of the African tradition with 'monoculture' – colonial economies which were centered around a single crop – was, according to Rodney, the real cause of today's famine and malnutrition problems of Africa. For, as a consequence of monoculture, the increased produce of a particular crop of a colony was exported, and several items were imported, resulting in what has been described as 'growth without development'.

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Curiously enough, the French government has a considerable hold on the oil companies of Algeria today. The Western financial groups demand political stability and a calm social climate in the newly independent colonies. Such a condition, Fanon asserts, is impossible to obtain in these countries since the state of the people is appalling. This frightful condition, especially, the periodic famine and starvation in the newly independent countries is again the creation of the former colonizers. That colonialism has 'modernized' the colonized is a superficial and blatantly bogus claim of the colonizer is evidenced in the harsh realities of malnutrition and starvation in Africa and in several other countries of the world today. The fact is that, as Walter Rodney puts it, "the vast majority of Africans went into colonialism with a hoe and came out with a hoe" (Rodney 239). The concerted move of the colonial rulers to replace the diversified agriculture of the African tradition with 'monoculture' – colonial economies which were centered around a single crop – was, according to Rodney, the real cause of today's famine and malnutrition problems of Africa. For, as a consequence of monoculture, the increased produce of a particular crop of a colony was exported, and several items were imported, resulting in what has been described as 'growth without development'.

Walter Rodney's analysis of how the U.S. forced certain countries of Latin America like Costa Rica and Guatemala to concentrate heavily on growing bananas, and the eventual contemptuous term of 'banana republics' for those countries, is a specific example of how monoculture underdeveloped the colonized people. In some countries like Gambia, the impact of monoculture turned out to be quite alarming and disastrous, as the exclusive cultivation of cash crops like groundnuts, disregarding the urgent need of the people for staple food like rice resulted in famine. Consequently, as Rodney observes, "Colonialism created conditions which led not just to periodic famine, but to chronic undernourishment, malnutrition and deterioration in the physique of the African people" (Rodney 258). These facts prove that the malnutrition and starvation of the Africans of today are not the natural lot of those people from time immemorial, as made out by the so called 'benefactors' of the African people.

The poster of a black child with transparent rib-case, huge head, bloated stomach, protruding eyes, and twigs as arms and legs – a favourite poster of the large British charitable organization 'Oxfam' – representing a case of kwashiorkor (a term borrowed from Ghana), a classic case of extreme malnutrition, is in reality, the conscious distortion of historical facts to explain away the real cause of the poverty of the African countries, and the other newly independent countries elsewhere in the world. 'Oxfam' will never admit the fact that capitalism and colonialism have been responsible for the nutritional

deficiencies of the children of the Third World countries. It is a foregone conclusion that it was the insistence on monoculture which put an end forever to the more varied diet of the pre-colonial era. Drought is only a comparatively recent phenomenon in certain African countries, the cause of which has to be probed in detail, when one takes into account the immense water resources of Africa.

Fanon's exhortation to humanity at large for a redistribution of wealth even now remains a cry in the wilderness. As he argues, "capitalist exploitation and cartels and monopolies are the enemies of the underdeveloped countries" (WE 78). The setting up of a socialist regime which is completely oriented towards the people as a whole is the only solution to the problems faced by the newly liberated underdeveloped countries. As the wealth of the imperial countries is the wealth of the underdeveloped countries too, the Europeans have a moral obligation to pay back to the Third World by way of reparation. The Europeans must help to rehabilitate mankind. To bring about this, Fanon believes, the help of the European people is indispensable. It is high time that the European peoples stopped plying what Fanon calls, "the stupid game of the Sleeping Beauty" (WE 84).

As already hinted by Fanon, as far as the nationalist parties are concerned, the will to break colonialism is linked with another quite different will: the will to come into friendly agreement with colonialism. But the mass of the country people think of their liberation in terms of violence, in terms of armed struggle only. The

armed struggle of the masses naturally disconcerts the political parties because, as Fanon puts it, "their very existence is the constant condemnation of all rebellion" (WE 101). In this context, Fanon underscores the urgent necessity of raising the standard of consciousness of the rank and file. In other words the masses should be politically educated and indoctrinated. That is, the political education of the masses becomes a historic necessity. As the struggle of the masses begins, the colonizer's behaviour becomes more 'human'. The natives are liable to be disarmed by some concession or another. These concessions, Fanon says, are "bones of charity" flung to the natives by the colonizer. He tells the natives that "colonialism never gives anything away for nothing" (WE 114). Fanon warns the masses and their leaders that "certain concessions are the cloak for a tighter rein" (WE 114). The reality is that it is not colonialism that grants such concessions, but the native himself that extorts them. Fanon urges the natives not to surrender their principles when concessions are flung to them. "Violence alone, violence committed by the people," Fanon argues, is the only means of the liberation of the masses (WE 118). A quite welcome gesture on the part of certain prominent citizens of the mother country boosts the morale of the fighting masses. For, these prominent citizens condemn the war policy of their government and assert that the national will of the colonized people should be taken into consideration.

The battle against colonialism does not run smoothly along the lines of nationalism. Factors like the un-preparedness of the educated classes, lack of practical links between them and the masses, the intellectual laziness of the national middle class are responsible for such an impasse. The national middle class that comes to power at the end of the colonial regime is forced "to send out frenzied appeals for help" to the former colonizer (WE 120). Quite naturally this middle class refuses to follow the path of revolution. "The national bourgeoisie of under-developed countries", Fanon observes, "is not engaged in production, nor in invention, nor building, nor labour; it is completely canalized into the activities of the intermediary type" (WE 120). The developments in Algeria and in almost all other newly liberated countries of the world highlights Fanon's prophetic insight in this regard. As elsewhere in the world, in Algeria also a middle class which scrambled for power and personal wellbeing began to develop. This sizable middle class was the greatest stumbling block to the launching of a socialist revolution, after Algerian independence. The socialist measures taken by the National Liberation Front government considerably prevented the consolidation of the power of the national bourgeoisie. Walter Rodney is of the view that "Fanon has dealt scorchingly and at length with the question of the minority in Africa which serves as the transmission line between the metropolitan capitalists and the dependencies in Africa" (Rodney 36). In Rodney's view, the presence of Africans serving as economic,

political and cultural agents of the European colonists is one of the decisive features of the colonial system. The assessment of Rodney that even in Algeria there emerged a number of subjects called 'the yes, yes men', "who always assented to carrying out French instructions in opposition to the interests of most of their brothers", evidences that Fanon's prediction proved to be quite true (Rodney 284). Instead of exercising any progressive function, "the 'bourgeoisie' in the developing countries is parasitical and redundant", as Renate Zahar says (Zahar 102).

Nigeria is perhaps the worst affected of the African countries as a result of the domination of international capitalism. It is a country rich in natural resources, its land is very fertile, and it contains the greatest water bodies of the entire Africa. Moreover, it has got abundant intellectual resources too. The country was a leader producer of cocoa, groundnuts, and palm oil. In the 1970s the country was prosperous because of its oil wealth. But, by the end of the 1990s the country virtually became pauper. In 1972, the government had promulgated The Indigenization Law to nationalize various sectors of the economy, and to restrict foreign participation in the other sectors. At that time the government visualized to complete the process of nationalization within a couple of years. But within a few years The Indigenization Law was abrogated due to the tremendous pressure from the IMF as part of its Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). Now Nigeria no longer produces groundnuts. The country which used

to export palm oil, now imports it from Malaysia. Nigeria's comprador bourgeoisie, which took over power from the former British colonizers, have been responsible for the present impasse in that country.

An authentic middle class in an underdeveloped country ought to put at the people's disposal the intellectual and technical capital that it has snatched when going through the colonial universities. In the case of India, except for a few like Jawaharlal Nehru, the national middle class was not at all heroic or positive in this regard. The national middle class, Fanon says, constantly demands the nationalization of the economy and the trading sectors. To the national middle class, "nationalization quite simply means the transfer into native hands of those unfair advantages which are a legacy of the colonial period" (WE 122). The result is that the national bourgeoisie adopts a complacent attitude by being the "Western bourgeoisie's business agent" (WE 122). Fanon makes a specific distinction between the colonial bourgeoisie and the national middle class. The national middle class that has taken over power in the newly independent countries is an underdeveloped middle class, bereft of any economic power. There is nothing dynamic about them. It is the role of the national bourgeoisie as the 'manager of Western enterprise' which has resulted in making the Third and Fourth World countries the virtual brothels of Europe.

Fanon's prediction that the national economies of the countries governed by the indigenous bourgeoisie after the formal independence

would be controlled by the neo-colonialists, has been proved to be quite true thanks to the influence of the IMF, World Bank, W.T.O., and now the Asian Development Bank (ADB). For, as he remarked in The Wretched of the Earth, "The budget is balanced through loans and gifts, while every three or four months the chief ministers themselves or else their governmental delegations come to the erstwhile mother countries or elsewhere, fishing for capital" (134). Unlike the European bourgeoisie, who are dynamic, educated and secular, the indigenous bourgeoisie, the "get-rich-quick middle class" are only the 'caricature' of the Western bourgeoisie (WE 141). Hence, the former colonizers could easily manipulate the weakness of the native bourgeoisie.

In the name of tourism, the national bourgeoisie set up rest and relaxation centres, and pleasure centres to appease the Western bourgeoisie. Fanon has in mind certain Latin American republics of the late 1950s when he makes some 'unpleasant' remarks on the national bourgeoisie. For, the banking magnates, technocrats, and the big businessmen of U.S. were provided with all the paraphernalia of a very luxurious life in some Latin American countries, despite the untold famine and poverty of the native peoples. These tourist resorts in due course of time will become "the brothels of Europe", as Fanon terms it (WE 123). Within a few years, the bourgeoisie invest a large amount in foreign banks from the profit it makes out of their native soil. Over the years it has been proved beyond doubt that almost all

the bourgeoisie leaders of India have deposited huge sums in Swiss banks and other foreign investment centers. Apart from the already listed inhuman traits, the Western bourgeoisie is fundamentally racist. Western bourgeoisie racism is racism of contempt. Commenting on this, Fanon observes: "It is a racism which minimizes what it hates" (WE 131).

The other prominent anti-colonial thinkers and revolutionaries of the world also speak volubly on the inhuman traits of racism. Albert Memmi believed that racism was ingrained in the actions, institutions, and on the very nature of the colonial methods of production and exchange. For, Memmi says, "racism is part of colonialism throughout the world". He adds, "racism sums up and symbolizes the fundamental relation which unites colonialist and colonized" (Memmi 60-70). Walter Rodney believes that the black man is paid lower wages as the racist theory views the black as inferior to the white. Renate Zahar too thinks that the colonizer did not attribute human status to the 'natives'. For, she remarks: "The most characteristic feature of the colonial situation is racism, which underpins ideologically the division of society into 'human beings' and 'natives' caused by the colonial process of production" (Zahar 19).

Fanon once again makes a clear distinction between the bourgeoisie dictatorship of the under-developed countries and the well-developed countries. It is the insistence of a leader and his moral behaviour which gives strength to the bourgeoisie dictatorship of the

undeveloped countries. In well-developed countries the bourgeoisie dictatorship has been possible mainly because of the economic power of the bourgeoisie. The leader of the under developed country fails to rise to the expectation of the masses once he takes over the reign of the new regime, after independence. In Fanon's words, the leader becomes "the general president of that company of profiteers impatient for their returns which constitute the national bourgeoisie" (WE 133). Fanon's observations become unmistakably prophetic indeed when he says that under such a leader, "the economic channels of the young state sink back inevitably into colonialist lines" (WE 134). The present state of affairs in the Third World countries in general, and Algeria in particular has proved his predictions to be true. Today, the French government has a very good command over the oil wells of Algeria. The leaders of the newly independent countries try to mystify and bewilder the masses by recollecting in their speeches some touching events that had taken place during the struggle for freedom. Thus, Fanon adds, "the living party . . . has been transformed into a trade union of individual interests" (WE 136).

Fanon believes that it is the duty of the people to see that the bourgeoisie is not allowed to find the condition necessary for its existence, and its strength. He is of the view that "the combined effort of the masses led by a party, and of intellectuals who are highly conscious and armed with revolutionary principles ought to bar the way to this useless and harmful middle class" (WE 140).

After having dealt with in detail about the drawbacks of the bourgeoisie class, Fanon tell us what his concept of authentic nationalization is. If the government of a newly independent country genuinely desires to bring the country out of stagnation, and to lead it on the road towards development and progress, "it must first and foremost nationalize the middleman's trading sector" (WE 144). But, Fanon warns that such nationalization must not contribute to "the triumph of a dictatorship of civil servants . . ." (WE 145). "Nationalizing the intermediary sector", according to Fanon, "means organizing wholesale and retail cooperatives on a democratic basis; it also means decentralizing these cooperatives by getting the mass of the people interested in the ordering of public affairs" (WE 145).

### **Fanon's concept of good government, ideal leader, party, and army**

Fanon envisages a government that wishes to educate the people politically, a government that "expresses its desire to govern with the people and for the people" (WE 145). By political education Fanon means not to treat the masses as children, but to make adults of them. An ideal leader of the people, Fanon observes, should be the shepherd of the people. In international politics today, one can think of only a few leaders who satisfy Fanon's criteria of leadership quality. One of them is definitely Fidel Castro. For, he is a leader who could interpret the full meaning of the people's desires and aspirations, and he has been struggling for the past forty-six years to fulfill the

promises he made to the people of Cuba. Castro could accomplish this Herculean task, as Che Guevara said, on account of the “close dialectical unity between the individual and the mass” (Global Justice 32). Hugo Chavez may be the only other leader (perhaps next only to Castro), who could be called ‘the shepherd of the people’ for having saved Venezuela from the impact of neo-colonialism by planning through democratic, participatory and public debate.

Fanon believed that the party must be a tool in the hands of the people, and the people must decide on the policy that the government carries out. He puts forward a very concrete suggestion that in an under-developed country, the leading members of the party should avoid the capital. Except for a very few leaders, the rest of them must live in country districts. What Fanon hints at is extreme decentralization in the party. “For the people”, Fanon says, “the party is not an authority, but, an organism through which they as the people exercise their authority, and express their will” (WE 149). What Fanon envisaged was decentralized and participatory planning, instead of a few persons deciding for the whole people. The party must create a policy for the masses. Fanon goes to the extent of saying that “the party should be the direct expression of the masses” (WE 151).

Thanks to the Algerian Revolution, the intellectuals of Algeria could directly come into contact with the people, and this, in turn, has helped in the onward progress of the consciousness of the Algerians at large. The people’s tribunals and the local planning commissions of

Algeria have played a remarkable role in the making of the Algeria of today. That “the land belongs to those that till it” has been a fundamental law of the Algerian Revolution (WE 154). This kind of education has made the Algerians “an adult people”. They are now “men of property” (WE 155).

Fanon further elaborates on the topic of political education. By political education he means opening the minds of the people, and awakening them so that their intelligence will be born. The masses have to be taught relentlessly and passionately that everything depends on them, and that the progress of the country will stagnate if they shirk their responsibility. The people will quickly realize that dignity and sovereignty are exact equivalents, that is, “a free people living in dignity is a sovereign people” (WE 160). Regarding national reconstruction, Fanon observes that each citizen has to play an active role to associate oneself with the nation. He makes this point very clear by drawing an analogy between national reconstruction and the building of a bridge for the welfare of the people. For, he says, “If the building of the bridge does not enrich the awareness of those who work on it, then that bridge ought not to be built, and the citizens can go on swimming across the river or going by boat” (WE 162). The bridge “should come from the muscles and brains of the citizens” (WE 162). Fanon is not averse to the idea of the new nation employing the services of even foreign engineers and architects for the reconstruction of the nation after independence, but they must work under the

supervision of the local party leaders so that “the new techniques can make their way into the cerebral desert of the citizen”, and the eventual responsibility will be assumed by the citizen (WE 162).

In Algeria, after independence, the government faced with acute shortage of trained personnel, had to rely heavily on the well-educated elites to fill the posts of the administration, and so, no ‘purging’ of the nascent bourgeoisie could be done. Moreover, in independent Algeria, according to David and Marina Ottaway, “the 300,000 urban workers are indeed a privileged class. In the cities they have taken the place of the European workers, just as the Algerian bourgeoisie has supplanted its European counterpart” (Algeria: The Politics of a Socialist Revolution 35).

Fanon underscores the need of a clear programme to free the people politically and socially. A well planned economic programme and a doctrine concerning the division of wealth and social relations are inevitable for this.

The army of the post-revolutionary country, Fanon observes, “is not always a school of war”. It is rather “a school of civic and political education” (WE 162). Similarly, women will enjoy equality in all walks of life. For, Fanon says, “Women will have exactly the same place as men, not in the clauses of the constitution, but in the life of everyday: in the factory, at school and in the parliament” (WE 163). Fanon strongly believes that if a nation desires constant progress, concerted moves should be made to develop a political and social

consciousness from national consciousness. A well-defined economic and social relations programme is imperative for a government which really desires to free the people politically and socially. "The living expression of the nation," Fanon feels, "is the moving consciousness of the people; it is the coherent, enlightened action of men and women" (WE 165). The national government will be national in spirit only if it is governed "by the people and for the people, for the outcasts and by the outcasts" (WE 165). In quite unmistakable terms Fanon affirms that no leader, however popular he may be, can substitute himself for the will of the people. In short the national government "ought first to give back their dignity to all citizens" (WE 165).

While speaking of culture, Fanon asserts that there existed a national culture before the colonial era, and thereby pooh-poohs the colonial theory of a pre-colonial barbarism. Aime Cesaire had asserted emphatically that the old Negro civilizations were "courteous civilizations" (Discourse 51). Cesaire justifies his contention citing the words of the German Africanist, Frobenius: "The idea of barbaric Negro is a European invention" (Discourse 53). Fanon shares the views expressed by colonial intellectuals to the effect that there was nothing to be ashamed of the past, but rather dignity, glory and solemnity. The professed intention of the colonizer that colonialism came to lighten the darkness of the natives is a big fraud. Albert Memmi too ridicules the so called moralizing and cultural mission colonialism. Memmi strongly rejects the claim of the colonizer that "he

has the immense merit of bringing light to the colonized's ignominious darkness" (Memmi 75). He calls "it charitable racism", and calls in question the very dialectics of exalting the colonizer and humbling the colonized. Olufemi Taiwo also shares the views of Fanon and Memmi regarding the claims of a 'benevolent colonialism'. For, as Taiwo observes, "Colonialism was no benevolent extension of civilization into some picturesque but obscure corners of the globe ravaged by savagery although some of its apologists would like us to believe that it was" ("On the Misadventures of National Consciousness" in Gordon et al ed. Fanon: A Critical Reader 255-70). On the other hand, Taiwo believes, colonialism was a response to the rapacious demands for raw materials of the emergent capitalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Fanon leaves no stone unturned to prove that a Negro culture and a Negro literature existed. For, he tells us that the native literature of the 40s and 50s of the twentieth century is Negro literature. "The concept of Negro-ism", Fanon adds, "for example, was the emotional if not the logical antithesis of the insult which the white man flung at humanity" (WE 171). The poets of Negro-ism oppose the idea of an old Europe to a young Africa. They assert that concepts like lyricism, frankness, liveliness, and liberty are not the monopoly of the Western poets. Negro-ism had its echo not only in Africa, but in America and elsewhere in the world. Similarly the struggle for national liberty has given birth to another cultural phenomenon, namely, the

awakening of Islam. Contemporary Arab writers are very voluble about their assertion of “the great pages of their history” (WE 172).

Fanon then traces the different phases in the evolution of the native intellectual's culture. In the first phase, the intellectual gives proof that he has assimilated the culture of the colonizer. He is inspired by European models and trends in literature. In this period the native writers and artists evince craze for staunch assimilation. Fanon calls this period as “the period of unqualified assimilation” (WE 179). In the second phase, the native decides to remember what in reality he is, and so, he is ‘disturbed’. Memories of his childhood days, and old legends will be reinterpreted against a borrowed aestheticism. Humour and allegory are likely to dominate the native intellectual's works of this period. In the third phase of his development, the native intellectual will “shake the people” (WE 179). In this “fighting phase” the intellectual succeeds in generating and stirring patriotic feelings in his people. The literature of this phase is revolutionary national literature. One can see so many writers emerging in this period who all become mouthpieces of the oppressed people. These writers radically condemn passive resistance.

When talking about culture, Fanon makes a distinction between ‘culture’ and ‘custom’. “In its essence”, Fanon says, “culture is opposed to custom, for, custom is always the deterioration of culture” (WE 180). Fanon's advice to the native intellectual who desires to create an authentic work of art is that he must be realistic

in his endeavour. The native intellectual must search for truth in “the seething pot” of reality out of which “the learning of the future will emerge” (WE 181). In other words, the artist should come forth with revolutionary art. This is applicable to poetry too. In the period of assimilation one can witness rhyming poetry. Then comes descriptive and analytical poetry in which revolutionary ideas are abundant. Fanon admonishes the poet that it is his/her duty to take up arms on the people’s side, when the occasion demands it. Fanon cites the poem entitled African Dawn written by Keita Fobeda, the Guinean poet to illustrate how best a poet can reinterpret the rhythmic images of his country from a revolutionary point of view. The poem delineates the fight between colonial darkness and the dream of the day of liberation. Eventually the night gets totally exhausted, and dies. The hero of the poem, Naman, the hardworking farmer and the best representative of his race, is marked out to serve as a soldier in the French forces in North Africa. From there Naman goes to Germany, and, eventually, he is taken prisoner by the German forces. After years of Naman’s departure from his home, his wife Kadia was informed that Naman would be coming back home soon. But, one month after that information, Kadia was indescribably shocked by the news that Naman was shot dead in Senegal by his white officer, under a flimsy pretext. The concluding lines of the poem give one the impression that Naman’s people will definitely avenge his murder. Fanon believed that through the tragic story of Naman and Kadia,

Keita Fobeda was symbolically portraying the inhuman torture resorted to by the French colonizers in their various colonies. Through the refrain, "Dawn was breaking", the poet succeeds in reaching out to the heart of the oppressed the message that eventually the fight between the night of colonialism and the colonized mass at large will end up in the total liberation of the oppressed. Commenting on the poem, Fanon observes, "the colonized man who writes for his people, ought to use the past with the intention of opening the future, as an invitation to action, and a basis for hope" (WE 187).

To make the binding of a culture possible, Fanon argues, the native man of culture has to fight for the liberation of the nation. It was the concrete expression of the Algerian culture that one could witness in the collective fight of the men and women of Algeria for their liberation. True culture, during the liberation movement, becomes the entire culture of the nation. What colonial domination has been doing over the years was the obliteration of the native culture. Concerted moves were on to make the native believe that his culture was a kind of inferior culture. The withering away of the reality of the nation and the death-pangs of the national culture take place simultaneously. The intelligentsia is the first section of the society that is being influenced by the culture of the colonizer. It is only while the native intellectual is addressing his own people, one can speak of a national literature. Such literature, according to Fanon, may be called "a literature of combat, because it moulds the

national consciousness . . . it assumes responsibility, and because it is the will to liberty expressed in terms of time and space" (WE 193). The reappearance of the epic as an authentic form of entertainment in Algeria since 1952 was symbolic of the new-found cultural value of the native writers and their 'compact' reading public. There was nothing surprising about the attitude of the French colonizers when they began arresting the new storytellers systematically since 1955. This change of outlook in the native intellectuals is reflected not only in literature, but in other domains like ceramics, pottery making etc. Formalism is done away with in the works of craftsmen. The repercussions of the rising Revolution in Algeria could be seen in the colour used to decorate jars, jugs and trays. Music, dance and singing too have been very much influenced by the social and philosophical developments in underdeveloped countries. For instance, 'jazz' is now no longer an expression of 'niggerhood,' but the expression of "the consequences of the defeat, slow but sure, of the southern world of the United States" (WE 195-96). Thus, Fanon drives home the fact that the reflection of a national culture can be felt in all walks of life. He concludes his remarks on culture saying that "the conscious and organized undertaking by a colonized people to re-establish the sovereignty of that nation constitutes the most complete and obvious cultural manifestation that exists" (WE 197).

Once the struggle for freedom was over, one could notice a remarkable change of value in the form and content of the national

culture. With the disappearance of the colonizer, Fanon believed, the colonized would disappear, and the new citizen would be born. The new humanity represents a new humanism, a humanism born out of the culture of the revolution, the culture of the liberated man. Consequently, what one is likely to witness in the new nation is “exceptionally rich forms of culture” (WE 198), the result of the concerted action and real aspirations of the people of the liberated nation. In other words, “it is the national consciousness” of a people “which is of the most elaborate form of culture” (WE 199). As Peter Geismar observes, the concluding remarks of Fanon on national culture, “is a huge outpouring of a liberated intellect, roaming without inhibition across large panoramas of cultural developments” (Geismar 156).

Fanon further underscores the role of the African Cultural Society in ‘reclaiming’ the native culture. It does demonstrate that a Negro culture exists. Though organized by African intellectuals, the society became the cultural society of the entire black world. Later an American Society for the people of black cultures was created.

In the last chapter of The Wretched of the Earth, Fanon analyses the problems of mental disorders developed among Algerian people during the period of their national struggle. Fanon’s study shows that, the objective of colonialism always has been the systematic negation of the personality of the colonized. All the privileges the colonizer enjoys are at the expense of the colonized.

Albert Memmi comments on this state of affairs in the most poetic and precise words, for, he says that the more freely the colonizer breathes, the more the colonized are choked. The concerted move of the colonizer, or what Memmi calls, "the stubborn effort to dehumanize" the colonized, succeeds in the gradual objectification of the colonized. Fanon succeeds in proving that torture profoundly upsets the individuality of the persons who are being tortured. Torture and rape of the wives of the militants who refused to divulge the details of the whereabouts of their husbands, and the consequent dreadful impact of this on the men who realize this truth later, and their eventual impotency is one of such instances of mental disorders. In the new millennium also one witnesses the same inhuman kind of torture unleashed in Iraq by the so called custodians of modern democracy, the U.S. and its allies. Seizing and jailing of the wives of suspected militants in Iraq in the hope of leveraging their husbands to surrender, is a shocking parallel of our times to the Algerian situation in the 1950s. The report of a secretive task force locking up the young mother of a nursing baby, the move to catch the husband of an Iraqi woman by tacking a note to the family's door telling him 'to come get his wife' are the harrowing kinds of human rights violation resorted to by the U.S. allied occupation forces in Iraq. One has to view against this background the kidnapping of an American woman journalist, Jill Carrol on 7July 2006 by the Iraqi Resistance Movement. (She has been released unhurt after 80 days).

Accusatory delirium and suicidal tendency in a native who could not enroll himself in the revolutionary army, was another instance of mental disorder pointed out by Fanon in Algeria's case. Very atrocious kinds of torture, like injection of water by the mouth accompanied by an enema of soap water given at high pressure were adopted by the French soldiers to extract information from the Algerian revolutionaries. French doctors working in Algeria used to administer 'truth serum' (intravenous injection of thiopentone) to lure out secrets, disregarding all medical ethics and traditions. Fanon's purpose in citing these and several other case studies is to prove that colonialism tried its best not only to depersonalize the individual, but the social structure too of the colonized people. The quite shocking revelation of the Italian State Television on 8 November 2005 that the U.S. forces used white phosphorous shells 'in a massive and indiscriminate way' against civilians during the November 2004 offensive in Fallujah (Iraq), highlights how barbaric the America's 'war against terrorism' is. The report says that white phosphorous kills indiscriminately, and that it is a cloud that, within 150 metres of impact will disperse and burn every human being or animal. Reporters could see the bodies of burned children and women after the bombardments of November, 2004. Through these heinous crimes, the U.S. is proving that ethically it is the most underdeveloped country of the world today.

The argument of French psychiatrists that the Algerians are congenitally impulsive and criminal by nature has been proved untrue by Fanon's study of their problems. Fanon comes to the conclusion that "the Algerian's criminality, his impulsivity, and the violence of his murders are not the consequences of the organization of his nervous system", as the French psychiatrists made it out, "but the direct product of the colonial situation" (WE 250).

Fanon's exhortation to the wretched of the earth is to "shake off the heavy darkness" in which they have been plunged by the Europeans (WE 251). He further urges them to be firm and prudent in their determination to welcome the new day, which is at hand. For, Fanon was quite confident that France was going to lose its battle against the Algerian people. Moreover, the out and out optimistic Fanon believed that the wretched of the earth would learn further lessons from the liberation struggle of Algeria and elsewhere in the world, and thereby make all possible efforts to put an end to all kinds of oppression. Besides, Fanon knew that the struggles of all the colonized peoples have a common nature. He earnestly asks them not to imitate Europe any longer, a Europe which is "running headlong into the abyss" (WE 252). Fanon's firmness of purpose is prompted by the truth in the following words: "When I search for Man in the technique and the style of Europe, I see only a succession of negations of man, and an avalanche of murders" (WE 252). After having exposed the inhumanity involved in European racist humanism, Fanon

admonishes the people of the Third World countries to try their best to “create the whole man, whom Europe has been incapable of bringing to triumphant birth” (WE 252). Fanon concludes his treatise on decolonization exuding the immense optimism that the people of the Third World countries can “resolve the problems to which Europe has not been able to find the answer” (WE 253).

The unrolling of radical politics in the Latin America countries is quite hopeful for those who fight against the inhuman U.S. hegemony all over the world. The historic victory of Evo Morales, the socialist and indigenous candidate in the Presidential elections in Bolivia, and the movement towards socialism in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Ecuador instill immense hope in those who uphold the noble ideals of liberty, fraternity and equality. The U.S. has been disturbed by what it calls “the axis of a Trio” – Fidel Castro of Cuba, Hugo Chavez of Venezuela, and Evo Morales – which is determined to see that the American hegemony in Latin America is stopped forever.

The spread of democracy and its consolidation in Latin America is the biggest change brought about through free and fair elections and a free media. Luiz Lula Silvia, an industrial worker and the leader of the Workers Party, has risen to the Presidency of Brazil. Evo Morales, the President of Bolivia, is a coca farmer and indigenous Indian. The preceding study underscores the fact that the people of Latin America have given a specific and transparent signal against the

unbridled 'free market policies' of the U.S., and the IMF. The President of Argentina, Nestor Kirchner has been bold enough to cancel the IMF-World Bank debt. Yet another bold move of Kirchner is the order issued by him to make it mandatory for all U.S. nationals who arrive in Argentinean airports to get fingerprinted. These instances prove that Fanon's dream of the Third World countries resolving their problems disregarding European hegemony has been realized, though in a very limited way, at least in the Latin American countries. The Latin American countries have shown the world that social democracy is the credible alternative to the Anglo-American style of capitalism. China's replacing of the U.S. as the largest consumer of Chilean copper, Venezuelan efforts to reduce its dependence on the U.S. market for its oil by diversifying to new markets, including China, are quite positive steps towards the Third and Fourth World countries asserting their right to self-determination.

The Socialist Trade Initiative aimed at providing an alternative to the US-backed Free Trade of the Americas is a quite welcome move in the history of the Latin American countries. Evo Morales, the President of Bolivia, joined Fidel Castro and Hugo Chavez of Venezuela on 29 April 2006 to endorse an agreement which Castro and Chavez signed a year ago. The agreement is viewed as part of the fulfillment of the dream of the Latin American countries to put an end to the US hegemony in world affairs. After signing the agreement, Chavez spelt out the objectives of the three leaders. For, he said: "We don't want to

be rich, but we do want to live well, with dignity, as brothers so there is no misery, so there is no poverty, so people are not excluded – that is among our fundamental objectives” (as qtd. in “Bolivia, Cuba, Venezuela forge trade pact” The Hindu 1 May 2006: 14).

Yet another move towards a more cooperative international economy initiated by Castro and Chavez was the opening of a joint company of Cuba and Venezuela, Petrocaribe, in July 2005. The aim of this regional oil alliance is to distribute fuel more cheaply to the other Latin American countries and to the poor people of America. Later another South American joint venture, Petrosur, also was established for the same purpose. As a gesture of love and cooperation, Venezuela has been supplying cut-rate heating oil from 6 December 2005 onwards to the residents of the Bronx district of New York, the poor people living in the world’s richest nation.

A major step in the direction of participatory democracy, the ‘worker-managed business’, the dream of the world’s socialists, has become a reality in Venezuela. From July 2005 onwards Venezuela has been offering financial incentives for carrying out ‘co-management’, in which workers are the decision makers. By now several state-owned and private companies in Venezuela have switched over to this system.

The declaration of Evo Morales, the Bolivian President, on May Day 2006, to nationalize its domestic energy resources has resulted in raising many an eyebrow across the world. The reason is quite

obvious. In an age of privatization and denationalization, it requires unusual determination, indomitable will, and remarkable courage to reach at such a decision. Morales described May Day 2006 as 'a historic day' for the Bolivians who have been aspiring for their self-determination in letter and spirit for decades. Morales' emphatic announcement that "the looting by foreign companies has ended" (as qtd. in "Bolivia nationalises oil gas sector" The Hindu 3 May 2006: 14) has sent shock waves which terribly upset the neo-liberals, and all those who argue for free market and privatization. The panicky neo-liberals went to the extent of saying that Bolivia was 'moving backwards'. The critics of Evo Morales forget the fact that Morales is a political leader who believes that 'politics is the science of serving the people'. Moreover, he is a leader who knows the pulse of the downtrodden people as he has "studied at the best school, the university of poverty, exclusion, marginalization and hate" (qtd. in "Coca farmer turned Saviour of the Left" by Dan Glaister in The Hindu 9 Dec. 2005: 13). Besides all these factors, Morales is the first native in more than 200 years to rule in the region.

The decision of the Hugo Chavez government of Venezuela on 7 May 2006 to impose 33.3 percent tax on foreign firms that extract oil from Venezuela is a very strong and positive signal to those Third and Fourth Countries which have allowed large-scale 'tax havens' for foreign and multinational companies.

The persistent efforts of the Latin American countries to counter the cultural imperialism emanating from the American and European media resulted in the launching of their own television stations like "Telusar" and "Telesouth". Such a move was necessitated due to the electronic warfare waged by the West against the Latin American countries. Venezuela, Uruguay, Argentina and Cuba joined hands to challenge the monopoly and hegemony of the Western electronic media over the South American countries.

But for the tacit understanding and solidarity of the other Third and Fourth World Countries these positive trends in the Latin America countries would not have materialized. These quite laudable achievements of the newly liberated countries have definitely resulted in the decline of the might of the dollar.

In spite of the fact that Fanon has taught the world how to achieve authentic decolonization, the people of the twenty-first century know that neo-colonialism has been making inroads into almost all the countries of the world that had achieved 'a simulacrum of phoney independence' from the former colonial powers. Neo-colonialism is no longer "that idle dream of the mother countries" as Sartre described it (Preface. WE 11). France has once again proved in Algeria that neo-colonialism is not at all "a lot of hot air", as Sartre believed it to be (Preface. WE 11). Perhaps, except for Cuba, Venezuela, and the other newly liberated Latin American countries, all the other countries of the Third and Fourth World have pledged

themselves once again to neo-colonialism. It is high time that the people of the Third World countries did something concrete to dissuade their respective governments to cancel the treaties they have already signed with IMF, The World Bank, the WTO, and the Asian Development Bank (ADB). Unless they succeed in this task, the neo-colonialists will pooh-pooh Fanon's concept of a new humanism, and authentic decolonization as a 'lot of hot air'.

## Chapter 8

**Neocolonialism and Contemporary Socio-political Scenario**

This chapter explores, among other issues, the prophetic nature of Fanon's observations on neocolonialism, the contemporary relevance of his theories, and the impact of Fanonism as such on various spheres of modern life.

If colonialism was the concerted move of the imperial rulers to subjugate other nations through military conquest, and then, to impose political, economic and cultural control over them, neocolonialism primarily aims at the economic dependence of the newly liberated countries on the former colonizers. In other words, as Philip Altbach observes, "Modern neocolonialism differs from traditional colonialism in that it does not involve direct political control, leaving substantial leeway to the developing country". Altbach further says that "Neocolonialism is partly a planned policy of advanced nations to maintain their influence in developing countries, but it is also simply a continuation of past practices" ("Education and Neocolonialism" in Ashcroft et al ed. The Post-Colonial Reader, 452-56). As Fanon observes, while granting formal independence to any newly 'liberated' country, the former colonizer "wrings from it an economic dependence which becomes an aid and assistance program" (TAR 121). Fanon's predictions on neocolonialism in The Wretched of the Earth and Toward the African Revolution have been proved to be

perfectly true when analyzing the neocolonialist encroachments of the former colonizers and the highly industrialized countries on the developing and underdeveloped countries of the world.

Most often it is the will of the nationalist bourgeoisie to come to friendly agreement with colonialism which paves the way for neocolonialism, once the country attains a 'fragment of independence'. Whenever this attitude of the indigenous bourgeoisie is questioned by the intellectual elements of the nationalist party, as Fanon observes, these elements are branded as "adventurers and anarchists" (WE 95). As a consequence, colonialism makes further advances to the nationalist moderates. Eventually, the 'illegal minority' that warned against the machinations of the colonizers, "finds itself in a historic blind alley", as Fanon puts it (WE 100). As Fanon predicted in The Wretched of the Earth in 1961, most of the Third World countries, after they obtained formal independence, began to send out "frenzied appeals for help to the former mother country" (WE 120). And these appeals in turn hastened the neocolonialist maneuvers of the former colonizers. The national bourgeoisie by then becomes the real "intermediary type" as they are "not engaged in production, nor in invention, nor building, nor labour . . ." as Fanon observes (WE 120). Their mission, according to Fanon, "consists, prosaically, of being the transmission line between the nation and a capitalism rampant though camouflaged, which today puts on the masque of neocolonialism" (WE 122). The upsurge of neocolonialism, and its

offshoot, neoliberalism today in the Third and Fourth World countries, is by and large the result of the 'cheap-jack's function' played by the indigenous bourgeoisie of the formerly colonized countries. It is on account of the role of the national bourgeoisie as the 'manager of Western enterprise' that the Third and Fourth World countries have become the virtual brothels of Europe. Unlike the European bourgeoisie, who are very dynamic, educated, and secular, the indigenous bourgeoisie, the "get-rich-quick middle class" are only the "caricature" of the Western bourgeoisie (WE 141). Hence the former colonizer could very easily manipulate the weakness of the native bourgeoisie.

Fanon's prediction that the national economies of those countries which are governed by the indigenous bourgeoisies after formal independence would be literally controlled by the neocolonialists has wholly been proved through the remarkable influence of the IMF, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization (WTO), and now, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) – agencies virtually controlled by either the former imperial rulers, or the highly industrialized countries – euphemistically called the agents of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization. For, as Fanon remarked in The Wretched of the Earth, "The budget is balanced through loans and gifts, while every three or four months the chief ministers themselves, or else their governmental delegations come to the erstwhile mother countries or elsewhere, fishing for capital" (WE

134). The only difference is that, in the new millennium, the international monetary agencies have a greater say in the global fiscal affairs than the former mother countries. Thus, neocolonialism has proved itself to be “a new, subtler, but perhaps equally influential, kind of colonialism” as Philip G. Altbach observes” (“Education and Neocolonialism”. in Ashcroft et al 1995, 452-56).

Olufemi Taiwo considers Fanon as a prophet of neocolonialism in the true sense of the term. For he says: “Like a seer, Fanon peered into the future of the newly independent countries”. Taiwo further adds that “Fanon had been a dissenting voice in the chorus of enthusiasm that greeted the advent of flag independence . . . Like a seer Fanon the dissenter had peered into the future and left us a legacy of forebodings about how precarious that future – our present – might be”. Taiwo, in his enthusiasm for Fanon, goes to the extent of saying that “Fanon the prophet was able to issue his Issiah like warning of future unhappy consequences” (“On the Misadventures of National Consciousness: A Retrospect on Frantz Fanon’s Gift of Prophecy” in Gordon et al 255-70).

Today neocolonialists resort to all kinds of heinous measures, including military might, to subjugate the countries which either refuse to follow their dictates, or pose a potential threat to their economic and military superiority. Therefore, “The essence of neocolonialism”, as Lufti El Kholi observes, “is to ensure formal political independence while securing actual subordination to

imperialism, especially economically” (“Anti-imperialist Struggle in Africa at the Present Stage”. in Africa: National and Social Revolution 19-41). According to him, neocolonialists ensure the subordination of the newly independent countries through economic, political, military and ideological means. Kholi is of the view that neocolonialism is not hostile to the political, economic and social ambitions of the indigenous bourgeoisie of the countries wherever a fragment of independence has achieved. The neocolonialists will see to it that the power of the national bourgeoisie is consolidated to make it a force sufficiently strong enough to prevent the prospect of any kind of national revolution leading to socialism. For, the national bourgeoisie of the newly independent countries, as Che Guevara observes, is “a parasitic bourgeoisie that adds nothing to the national wealth of their countries but rather deposits its huge ill-gotten profits in capitalist banks abroad, and makes deals with foreign countries to reap more profits with absolute disregard for the welfare of the people” (Global Justice 23). In other words, the neocolonialists do not like the all round development of the newly liberated countries.

The developments in Algeria in the 1980s confirm Fanon’s fear regarding the possibility of the former colonial power tightening its control over the economy of the newly liberated countries. Though Algeria could make considerable progress in tune with the political agenda of the FLN to bring about the much desired socialist revolution, by the 1980s, the country once gain became economically

dependent on France. The opening up of the Algerian economy to certain types of limited foreign investments, expanding and revitalizing the country's private sector in both agricultural and consumer industries were the measures in this regard initiated by the Algerian government under President Chadli Benjedid in the early 1980s. These were the first indications of Algeria falling a prey to neocolonialist powers. John P. Entelis observes that diversifying arms purchases away from the Soviet Union and toward such Western manufacturers as Britain and the U.S., and lowering of Algeria's once highly visible profile in global and Third World affairs, were the other steps taken by the Chadli government favouring neocolonialist forces.

The pre-eminence of the language of the oppressor also could be visible in Algeria in the 1980s, because 'French language competence' was considered as essential in scientific and other needs of the Algerian society. Moreover, the enormous state machinery of Algeria still uses the French language for its functioning. According to Entelis, "a curious love-hate relationship continued between the Algerian elites and French culture, language and society" (Entelis 96).

The periodic and unilateral French embargo on the import of wine from Algeria is one of the several moves initiated by France to strangle the new Algerian nation since 1970. Algeria being a predominantly Muslim country had no market for alcohol since its independence in 1962. And the French very well know that wine is

perishable, and its lack of sale would cause considerable loss and other problems for the Algerian people.

As already mentioned, the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO, and the Asian Development Bank are the agents of neo-liberal globalization, the advanced stage of neocolonialism. A close study of the impact of these agencies on the underdeveloped and developing countries of the world is imperative for a better understanding of the magnitude of Fanon's predictions on neocolonialism. When established in 1944, the IMF was motivated by the concept of providing temporary assistance to correct the balance of payment problems of its member countries. The World Bank which was founded in the same year aimed at the long term project funding for reconstruction of the developing countries after the Second World War, and the eventual growth and development of these countries. But, in due course of time, several restrictions like trade liberalization, devaluation of currencies, removal of food subsidies and the overall Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) imposed by the IMF and the World Bank virtually crippled the economies of the underdeveloped and developing countries. The General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), a global trade organization, established in 1947, also was instrumental for the decline of the economies of these countries. In fact, The WTO, founded in 1995, is the true successor organization of the GATT. The neoliberal revolution, initiated by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Regan, the former British Prime Minister and American

President respectively, further boosted the neoliberal globalization moves. Neoliberalism received further impetus with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989-91.

In return for the much needed loans from the IMF and the World Bank, the developing countries are forced to implement the Structural Adjust Programme, otherwise known as the 'Washington Consensus'. The professed aim of the SAP is to reform the internal economic mechanisms of the debtor countries of the developing world so that they would be in a better position to pay the debts they had incurred. But, in practice, the SAP turned out to be a new form of colonialism. As Manfred B. Steger observes, "large portions of the development loans granted by these institutions have either been pocketed by authoritarian political leaders or have enriched local businesses and the Northern corporations they usually serve" (Globalization: A Very Short Introduction 53). Moreover, mandatory cuts in public spending, reduced educational opportunities, environmental pollution caused by the factories installed by transnational companies in the debtor countries, become the stumbling blocks in the way of poverty alleviation and socially sustainable programmes of the developing countries. Besides, statistics reveal that the largest share of the national budgets of the developing countries is spent on servicing outstanding IMF/World Bank debts. For example, in 1997, the developing countries paid a combined 292 billion dollars in debt services, while received only 269

billion dollars as new loans (Steger 53-54). The UN Human Rights Commission's 1999 resolution stipulates that the SAP programmes and economic reforms must not tell upon the basic rights to food, housing, clothing, work, education, medical care and healthy environment of the people of an indebted country. A situation which compels the population of a country to forgo the above mentioned rights due to the indebtedness of the country is a specific instance of the violation of the principles of self-determination of peoples in general, as envisaged in the UN Charter. In spite of these factors, the international monetary agencies like the IMF and the World Bank are extracting enormous amounts towards the SAP, now renamed with the euphemism, Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme (PRSP). As long as the United States enjoys the veto power in the decision making of the IMF and the World Bank, it can block any decision of these institutions even though the other more than 180 member countries want to go forward with the decision. How best the IMF and the World Bank can cripple the economies of developing countries is borne out in the Argentinean experience. In the early 1990s the IMF and the World Bank officials hailed Argentina as a 'model developing country'. But by June 2000, the Argentinean economy crippled beyond recovery, thanks to "the stronger austerity measures in return for new loans" (Steger 54). The experience of Argentina and several other countries of the world have proved Fidel Castro's observation on the IMF to be quite true. For, in Castro's opinion, "The assistance of the

International Monetary Fund is like the Devil's kiss" (Castro 32). Che Guevara also used to raise strong objections to the newly liberated countries falling preys to the IMF conditions. According to him, "the IMF acts as the custodian of the dollar for the capitalist world" (Global Justice 7). However, following the model set by Fidel Castro and Hugo Chavez, Argentina too has proved that the dollar is not that all-mighty, as the Bush regime believes it to be. For, in the first week of Jan. 2006, Argentina took the very bold step towards self-reliance by canceling its debt facility with the IMF. Such a move was indeed motivated by the harsh realization that the long term indebtedness that resulted in massive unemployment, rocketing poverty, and the unprecedented banking collapse was due to the IMF imposed conditions on Argentina.

Quoting data from the United Nations Human Development Report, Manfred B. Steger drives home the fact that the poorest countries of the world have become drastically poorer over a period of 25 years. For, Steger tells us that "before the onset of globalization in 1973, the income ratio between the richest and poorest countries was at about 44 to 1. Twenty-five years later, it had climbed to 74 to 1" (Steger 105).

Another shocking factor is that the IMF and the World Bank charge very higher rates of interest for the loans borrowed by the developing countries when compared to the remarkably low rate of interest for the loans granted to the highly industrialized countries.

According to the UNDP study, as quoted by Eric Toussaint in Globalisation: 'Reality, Resistance & Alternatives', "During the 1980s, while interest rates were 4% in the highly industrialized countries, the effective interest rate paid by developing countries was 17%" (Toussaint 13). At the beginning of the new millennium, the crisis caused by this kind of policy on the part of the IMF is quite alarming. The Third and Fourth World countries are even now paying a very higher rate of interest for their loans than the countries of the North. Moreover, the countries of the North and the European Union have been trying to strangle the economies of the South through their unholy trade tactics. Consequently, the majority of the countries of the South export raw materials and low-value-added manufactured goods to the North, and in turn import high-value-added industrial goods and technology. Eric Toussaint exposes The European Union's protectionism against the South by citing the specific example of the European Commission's authorization to the European chocolate makers to substitute fat for cocoa butter (which is a produce of the South). The net result is a sharp fall in the price of cocoa on the world market, and the consequent severe poverty of the cocoa farmers of the South.

Similarly, through the Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), coming within the frame work of the WTO, the countries of the North, especially the U.S., are trying further to subjugate the countries of the South. The story of the Indian 'Basmati'

rice is a good case in point. This ancient variety of high quality rice, the result of centuries of labour of Indian farmers, has now become the intellectual property of the Texas based Rice Tec, thanks to the validation of its patent by the U.S. Office of Patents. TRIPS is also instrumental in the creation of 'sterile' varieties of seeds (that is, the seed from the harvest of one season cannot be used for the following season, each batch of seeds losing its genetic characteristics with each harvest), and the monopoly of producing herbicides by the same multinational companies. Apart from its adverse economic effect on the people of the South, the intellectual property rights, in the long run, will tell upon the biodiversity of the entire earth. The patent issue is all the more alarming when we take into account the fact that 97% of the world's trade patents are held by the highly industrialized countries of the world and that 90% of the technology and invention patents are the property of the Multi-national Companies. The supremacy and the double standard adopted by the U.S. in these matters, especially in the pharmaceutical fields, have been exposed by Eric Toussaint with specific examples. "The USA under George W. Bush", Toussaint says, "is amongst the most savage defenders of the interests of the pharmaceutical laboratories" (Toussaint 27). He cites how the Bush administration obliged the transnational company, Bayer, to halve the price of Cipro, the antibiotics to treat anthrax, when America was gripped by that disease in October 2001. Whereas, in November 2001, at Doha WTO meet, the Bush government

blockaded the right of the countries of the South to produce certain life-saving medicines – medicines to fight AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria. That this blockade was against Article 25 of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights which guarantees every citizen of the world, among other things, the right to medical care, drives home the sheer hollowness of Bush's talk about human rights and democracy.

The Asian Development Bank, virtually the Asian extension of the World Bank, has more or less the very same neoliberal agenda of the IMF and the World Bank. Just as America has the veto power in the IMF and the World Bank, being the possessor of the bulk of the shares in these agencies, Japan enjoys the equivalent power in the ADB. The interference of the ADB in the socio-political and planning spheres of its member countries is a tacit move to control the economies of the underdeveloped and developing countries. In the name of its Stable City Development Programme, the ADB is making inroads even into the Left Democratic Front ruled city corporations of Kerala. The professed objective of the ADB is to encourage privatization 'to bring about development, and to eradicate poverty'. The Argentinean experience with the IMF/World Bank in the 1990s exposes the hollowness of such schemes. Those who are aware of the ADB agenda very well know that drinking water, health care, consumer goods, education etc. would be controlled by the ADB's market-oriented economy concept. It is a foregone conclusion that the ADB will not give anything for nothing. To cite a small example, in

Kerala's case, ADB's proposal to install meters for public taps, and to form 'tap committees' to monitor the consumption of water from the public taps, are not definitely to help the underprivileged people who have been enjoying the benefits of free drinking water for decades. It is a plain fact that the ADB is not all concerned about the socio-political issues its 'assistance' may create in the indebted countries.

The much acclaimed Official Development Assistance (ODA) which the developing countries receive from the North is meagre. What is all the more shocking is the fact that all the money provided through ODA returns to the rich countries in exchange for products purchased by them. The Third World countries in general, and India in particular have signed agreements with the countries of the North to buy F16 aircrafts and other armaments which are outdated as far as the countries of the North are concerned. Countries like India become dupes of the Multi-national Companies and the armament producers of the North while accepting what can be termed 'the clearance sale programme' of the countries of the North. Curiously enough, the ODA and the other assistances are adjusted against the purchase of these outdated armaments and aircrafts. What the countries of the North do in turn, is to produce and amass new generation weapons of war at the expense of the Third World countries. In short, as Eric Toussaint remarks, ODA is usually "tied aid" (Toussaint 43). He further observes that "The more arms a Third World country buys, the more aid it receives" (Toussaint 49). Hence

there is no surprise in Israel and Saudi Arabia, which receive the most U.S. ODA, spend the major portions of this aid on arms. Herein lies the irony of certain tall declarations relating to arms deals made by the U.S. President Bush during his March 2006 visit of India.

Fanon's warnings against multinationals and cartels in 1961 turns out to be highly prophetic when we realize that Lockheed Martin, the chief sponsor of George Bush for his election campaigns, is the company which manufactures F16 aircrafts. It is no wonder then that the U.S. Committee for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Expansion was presided over by the Vice-President of Lockheed Martin. If the campaign of Bush all over the world for arms sale goes in the present pace, the U.S. will be selling more than 90% of the weapons of mass (WMDs) destruction to the world at large within another year. It was the very same Bush who had propagated lies about the presence of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) in Iraq. Apart from America's objective of taking possession of the vast oil reserves of Iraq, it is now clear that Bush had the very personal agenda of making use of the armaments of his sponsors in the war on Iraq. It is the very same agenda which motivates the U.S. in aiding and abetting the atrocities unleashed on the Palestinians by the Israeli government.

It is very painful and shocking to note that, thanks to their losing credibility, the trade union movements and the left-wing parties are no longer seen as the legitimate representatives of the labourers of

the world as such. In a way, the established trade unions and left-wing parties were also indirectly responsible for the Bastille Appeal for the Cancellation of the Third World Debt in 1989. The Bastille Appeal was a stark reminder of the reality that in spite of all the conditions for happiness existed in the world of the 1980s, the highest growth rate was that of poverty. Even in the new millennium things have not changed for the better. Even today hunger kills tens of thousands of children all over the Third World, especially in the African countries. In the early 1950s, when Sartre declared that “poverty is the best distributed thing in the world: we are not short of wretched people” (Colonialism and Neocolonialism 20), not only the people of the Third World, but even the Europeans were shocked. But, today, I am sure, the neoliberals will not get scandalized when they watch in the mini screens of their drawing rooms the reports of thousands of children in the Third World countries dying of malnutrition and starvation. For, the new millennium neoliberals have developed the teeth to turn a callous face to these kinds of developments in the Third World countries, and elsewhere in the world. Today, everyone knows that it is the economic imperialism of the highly industrialized rich countries of the world that bleeds the Third World. This is all the more true of Africa. For, as Walter Rodney observes, “international capitalist system . . . has been the principal agency of underdevelopment of Africa over the last five centuries” (Preface. Rodney 70). Hence the all the more relevance of the exhortation made by Fanon in 1961 for

reparation on the part of the former colonizers. Now the wretched of the earth have realized that only solidarity among the peoples of the world can break the power of economic imperialism. Though the cancellation of the Third World debt will not solve all the problems of the people of these countries, it is an indispensable precondition to any far-reaching solution to the problems faced by the people of the Third World. The demand for debt cancellation becomes quite legitimate when we take into account the reality that a major share of the Third World debt is 'odious debt', that is, debts contracted against the interests of the people of a country by despotic governments. Debts contracted by legal and legitimate regimes under the SAP, and detrimental to the interest of the people, are also odious debts. Moreover, the principles of the international law, 'force majeure' (meaning, one cannot do the impossible), acknowledges that a change in the conditions of a contract may render it invalid. To the debt crisis of the Third World countries of today, this law is morally applicable. For, the dramatic rise in the interest rates imposed by the IMF and the World Bank, and the considerable drop in export prices for the Periphery countries in the 1980s, were caused by the instigation of the creditor countries. Hence the relevance of 'force majeure' in debt-cancellation call. Besides, the UN International Law Commission does not approve of repaying the loan at the risk of jeopardizing the education, law system and public services of the country in question.

In several African countries, life expectancy is dramatically falling as a consequence of abject poverty. Yet, the IMF and the World Bank still insist on imposing SAP to pay for their debts. The only apparent change is on the level of discourse. For, as indicated earlier, we now hear of Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme (PRSP), instead of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). To obtain the much acclaimed assistance under the PRSP, low income countries have to set out their development priorities, abide by the economic and trade policies such as privatization, deregulation and trade liberalization. In fact, nine out of ten poverty reduction programmes demand privatization. The disastrous effects of the IMF/World Bank assisted 'flagship' water system privatization in Tanzania as part of the conditions of PRSP in 2003, drive home the fact that what the Third World countries get from the IMF/World Bank is the same old wine in new bottles. In India, the World Bank sponsored privatization of power generation and supply in the Orissa state in 1999, virtually put the state into a debt trap from which it will not be able to recover in the immediate future. Besides, half of Orissa's population even today remains without power. In Orissa as well as in Andhra Pradesh, where this programme was superimposed, power charges increased by fifteen percent per year, resulting in mass protest. Hence the Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme's real motto is 'the larger the debt of a country, the more assistance it will get from IMF/World Bank'. The advocates of neoliberal policies are now making a concerted move to

hoodwink humanity at large by speaking of 'globalization with a human face'. It is the same forces, and the Mexican government, which seek to destroy the Zapatistas community for having taken the lead for the First International Gathering of Humanity against neoliberalism in 1994.

While responding to the misleading promise of the finance Ministers of the G8 nations to cancel the debts the poorest countries owe to the IMF and the World Bank, George Monbiot, exposes the reality behind that promise. For, the conditions proposed by the G8 nations to fulfill their promise were: 1) the developing countries must tackle corruption, 2) boost private sector development, and 3) eliminate "impediments to private investment, both domestic and foreign". Monbiot observes that "corruption is often used by the G8 governments and the news papers to mean regimes that will not do what they are told" ("Tarnished halos of the G8 Leaders". The Hindu 15 June 2005: 13). He adds that when the G8 governments say 'good governance', and 'eliminating impediments to private investment', they mean commercialization, privatization and liberalization of trade and capital flows. In short, Western money demands new opportunities in the indebted countries.

The disastrous impact of privatization of the state owned companies in Uganda in the late 1990s is another example of the IMF/World Bank trap. The IMF and the World Bank forced Uganda to impose "user fees" for basic healthcare and primary education. To the

consternation of the Ugandan government, school attendance and health care collapsed within a few years of the imposition of the new regulations. To ward off a possible revolution, the government of Uganda was compelled to reinstate free education in 1997, and free basic healthcare in 2001. The Ugandan experience, according to Monbiot, amounts to saying "we will give you a trickle of money if you give us the crown jewels" ("Tarnished halos of the G8 Leaders." The Hindu 15 June 2005: 13). This is the G8 way of saving the starving Africa.

In the case of Algeria, in April 1994 the Algerian Government came to an agreement with IMF to implement a stabilization programme including 40 percent currency devaluation, and a substantial rise in interest rates, in return for a standby credit of 1040 million US dollars. The IMF granted another credit to Algeria in 1995 to 'reschedule' the country's foreign debt. In 1995 the Algerian Government initiated structural reform programmes by liberalizing trade and payments, eliminating subsidies on energy products and food, and privatizing certain state owned companies. By 1997 Algeria experienced high-level unemployment and housing shortage. With the establishment of a stock exchange in 1998, Algeria's privatization programme was accelerated, in spite of mounting protests from public sector workers and trade unions. However, a redeeming factor is that even today 12.5 percent of the annual budget of Algeria is set apart for

education and teacher training. At present there are more than ten universities and several centers of them in Algeria.

In the new millennium, when the Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo tells the world that it is the scourge of hunger that causes pain in the belly of Africa, we are literally shocked. But, it is the ground reality of Africa. Those who make tall speeches about world peace, and the need to suppress insurgency seem to forget the fact that Europe has been primarily responsible for the present impasse in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa. Europe has been virtually looting Africa for centuries. The drought situation in Some African countries is a comparatively new development. As Walter Rodney observes, "All the countries named as 'underdeveloped' in the world are exploited by others; and the underdevelopment with which the world is now preoccupied, is a product of capitalist, imperialist and colonialist exploitation" (Rodney 22). Until they were taken over directly or indirectly by capitalist powers, the Asian and African societies were developing independently, and it was definitely on account of capitalist exploitation that these countries became pauper. Rodney is of the strong conviction that "a formerly colonized nation has no hope of developing until it breaks effectively with the vicious circle of exploitation which characterizes imperialism" (Rodney 35). A hungry people cannot be peaceful. For, as the Nigerian President quite painfully says, "A hungry person is an angry and dangerous person". He further tells that in Africa "hunger and malnutrition continue to

kill more people than HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis combined” (“The Scourge of Africa” The Hindu 24 June 2005: 13). Obasanjo tells the world that Africa now reminds him of Oliver Twist. Like Oliver Twist, the Africans have been victimized, pauperized, and neglected by the European colonizers for centuries. The poverty of Africa today, is by and large, the creation of the West. Recently, strong doubt has been cast on the sincerity of Obasanjo, as there is a persistent demand in Nigeria for the trial of its President, for corruption.

Niger is perhaps the foremost among the African countries which are worst affected by starvation. According to Jeevan Vasagar, the starvation in Niger is “not the inevitable consequence of poverty, or simply the fault of locusts or drought. It is also the result of a belief that free market can solve the problems of one of the world’s poorest countries” (“Niger’s Children Doomed to Starve” The Hindu 9 Aug 2005: 11). The Niger government refuses to give free food to the starving, because the government is acting according to the dictates of the European Union and France, which are the chief donors to Niger. Curiously enough, the UN which under its World Food Programme supplies emergency food articles in other parts of Africa, refuses to distribute free food in Niger fearing that it would be interfering in the free market economy supported by the European Union and France.

In this context, I think, the works of organizations like CADTM (Committee for the Cancellation of the Third World Debt), founded in Belgium on 15 March 1990, are quite relevant. On the 16<sup>th</sup> year of its

formation too, the CADTM is of the view that it is high time the Official Development Assistance (ODA) be transformed into grants in reparation for the pillage the highly industrialized countries wrought over centuries in the countries of the Periphery. It is a pity that today the South African Nations are paying millions of dollars annually to service apartheid-caused debt to creditors who were the main supporters of apartheid. The international campaign for the cancellation of the debt of the Periphery countries, the central programme of the alter-globalization movement, is virtually the global manifestation of what Fanon as an individual political revolutionary earnestly desired, envisaged, and expressed in his exhortation for reparation by the colonizers, in 1961.

Unless a democratic set up in the countries of the South with citizen's control of public spending is assured, the complicity between the international monetary agencies, including the Multi-national Companies, and the rulers of the countries of the South will jeopardize the entire future of the Third and Fourth World citizens. If such kind of vigilance is not brought about, the countries of the South will remain victims of economic exploitation, and consequently, the inroads of the Multi-national capital will continue unchecked. In whichever countries of the South effective parliamentary democracy exist, the decision to borrow from the international monetary agencies must be taken only after a debate in the respective parliaments. Transparency about the terms of contracts signed by the creditors and

borrowers is imperative for avoiding hidden traps to hoodwink the people at large.

The only possible solution to this impasse, I think, is a humane and fair globalization, a globalization which is beneficial for the marginalized and the poor people of the world too. For, as Fidel Castro observes, “globalization is an irreversible process, and what we have to decide to choose is the kind of globalization which will be instrumental for the overall welfare of humanity as such, and not the welfare of a few at the expense of the majority of people of the world” (Castro 34). Castro is of the strong conviction that what we need is not the kind of neoliberal globalization that is dominating humanity at this point of time, but a fair and humane globalization. What the people of the Third and Fourth World countries require is international institutions having democratic legitimacy, instead of the IMF and the World Bank.

It was a quite remarkable gesture of the alter-globalists who gathered in Dakar, Senegal in December 2000 to demand both the restitution of what has been taken from Africa for centuries by sheer force, and reparations for all the crimes inflicted upon its people. Though it took almost four decades after the publication of Fanon’s The Wretched of the Earth, the gathering at Dakar in a way was the realization, though symbolic, of the dream of Fanon, the foremost revolutionary political prophet of the twentieth century. As the Dakar Manifesto upholds, “the only kind of development is the one, which

contributes to the full blossoming of the human being”, and “development is first of all qualitative and not purely quantitative phenomenon” (Manifesto for Making Another World Possible 65-66). In order to bring about such a development, the people of the Third World countries and the other peoples of the Periphery have to formulate development strategies which can be implemented by their own priorities. It will definitely ensure the participation of the people of the respective countries in an alternative globalization, a fair and humane globalization.

The first pioneering movement of a global scale in this direction, The World Social Forum, was organized in Porto Alegre, Brazil in Jan. 2001. The World Social Forum was a counterpoint to the World Economic Forum of Davos. The Porto Alegre gathering was a symbolic assertion of the supremacy of human, ecological and social rights over the demands of finance and investors. The second and the third World Social Forums were held in Alegre itself in 2002 and 2003 respectively. The thrust of the 2002 WSF was against the neoimperialistic atrocities unleashed in Iraq and Afghanistan by the U.S. allied forces in the name of ‘the war on terrorism’. The third WSF once again strongly demanded the full and unconditional cancellation of the Third World debt. The fourth WSF held in Mumbai in Jan. 2004 further confirmed the commitment made in the past three WSFs. The Mumbai WSF declared in emphatic terms that the ‘struggle against terrorism’ masterminded by the U.S., “not only acts as a pretext for

continuing the war and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, but it is also being used to threaten and attack the global community” (Manifesto for Making Another World Possible 112). The fifth WSF of Porto Alegre in Jan. 2005 further affirmed the belief that ‘another world is possible’. The participants called in question the very legitimacy of the G8, the WTO, the World Bank and the IMF, where a few decide for everybody. The WSF 2006, which was organized in Caracas, the Venezuelan capital, highlighted the need of the peoples of the underdeveloped and developing countries to unite further. President Hugo Chavez, who addressed the mammoth gathering of the WSF activists on 27 Jan. 2006, stressed this in his speech. For, he said, “We have to bring together all our causes. Unity, unity, unity! We can do it united”. Chavez, who spoke overwhelmingly of the policy of the Bush administration, described the U.S. government as “the most perverse, murderous, genocidal, immoral empire that this planet has known in hundred centuries” (as qtd. from the speech of Chavez at the World Social Forum on 27 Jan. 2006 in The Hindu 29 Jan. 2006: 12).

‘Make Poverty History’-campaign, spearheaded by the music star Bob Geldof has urged the G8 countries to contribute their best in combating the poverty of the African people. Like the CADTM, the ‘Make Poverty History’ campaign, too has demanded hundred percent debt cancellation for all African countries, and an end to ‘unjust trade rules’.

One of the most viable methods which can be adopted by the debtor countries is to take urgent measures for the retrocession of the funds deposited in creditor countries by the leaders of the periphery countries. J.K. Boyce and L. Ndikumana, two academics from the University of Massachusetts in the USA, observe that over the period from 1970 to 1996, the ruling elites of Africa had deposited 250 billion dollars in foreign banks (as quoted in Toussaint 30-31). In their study, they have noted the marked correlation between international loans and capital flight. The rulers of Nigeria, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, Angola, Cameroon, Ivory Coast and Zambia were party to these kinds of deals. The sequestration of the Nigerian ruler, Abacha's accounts in nineteen London based banks is a victory for the people of Nigeria in their fight for the recovery of ill-gotten gains. Similarly, about 600 million dollars illegally deposited by the Philippines dictator, Ferdinand Marcos in Swiss banks from 1965 to 1986 have been frozen and returned to the Philippino authorities in 2003. During his long stint as President, Augusto Pinochet, the former dictator of Chile transferred a substantial amount of money from his country to foreign banks. Millions of dollars belonging to him and his family were belatedly discovered in a US bank. Surprisingly enough, the money was received as kickbacks from US defence contractors and companies.

The proposal for a tax on financial transactions first proposed by James Tobin, the 1972 Nobel prize winning economist (Popularly

known as the Tobin tax), has gained wide currency among other economists and human rights activists all over the world today. Tobin's proposal was the motivation for the now very popular movement ATTAC (Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for Aid to Citizens). According to UNCTAD (United Nations Conference for Trade and Development), 1000 billion dollars a day taxed at 1% would come to 720 billion dollars a year, and that out of this, 50% each can be set apart for social and ecological fund, and redistribution fund for the countries of the South. Tax on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Multi-national Companies' profits are the other suggestions of ATTAC to develop a global fund for guarantee of human rights, and the protection of the environment. Eric Toussaint is of the strong view that a global tax on aviation kerosene, which is causing considerable environmental pollution, must be levied, and the amount be utilized for guarantee of human rights and the protection of environment. Toussaint emphatically says that " rather than speaking of aid, henceforth it would be more appropriate to use the term reparation, the idea being to make reparation for all the damage caused by centuries of pillage and unfair trade" (Toussaint 104). It may be borne in mind that Fanon was the sole prophet and crusader who first propounded the very idea of reparation from the former oppressors to the oppressed of the world. All these issues highlight the contemporary relevance of Fanonian thoughts.

That the former colonizers have not still recovered from colonial hangover is being borne out by the remarks of Robert Cooper, a senior foreign policy adviser of the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, advocating a 'new kind of imperialism' which would allow the 'well governed' Western nations to impose order and stability in the world. It was in a pamphlet entitled 'Reordering the World' that Cooper has given expression to his neocolonialist agenda. Cooper is pained to note that "Empire and imperialism are words that have become terms of abuse in the post-modern world . . . and the need for colonization is as great as it ever was in the nineteenth century" (The Hindu 29 Mar. 2002: 16). Cooper proved himself to be the 'right kind of adviser' when Blair went ahead with his plan of backing the U.S. military action against Iraq.

The forty-six year old U.S. economic embargo against Cuba, the concerted move of the U.S. to destabilize Venezuela, Syria and Iran, the tirade and violence against the success of democracy in Palestine and Latin America as a whole, are by and large parts of further neocolonial offensives against the Third and Fourth World countries.

The discussion of Fanon's prophetic revelations about neocolonialism would not be complete without analyzing how the neocolonialists make use of their military might, along with their money power, to strangle those Third and Fourth World countries of the world which do not dance to the tune of the Western neo-imperialists. The illegal invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, and the

eventual occupation of these two countries by America and its allies, and the persistent threat posed to the newly liberated Latin American countries by the United States of America are striking instances of the neo-imperialism of the new millennium.

It may be noted that Saddam Hussein would not have become the dictator of Iraq if the US had not aided and abetted him for nearly three decades since 1963. Saddam had participated in all the US-sponsored coups in Iraq between 1963 and 1968, which the Baathists carried out quite meticulously. Based on the information provided by the CIA, several members of the Iraqi communist party were killed during this period. It is a historic fact that Saddam was a close ally of the US from 1968 to the late 1980s. It was the US which prompted Saddam in 1980 to invade Iran. The US-UK alliance then supplied Saddam with satellite photographs, weapons and the other equipment of war, including the know-how to produce chemical weapons. Thus, the way for Saddam Hussein "to portray himself as Saladin, saviour of the Arabs, riding his white steed to wipe out the infidels" (Occidentalism 146) was actually paved by the US. It was only after Saddam's invasion of Kuwait that he became an enemy of the US. Commenting on this kind of an association between Saddam and the US, Aijaz Ahmad makes a very apt observation. For, Ahmad says, "If Mary Shelley were to write the story of the love-hate relation between the US and Saddam, she would probably call it 'Frankenstein and the Monster'" (Iraq, Afghanistan and the Imperialism of Our Time xx). It is

now proved beyond doubt that the reasons attributed by the US-UK alliance for the invasion of Iraq in March 2003, and its eventual occupation from 8 April 2003 onwards, have been blatantly false. Though the professed motive of the US and its allies was to 'liberate' Iraq from Saddam, the occupation forces have not left Iraq, even two years after getting Saddam under their custody. The present Iraqi Resistance Movement, which is gaining momentum as days go by, does not consist only of Saddam loyalists or Baathist party workers. The Iraqi National Foundation Congress (INFC), an umbrella group of parties and civil society organizations, is leading the political resistance. Several human-rights groups and women's organizations are supporting the Resistance Movement. Haifa Zangana, a novelist and a former prisoner of Saddam's regime testifies that "women are taken as hostages to persuade fugitive male relatives to surrender or confess to terrorist acts" ("Iraqi's right to rule themselves". The Hindu 21 Nov. 2005: 13). The present reality in Iraq is that except for a few loyalists of the puppet Government installed by the US, all people alike in Iraq are against the US sponsored foreign occupation. As Aijaz Ahmad says, "with Saddam in captivity and the occupation getting more and more ferocious, the emperor is naked – cannot find his clothes, not even his fig leaves" (Ahmad xxi). The real objective of the US is now very transparent: 'you have to go where the oil is', as Dick Cheney, the US Vice-President is reported to have declared. This is further confirmed by the US Senator Ted Kennedy's reported

remark that the American government was indulging in 'double-talk' while US went to war against 'terrorism' in Iraq. That Saddam Hussein was building nuclear weapons, stockpiling weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), and that he was involved in 9/11, were turned out to be further lies propagated by the US warmongers to hoodwink the American people and the rest of the world.

Similarly America's present move to tame Iran is also actually motivated by a desire to attack Iran with the specific objective of exploiting the oil and gas reserves of that country, and almost 20 percent of the oil reserves of the Caspian Sea basin which legitimately belongs to Iran. In the case of Afghanistan, one has to note that there were no Islamic terrorists there before the US created terrorists as a counterweight against the secular left, especially the USSR. Osama Bin Laden, the Saudi millionaire, was recruited as a CIA agent in the late 1970s to fight the Soviet supported secular regime of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. Consequently, Bin Laden too was the product of an American sponsored terrorism in Afghanistan. In fact, Bin Laden built his numerous camps in Afghanistan with American money, and all other kinds of assistance provided by the US.

It is now very obvious that what the US has been seeking over the years is a 'regime replacement' as they call it, i.e. to replace by military might those regimes not to the liking of the US. Hence there is no virtual difference between colonial and neocolonial occupations.

For, colonization too was “the organization of the domination of a nation after military conquest”, as Fanon puts it (TAR 83). The present US occupation of Iraq is the result of such a policy. America’s justification of the invasion of Iraq and its subsequent occupation has been called in question even by the UN. It may be borne in mind that the sanctions imposed on Iraq by the UN Security Council for the past fifteen years was part of the machinations of the US to collectively punish the people of Iraq.

As Aijaz Ahmad unmistakably observes, “the cardinal sin of Saddam Hussein was neither the production of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), nor promotion of terrorism, but that . . . he made Iraq on 6 November 2000 *the first oil producing country to shift from the dollar to the Euro as the currency for trade in oil and hence the primary currency for its foreign trade in general . . .*” (Ahmad 145, Ahmad’s emphasis). Thus the war against Iraq was actually a currency war, a war between the dollar-sterling nexus and the Euro. The US very much feared that unless it checked the move of Saddam, the other OPEC countries would follow him suit, and thereby jeopardize America’s supremacy in the world, especially its dollar domination. A former British general, Michael Rose has described the US allied occupation of Iraq as “a blunder of enormous strategic significance” (“Impeach Blair on Iraq: British general”. The Hindu 11 Jan. 2006: 15). He further says that it was a war that was to unleash untold suffering on the Iraqi people.

The World Tribunal on Iraq (WTI), an antiwar grouping of non-governmental organizations, intellectuals, and writers founded in 2003 met in Islamabad in June 2005, and condemned the United States, Britain and their allies for the occupation of Iraq. It also demanded an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the coalition forces in Iraq. On the third anniversary of the invasion and occupation of Iraq by the US allied forces, hundreds of Britons took to the streets, braving freezing cold, demanding an end of occupation. It was a brave show of solidarity with war victims and ordinary innocent Iraqi people, organized by several antiwar forums including Campaign against Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and Stop the War Coalition (SWC). America's hypocritical stand towards terrorism has been exposed further by other persons and organizations. Responding to the call of Pat Robertson, the American Evangelist, for the assassination of Hugo Chavez, the President of Venezuela, Jose Vincente Rangel, the Vice-President of Venezuela observes: "It is a huge hypocrisy to maintain this discourse against terrorism, and at the same time, in the heart of that country, there are entirely terrorist statements like those" ("Evangelist calls for Chavez assassination". The Hindu 25 Aug. 2005: 16). Even while indulging in discourses on 'terrorism', but for some euphemistic change in the term (for, the new term for terrorism is 'a global struggle against violent extremism'), America does not address itself to a greater kind of 'terrorism', that is, 'hunger', which is eating into the vitals of several Third and Fourth

World countries. For, as Hugo Chavez observes, "If the differences between the rich and poor, between developed and undeveloped, continued to grow, if everyday there is more destitution, more hunger, more death, well, that is another kind of terrorism" (Chavez 128).

If the Iraqi Resistance Movement goes on at the present pace, George Bush and the American-allied warmongers will be the victims of yet another syndrome, 'the Iraqi-syndrome', just as the 'Vietnam-syndrome' from the early 1970s till the victory of Vietnam under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, resulted in eroding the confidence of the Americans in the invincibility of its imperialism. My argument does not in any way negate the fact that a section of the Iraqi people were subjected to systematic repression, and many people were executed or jailed under Saddam Hussein's repressive regime. But, getting rid of a dictator who leads a repressive regime is primarily the responsibility of the people of the concerned country. Neither the US nor the UK has the moral or legal right to interfere in the affairs of the Iraqi citizens. When the justification for America's invasion of Iraq (Saddam Hussein's alleged possession of weapons of mass destruction) failed, America began to play the card of 'regime change for humanitarian grounds'. It may be noted that America's experience in Afghanistan had already exposed the pitfalls of 'humanitarian intervention'. It is now well known that the Bush administration's strategic aim was to invade Iraq after establishing a base for its operations in Afghanistan. Recent developments in the international political scenario further

expose America's dubious machinations. For, the next target of US 'intervention' is definitely Iran.

As nationalism was ultimately the US adversary in Vietnam, (perhaps more so than communism), in Iraq too nationalism is growing against American occupation and domination. The Iraqi people could see through very well the ulterior motive of the US when the card of 'divide and rule', the very same logic of colonial rule was played on them. Because, militants on both Shiite and Sunni sides have recently confided to Michael Ware, the Time's Baghdad correspondent, that US forces remain a bigger enemy than their countrymen. They further said that they would rather fight to rid Iraq of US forces than take up arms against each other ("Can Iraq's Militias be tamed?" (Time 167 [2006]: 30-41). Iraqi Resistance leaders like Haifa Zangana justify the people's right to fight against the neoimperialists through armed resistance. According to her, the present armed resistance in Iraq is in accordance with a 1978 UN General Assembly resolution that reaffirmed "the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence . . . from foreign occupation by all available means, particularly armed struggle" ("Iraqi's right to rule themselves". The Hindu 21 Nov. 2005: 13).

That America is vehemently trying to control all those who oppose its neoimperialist policies not only through military and economic subjugation, but through the control of the intellectuals of their lands, is borne out by the recent reports of 'witch-hunting' resorted to in

certain universities of America. Students in America are now given incentives for exposing the professors who speak against American imperialism and President Bush. Those students who are willing to oblige the administration are given 100 dollars each for tape-recording, and for obtaining a copy of all teaching materials. According to Dan Glaister, "by the third week of Jan. 2006, about 31 professors have been pinpointed whose classes are considered to be worthy of scrutiny" ("US Professors under scrutiny by Right-wingers". The Hindu 20 Jan. 2006: 16). In the colonial times, teachers were most often looked upon as enemies by the colonizers. For, the colonizers feared that teachers were the 'undesired', but 'competent' persons powerful enough to instill the seeds of nationalism in the minds of the oppressed. The cerebral control imposed by the neoimperialists is a pointer to the fact that in the new millennium too, teachers pose a formidable threat to those who rampantly exploit the peoples of the Third and the Fourth World.

Reports of allegations of abuse, and indiscriminate shooting on 15 March 2006 in the village Al Bu Seifa in Iraq virtually baffled the conscience of the politically conscious people all over the world. Barring the discrepancy between the number of casualties provided by the US military and the Iraqi police, the incident has been confirmed. For, the US military said that four civilians, two women, a child, a man were killed while 'looking for' an Al Queda suspect; whereas, the Iraqi police reported that eleven civilians, including four women, and

four children were killed. Apart from these kinds of torture and abuses, reports of harrowing kinds of human rights violation are coming from the Guantanamo prison where the 'Iraqi captives' are being jailed. Amnesty International in its report on human rights in May 2005 has said that Guantanamo is the "gulag of our times" ("What's going on at GITMO?" Time 165 [2005]: 38-39). The kinds of torture unleashed on the prisoners there justify the argument of Amnesty. In one instance, the captives are shackled in foetal position for twenty four hours without food or water, and left in their own excrement. In a report entitled "Inside the Wire", co-written by former Army Sergeant Erik Saar who served at Gitmo, and Viveca Novak, Time correspondent, the authors cite an instance of a female interrogator smearing fake menstrual blood on a captive's face. In another report, "Inside the Interrogation of Detainee 063", Adam Zagorin and Michael Duffy write about the 'counter-resistance strategies' adopted by the Gitmo authorities on prisoners in violation of the letter and spirit of the Geneva Conventions which forbid 'outrage on personal dignity'. Making a prisoner (Mohammed al-Quahtani) bark like a dog, and growl at pictures of 'terrorists', hanging pictures of scantily clad women around his neck, are some instances of the torture meted out to prisoners there. On another occasion, a female interrogator annoys al-Quahtani so much so that he tells his captors that he wants to commit suicide, and asks for a crayon to write his will. The victim was subjected to these kinds of tortures for

nearly one month. As Eric Freedman, a constitutional-law expert says, "If these techniques described in the interrogation log are not outrageous to personal dignity, then words have no meaning" ("Inside the Interrogation of Detainee 063." Time 625 [2005]:14-21). We have to bear in mind that all these onslaughts on human dignity have been carried on with the explicit connivance of President George Bush and his sycophants. In short, as Hugo Chavez observes, "the imperialist mass murdering fascist attitude of the President of the United States does not have limits". Chavez goes to the extent of saying that "Hitler could be a nursery baby next to George Bush" ("Chavez plans to arm one million people". The Hindu 6 Feb. 2006: 15).

In Afghanistan too the American design of divide and rule has failed miserably. Nearly five years after the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, America has almost dropped its long-cherished plan of the Trans-Afghan pipeline, though the US does not admit it publicly. Under the pretext of fighting the Taliban further, American neoimperialism has been and still is trampling upon the rights of the Afghan people for self-determination, and the women and children of Afghanistan are the worst affected sections in this regard. According to a prominent Afghan daily, "women and children who go to prison never return home with honour intact" (as quoted in "Has America lost its way in Afghanistan." The Hindu 17 Mar 2006: 10). That America is losing its 'war against terrorism' in Afghanistan is endorsed by the observation of the Head of the Defence Intelligence Agency of America,

Lt. General Michael D Maples. For, he says, "The Taliban dominated insurgency remains capable and resistant" in today's Afghanistan ("Has America lost its way in Afghanistan." The Hindu 17 Mar. 2006: 10). The preceding observations drive home the fact that far from being a beaten force, the Taliban appears to be determined for a powerful comeback in Afghanistan. Surprisingly enough, the Taliban which was deadly opposed to drug trafficking and condemned opium as 'un-Islamic' before the US invasion of Afghanistan, now encourages poppy cultivation in its strongholds apparently to find out the resources for its operations. By now, the American allied forces in Afghanistan and Iraq have realized that they are not likely to win, but 'exigency of circumstances', especially, the hubris of George Bush and Tony Blair keep them in these countries.

The hollowness of the much-discussed 'global campaign for democracy', principally undertaken by George Bush and Tony Blair, has been exposed to the world when these leaders refused to recognize the Hamas victory in Palestine. As Will Hutton observes, "The worst that the international community could commit is to refuse all dealings with Hamas" ("Now the real challenge for Hamas." The Hindu 30 Jan. 2006: 11). Those who have genuine concern for democracy have to support and do everything possible to fulfill the democratic aspirations of the Palestinian people and their elected representatives. The Bush administration now refuses to recognize Hamas victory alleging that Hamas is a terrorist organization. But, it is a widely

accepted fact that the Palestinian people exercised their right to self-determination in a free and fair election conducted under the supervision of international observers. If Hamas had resorted to terrorism before the Palestinian elections, it was to 'right a great wrong', that is, their fight was against the decades old oppression meted out to them by Israel with the obvious support of the US. In spite of the declaration of the political bureau of Hamas that they are ready for a just peace, the Bush administration refuses to yield. All the same, Hamas has told the international community in unequivocal terms that they cannot be intimidated, as the statement of the head of their political bureau, Khalid Mish'al reveals. For, he says, "our people in Palestine should not need to wait for any aid from countries that attach humiliating conditions to every dollar or euro they pay despite their historical and moral responsibility for our plight" ("Hamas ready for a just peace." The Hindu 1 Feb. 2006: 11).

The eighteen-page letter which the Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad sent to his American counterpart on 8 May, 2006, apart from its purpose of 'resolving' the 'issues' at stake, is a strong condemnation of the US hegemony on world affairs. That the letter has frustrated and provoked President Bush beyond description is evidenced in the rejection of it by Condoleezza Rice, the US Secretary of State. The US refusal to find out diplomatic solutions to the issues between the two countries sends a very bad signal to the international community at large. What the US actually requires in Iran is a 'regime

change', a regime which will act according to the dictates of the US and British warlords. America's allegation that Iran is enriching uranium to make weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) has specific parallelism to the 'Washington fiction' in 2003 that Iraq was in possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs).

There have been widespread protests in the US and in Britain against the US-UK move to strangle the people of Iran in the name of the much-debated uranium enrichment programme of Iran. Tony Benn, who was a Cabinet Minister under Harold Wilson and James Callaghan, observes that George Bush's threat against Iran under the pretext of upholding the principles of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is to hoodwink humanity at large, and to regain the political credibility of Bush, which has been lost in Iraq. According to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), non-nuclear nations are not to acquire nuclear weapons if nuclear powers undertook not to extend their nuclear arsenals and to seek to secure their abolition. The irony of the situation is that since the signing of the NPT, as Tony Benn observes, "The Americas have launched a programme that would allow them to use nuclear weapons in space, nuclear bunker-busting bombs are being developed, and depleted uranium has been used in Iraq – all which are clear breaches of the NPT" ("Iran: George Bush is the Real Threat." The Hindu 1 Sept. 2005: 11).

By opposing Iran's legitimate right to process uranium for nuclear fuel, and thereby to diversify its energy resources, America's

real aim is to prevent Iran's comprehensive development. Iran has been prompted to enrich uranium anticipating a shortage of oil by 2024. This highlights the legitimate wish of the country to develop alternative sources of energy, including nuclear fuel. In this context, the speech of the Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in the UN General Assembly in September 2005 is quite thought-provoking. For, he is reported to have said that everyday, the United States of America and its allies are threatening other nations with nuclear weapons, and, curiously enough, they are never inspected. While condemning the US policy in this regard, the Iranian President said that the US is practising 'nuclear apartheid'. The Iranian President's stance in this issue is all the more vindicated as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has revealed that there is no conclusive evidence that Teheran had diverted materials towards making atomic weapons.

Hope has been stirred in the minds of the Iranian people, and all those politically conscious people of the rest of the world, thanks to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization's (SCO) support to Iran. As the SCO comprises China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, it will not be that easy as far as the US is concerned to take a unilateral decision against Iran. However, the peace loving people of the world cannot sit complacently when they have in mind the report of Seymour Hersh, an influential investigative journalist with The New Yorker magazine, which tells the world that Washington

has stepped up plans for possible attacks on Iranian facilities to curb its 'atomic work'.

The US and the UK have no moral and legal right to order the other nations of the world to disarm, since these two countries are in possession of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons competent enough to wipe out humanity at large from this planet within hours. Paradoxically enough, even while clamouring for the elimination of chemical and biological weapons, the United States has been developing deadlier weapons as evidenced in its operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. What is more, as Fidel Castro observes, "The United States of America is the chief promoter and patron of massive violations of human rights in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere in the world" (Castro 103). The US has been using weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) for destroying the infrastructure and economies of different countries of the world in the name of 'war on terror'.

What political morality demands today is the trial of George Bush and Tony Blair for war crimes in the International Court of Justice. The complicity of Kofi Annan, the current custodian of the UN Charter, in the invasion of Iraq by the US allied forces is obvious when we consider the timing of the order issued by Annan to stop the Oil-for-Food programme meant for the Iraqi civilians. As Aijaz Ahmad emphatically says, "A plausible legal case can be made against Annan for dereliction of duty as defender of the UN Charter, and for aiding

and abetting war criminals of the Bush and Blair administrations” (Ahmad 159).

The invasion and subsequent occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq in the new millennium belies Fanon’s remarks on the power of the imperial countries after the Second World War. For, in The Wretched of the Earth, Fanon evinced the hope that the chance of prolonged occupation of a country by external forces was not likely in the latter half of the twentieth century. Fanon observes: “The truth is that there is no colonial power today which is capable of adopting the only form of contest which has a chance of succeeding, namely, prolonged establishment of large forces of occupation” (WE 58). But, the American occupation of Vietnam till 1975, and Iraq in the new millennium are specific examples to prove that the neocolonial beast is more ferocious than the colonial beast. It is high time that people like the authors of Occidentalism did a rethinking as to why the ‘enemies’ of the West have been painting a “dehumanizing picture of the West” (Occidentalism 5). George Bush and his allies had sown the wind; now they have to reap the whirlwind. If anybody fondles the hope that the neocolonialist will someday change into a lamb, it is a fond hope indeed. The frightening nature of the neoimperialist, and neoliberal offensives already analyzed proves that “Fanon does not have an equal in analyzing the last stages of African colonialism and the advent of neocolonialism”, as Walter Rodney observes (Rodney 310).

## **Fanon's Influence on the Black Power and Black Arts Movements**

The influence of Fanon on the Black Power and Black Arts Movements is perhaps the most dramatic instance of the Fanonian concepts of decolonization outside Algeria. The Black writers of America, especially since 1960, were fundamentally opposed to the Western concept of 'art for art's sake'. They believe that art must be functional; art has to serve an end beyond itself. Ron Milner, one of the leading playwrights of the New Black Theatre is of the view that "Art for art's sake: is incest". He further felt that "Black people desperately needed a healthy natural art form: art coming from an intercourse with life" (as qtd. in "Notes on Ritual in the New Black Theatre." by Shelby Steele in Errol Hill ed. The Theatre of Black Americans 30-44).

The Black writers of America and the African countries have been tremendously influenced by Fanon's diagnosis of colonialism and its disastrous consequences. The Black Art and Black Nationhood concepts of the American Black writers took a decisive turn once they analyzed Fanon's justification of violence for the emancipation of the wretched of the earth. Though Black writers like Alian Locke and Ron Karenga had tried their best to formulate a Black aesthetics, it was the Black writers of the 1960s who made it a reality. Alian Locke believed that "the real future of the Negro drama lies with the development of the folk play" ("The Negro and the American Theatre" in The Black Aesthetic 268). Ron Karenga , the Black Nationalist, also

believed that the Black people's aspiration for self-determination could be achieved only through revolutionary methods. For, Karenga observes, "Black Art must expose the enemy, praise the people, and support the revolution" ("Black Cultural Nationalism" in Addison Gayle Jr. ed. The Black Aesthetic 32). But it was Fanon's concept of authentic decolonization which could lend a militant nature to the desire of self determination and nationhood of the Black Americans. Until they read Fanon, the Black people of America were at a loss as to what method would be suitable for their liberation from the oppressive White regime – whether the non-violent ideals of Martin Luther King, or the revolutionary thoughts of Malcolm X. But once they read Fanon, there took place a radical change in their outlook on life itself, for, as Larry Neal says, they were "looking at a picture of someone who looked like them, someone who has a similar experience" ("The Social Background of the Black Arts Movement" in Black Scholar Jan-Feb, 1987). The term 'Black' acquired a new dimension after they read Fanon. Fanon's impact on the black people was so profound that any intellectual who had not read Fanon, especially his Black Skin, White Masks and The Wretched of the Earth, was looked upon as one who has not read two essential books. Fanon told them that imperialism, colonialism and racism have been the root cause of their depredation. With the assassination of Malcolm X, an embodiment of Black Nationalism in 1965, the Black people of America further realized that counter-violence was justifiable for the

true emancipation of them from the heinous oppression meted out to them by the White administration. This new awareness created by Fanon resulted in the development of 'Black Consciousness' as opposed to the hitherto upheld 'Negro Sensibility'. It was out of this Black Consciousness that LeRoi Jones (Imamu Amiri Baraka), Ed Bullins, Ron Milner and a host of other Black writers evolved a Black Aesthetics. These writers believed that the White Aesthetics was opposed to the very concept of self-determination of the Blacks. As Larry Neal remarks, "The Black Arts Movement is radically opposed to any concept of the art that alienates the artist from his/her community". Larry Neal further says, "Black Art is the aesthetic and spiritual sister of the Black Power concept" ("The Black Arts Movement" in Annemarie Bean ed. A Sourcebook of African-American Performance 55-67). Larry Neal believed that the Black Arts and the Black Power concepts both related broadly to the Afro-American desire for self-determination. The Black people felt the necessity of defining the world in their own terms. Besides, Larry Neal adds that the Black Art movement advocated a cultural revolution in arts and ideas because, the Black artists strongly believed in Fanon's warning that destroying the culture was equivalent to destroying the people.

Though the concept of 'Black Arts' is not new, as Larry Neal observes, it was first used in a positive sense by LeRoi Jones. For, about Black Arts LeRoi Jones wrote: "We are black magicians/Black arts we make/in black labs of the heart" (as qtd. in "The Black Arts

Movement.” A Sourcebook of African-American Performance 55-67). LeRoi Jones’ essay “The Revolutionary Theatre” is considered as the manifesto of the radical Black Theatre of America. LeRoi Jones was very particular that the Revolutionary Theatre should force change. As Larry Neal remarks, “the Black Arts Theatre, the theatre of LeRoi Jones [Amiri Baraka], is a radical alternative to the sterility of the American theatre” (“The Black Arts Movement.” A Sourcebook of African-American Performance 55-67).

In 1967, Ed Bullins, another prominent leader of the Black Arts Movement published an essay entitled “The So Called Avant Garde Drama” in which he stressed the need of a Black Theatre that rejects the pervasive cultural decay of the American White theatre. In an interview with Marvin X in 1969, Bullins further elaborated his concept of the Revolutionary Theatre. For, he observes:

We do not want to have a higher form of white art in Black face. We are working towards something entirely different and new that encompasses the soul and the spirit of the Black people, and that represents the whole experience of our being here in this oppressive land. . . . Our aim is not only to become artists individually and collectively, but to create a uniform positive art. (“Interview with Ed Bullins” in New Plays from the Black Theatre xii)

Ron Milner also highlights the need of a theatre committed to the underprivileged and marginalized sections of the society. In his essay "Black Theatre – Go Home", he admonishes the Black dramatists to draw their materials from the people to whom they in turn, communicate intensified and organized perceptions (The Black Aesthetic 288-94).

LeRoi Jones is considered as the father of the Black Arts Cultural Movement. He was the 'angry young man' of America of the 1950s and 60s, perhaps a counterpart of John Osborne of England in the 1940s and 50s, in a very limited sense. LeRoi Jones aimed at the radical and complete rejection of the commercial theatre. He strongly believed that Black Theatre could be legitimized by the Black community only. In the spring of 1965 he founded The Black Arts Repertory Theatre School in Harlem. It was the first step towards the establishment of a theatre which highlights the truth of the oppressed Blacks as the only meaningful reality. But The Black Arts Repertory Theatre had a very short span of life, for, seven months after its establishment it collapsed allegedly because of its 'terrorist' nature. All the same the Black arts movement was a pungent critique of the White American society and its culture. The American Black artists of the 1960s "denounced the seeming complacency of their immediate elders", as Thomas DeFrance observes. DeFrance further says that the motto of the 1963 March to Washington led by Martin Luther King, "We Shall Overcome", was replaced by "Up Against the Wall, Motherfucker", a

slogan popularized by LeRoi Jones (“To Make Black Bodies Strange” in A Source Book of African-American Performance 83-93). After the closure of the BART, Jones started the Spirit House, the spiritual centre of the Black Arts movement in America. The theatre of the people of the Spirit House was known as the Spirit House Movers.

It was LeRoi Jones’ Dutchman that radically reordered the internal structure of the Black Theatre, for, as Larry Neal remarks, the Dutchman “is implicitly but very clearly addressed to the radical sector of the Black socio-political consciousness” (“Into Nationalism, Out of Parochialism” in Errol Hill Ed. The Theatre of Black Americans 293-300).

The subway in summer – what LeRoi Jones describes as ‘the flying underbelly of the city – where the entire actions of Dutchman take place, according to Ruby Cohn, “is his [Jones] most telling dramatic inferno” (New American Dramatists 98). Clay Williams of Dutchman is an educated Negro man with ‘black skin, and white mask’. But, the mask which he wears in public in his attempt to assert his ‘individuality’ does not in reality help him to overcome the assault of the White world as represented by Lula, the “white demon-woman” as DeFrance calls her (“To Make Black Bodies Strange”). When Clay eventually succeeds in discarding his mask, it is too late. As Ruby Cohn rightly puts, “the young Black is clay in the hands of Lulu-Lilith white woman, *la belle dame sans merci*” (Cohn 99). Larry Neal observes that Clay is doomed when he allows himself to participate in

Lula's 'fantasy' in the first place. He further says, "It is the fantasy to which Frantz Fanon alludes in The Wretched of the Earth and Black Skin, White Masks: the native's belief that he can acquire the oppressor's power by acquiring his symbols, the one of which is the white woman" ("The Black Arts Movement." A Sourcebook of African-American Performance 55-67). However, Clay's vehement indictment of the White society resounds in the minds of the audience as the curtain of Dutchman falls. Clayton Riley's comment on the language of Dutchman is worth quoting. For, he says, "It stabbed America in every private place and part" with the urgent force of total commitment ("On Black Theatre" in The Black Aesthetic 313-330).

The eventual killing of the White Voice of Slave Ship (a play LeRoi Jones wrote in 1967), is the symbolic expression of the Black community of America to put an end to White supremacy, which has been the prime cause of the sufferings of the Blacks. The play Slave Ship conveys the message that the Black people can create their own destiny. Slave Ship is, in a sense, the clarion call for revolution, an important agenda of Black Nationalism.

Most often, the White women in the plays of Black writers like LeRoi Jones and Ed Bullins are symbols of evil who taunt Black males with their perverse sexuality. Shelby Steele is of the view that the White woman "often symbolizes the relationship of America to the Black man" ("Notes on Ritual." The Theatre of Black Americans 30-44). In Bullins' one-act play The Gentleman Caller, Madame (Mrs.

Mann), the central character is the embodiment of evil. She makes very obvious attempts to be seduced by the black gentleman caller. But, by refusing to yield to her seduction, the gentleman caller asserts his Black identity. The very posture and manners of the man are indicative of his determination to defy the superiority of the Whites. Surprisingly enough, in spite of the persistent provocation of Mrs. Mann, the gentleman caller keeps silent throughout his brief sojourn at the comfortable and fashionable living room of Mrs. Mann. The gentleman caller proves himself to be quite unlike Clay Williams of Dutchman. Mrs. Mann's shock and exasperation is quite obvious. For, she exclaims, "times have changed, haven't they?" ("The Gentleman Caller" in Ed Bullins Ed. Contemporary Black Drama 377).

Mamie, the Black maid-servant of Mrs. Mann, too asserts her individuality by shooting Mrs. Mann on her head with a pump-action shotgun. Mamie had already contemplated leaving Mrs. Mann's service in a heroic way. Her sense of revenge for having been enslaved for years is so intense that she fires shells into the twitching corpse of Mrs. Mann. According to Shelby Steele, "The murder of Mrs. Mann by the black maid in the Bullins play affirms the maid's Blackness and consummates her transition from a foot-shuffling house Nigger to a proud Black woman" ("Notes on Ritual"). The murder of Mrs. Mann by her maid is a striking example of the counter-violence of the oppressed Negro; in other words, violence boomerangs here, though belatedly. In Shelby Steele's opinion, "The use of murder in this way

corresponds closely to Frantz Fanon's view which sees the violence of the oppressed as redemptive and self-affirming" ("Notes on Ritual." The Theatre of Black Americans 30-44).

The kind of personal transformation which is seen in the character of Mamie is yet another theme of the modern American Black Theatre. In the beginning of The Gentleman Caller, Mamie is the "hideous symbol of Black humiliation", as Shelby Steele comments ("Notes on Ritual." The Theatre of Black Americans 30-44). Mrs. Mann has been treating Maime as a property. For, she says, Maime is "one of the truly worthwhile possessions" that her father left with the family ("The Gentleman Caller" in Contemporary Black Drama 372). Mrs. Mann further remarks that Maime has no right to think for herself. But, towards the end of the play, Maime gives expression to her long-cherished desire for self-determination at any cost. Because, the maid asserts, "It's time for Black people to come together in unity . . . Yes, we are coming father. We are forming the foretold Black nation that will survive, conquer, and rule under your divine guidance" ("The Gentleman Caller" Contemporary Black Drama 380). Maime ultimately realizes that resistance and self-assertion are the only means to recover her lost identity.

Besides the influence of Fanon on the writers and movements already discussed, in the Middle East also, Fanon has been an icon of the liberation struggles of the oppressed people. In fact he is ranked with Mao and Che Guevera, as one of the revolutionary leaders

acclaimed by the militant elements in the Palestine Resistance Movement, especially by the rank and file of the Fatah Party. In a paper presented by H. I. Hussaini, a Fatah Party activist at the Arab-American University Graduate convention that was held in the winter of 1969, he observes, "by adopting armed struggle and violence, al Fatah has been able to create the spirit that Fanon spoke of" (qtd. from "The Palestinian Revolution: 'al Fatah: Origins and Strategies" in Gendzier 267).

The issues examined hitherto have driven home that what Fanon had done through his works was a microscopic dissection and analysis of colonialism and neocolonialism with the precision of a surgeon. Fanon has succeeded not only in diagnosing colonialism in all its seriousness, but has prescribed unmistakable remedy through his concepts of authentic decolonization. And, as for his prophetic predictions on neocolonialism, he has no counterpart till date. However, Fanon's ultimate goal of fostering the full development of humanity, holding out human dignity, freedom, love, care, and justice to all the underprivileged and marginalized people of the world has not yet been materialized. Unless the politically conscious people of the world at large do something concrete to check the onslaught of neo-imperialism on the underdeveloped and marginalized people of the world, neocolonialists will have their heyday.

## Chapter 9

### **Conclusion**

As mentioned in the introduction to my thesis, I have done an in-depth study of Fanon's works to explore his impact on his own generation and the posterity. Besides the four books Fanon has to his credit, I have analyzed several books on Fanon, and the books of anticolonial revolutionary thinkers like Albert Memmi, Eldridge Cleaver, Ernesto Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Renate Zahar, etc. in order to make the study more comprehensive and authentic. All attempts have been made to update the impact of colonialism, neocolonialism, neoimperialism and neoliberalism on the international community at large. In other words, the relevance of Fanon today has been probed earnestly in the preceding pages of the thesis.

In the second chapter of the thesis, a very concise but comprehensive picture of Fanon's life has been given. Born and brought up in a fully assimilated and conventional black bourgeois family of Martinique, a French colony since 1625, Fanon had all the opportunities to identify himself with the middleclass black elites of Antilles, very subtly nurtured by the French colonial system. In all probability, force of temperament might have pulled Fanon back from such a life. It could be the very same temperament, among other factors, which made him a 'rebel' in his own house, and later a revolutionary. The influence of Aime Cesaire, Sartre, Nietzsche, and

Richard Wright gave further impetus to Fanon's temperament. It was Fanon's experience in the French army and the eventual realization that colonialism was an act of economic plunder, political tyranny, and psychological castration that drew him further towards Aime Cesaire and his glorification of 'blackness'. The twofold influence of Cesaire on Fanon – as his teacher, and as the author of the seminal thesis on the disastrous aspects of colonialism, Discourse on Colonialism – has been discussed in the second chapter of the thesis. It was in fact Cesaire's fight against the politics of assimilation which helped Fanon eventually to become a disalienated individual. Fanon's realization that the 'negritude philosophy' was not sufficient enough for the total liberation of the individual from the colonial ethos resulted in his own formulation of the theory of authentic decolonization. All the same, Fanon's persistent effort towards linguistic assimilation (for, he realized that mastery of the colonizer's language was a remarkable source of power), and how best he has written back to the colonizer in his own language have been dealt in detail in the thesis.

The pathetic predicament of Bigger Thomas as portrayed in Richard Wright's Native Son made Fanon realize that Bigger was the prototype of all black people who experienced more or less same kind of existential anguish. The tremendous influence of the character of Bigger Thomas on Fanon has been analyzed in the second chapter of the thesis. Fanon's personal intimacy with Sartre, and the influence of

Sartre's existential philosophy on Fanon have been detailed in the chapter on Fanon's life. That Fanon's radical concepts on psychoanalysis and psychiatry have been by and large shaped by his association with Professor Tosquelles and his concept of 'sociotherapy', is discussed in the second chapter. Fanon's resignation from the Blida Hospital in Algeria also could be traced back to his egalitarian concept of psychiatry evolved through this association. The realization of Fanon that in Algeria psychiatry was used to decerebralize the people, his first hand experience with torture, and his ultimate decision to join hands with the National Liberation Front (FLN) of Algeria are also analyzed in detail in the second chapter.

Fanon's contribution to the liberation of Algeria (though he had not the good luck to see Algeria liberated), his articles in El Moujahid and in The African Resistance written with the specific motive of conscientizing the people to rally behind the FLN, and his political activities and psychiatric work at Tunis were more than sufficient to call him a true scholar-activist. Fanon's initial rejection of the request of his friends to allow them to take him to America for treating leukemia (saying that he did not like America, 'the country of lynchings'), and his letter to his friend Roger Tayeb, written a few days prior to his death, drive home his fighting spirit as well as his deep concern for the peoples of the Third World.

The third chapter of the thesis is the substantiation of my contention that Fanon was the exponent of postcolonial theory. Fanon

has proved through The Wretched of the Earth, how effectively the colonized could write back to the imperial centre in the language which has been actively appropriated from the colonizer. Fanon's language is competent enough to decolonize the colonized as well as the colonizer. The immensity of the power of the language which the colonized mastered has been hailed by anticolonial thinkers and writers like Albert Memmi, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Renate Zahar. While claiming that Fanon was the exponent of postcolonial theory, I have, with specific details, disclaimed the argument of writers like Leela Gandhi that Edward Said's Orientalism is the main source and reference point for all postcolonial theories. Moreover, quite unlike the postcolonial writers like Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Homi K. Bhabha and Leela Gandhi – all who have come out with their theories from the Western academies, enjoying the luxury and surplus pleasure provided by those academies – Fanon's theory of decolonization is moulded out of the revolutionary battlefield of Algeria. And I have noted down my contention that only a person who has experienced the callousness and inhumanity, the handmaids of colonialism, could come out with a theory of authentic decolonization, with all its attendant features. Besides, Fanon's universal vision of the emergence of a new humanism, a non-racial society, and the eventual disappearance of the colonizer and the colonized has been analyzed in the thesis.

Another important factor is that no one has succeeded to equal Fanon till date as far as his concept of authentic decolonization is concerned. The role of the native intellectuals in the socialist revolution visualized by Fanon, the necessity of the native intellectuals addressing their own people, the eventual emergence of a 'literature of combat', and the new dimension acquired by Jazz due to the liberation of the Negro etc. are analyzed as the different aspects of Fanon's theory of decolonization.

The reasons which contributed to the alienation of the colonized in their own lands, how the colonized could ultimately disalienate themselves, and how could they play their own roles in the emergence of a non-racial society are discussed in the fourth chapter of the thesis. The economic, racial and psychological factors behind European colonization, and the subsequent 'thingification' of the colonized have been the other topics of discussion in this chapter. The very subtle manner in which the colonialist was exalted and the colonized was humbled, and, accordingly, the cultural originality of the colonized people is erased have also been under discussion. The attempts at 'lactification' (to have whiteness at any price) made by the black people in order to escape from their inferiority complex, and Fanon's condemnation of this urge on the part of them are discussed in the fourth chapter. Another thesis of Fanon, that is, the inferiority complex of the colonized is the result of the centuries old subtle cultural imposition on the natives by the colonizer, is also examined in

this chapter. Fanon's theory here radically subverts the concept of the 'collective unconscious' as propounded by Jung to the effect that it depended on cerebral heredity. How the native becomes a victim of 'psychopathology' once he recovers from his 'collective unconscious', and how can the native be saved from this psychic condition were the issues which haunted Fanon. It was this search that led to Fanon's concept of the 'disalienation' of the black man, and his ultimate concept of a non-racial society.

How the systematic oppression meted out to a society would make the members of it lead a death-in-life existence is the message of Fanon's sociological and scientific analysis of colonialism as discussed in the fifth chapter of the thesis. The emergence of the native from the phase of deculturation practised upon him by the colonizer, the eventual rediscovery of the original culture by the native, and how the liberated culture is born are the other issues discussed in this chapter.

The sixth chapter of the thesis has analyzed the radical changes which occurred in the different spheres of Algerian socio-political life during the first five years of the revolution. How the Algerian women created history of a sort by resisting the cultural war waged against them by the Europeans in the name of the veil, and the commendable role played by their men in this regard are also discussed in this chapter. The quite remarkable attitude of the Algerians towards the radio and the French language during the liberation struggle is

another important issue discussed in the sixth chapter. The French language turned out to be another means of liberation, whereas the radio, especially, the 'Voice of Free Algeria', was looked upon as the easiest means of keeping in constant contact with the rebellion. The radical transformation that has undergone in family relationship in Algeria on account of the war has also been analyzed in detail in the sixth chapter.

The role of emancipatory violence in authentic decolonization as elaborated in The Wretched of the Earth has been hailed by even those people who are in principle deadly against violence. The brutal and heinous nature of colonialism, the complicity of the church in this, the failure of the nationalist parties to rise up to the expectation of the colonized people, are discussed in the seventh chapter of the thesis. Fanon's contention that emancipatory violence is devoid of criminality as it is the violence of retribution, is analyzed in detail in this chapter. Fanon's concrete concepts of socialist revolution, neocolonialism and ideal government are also discussed in the seventh chapter. The kind of government Fanon visualizes in the newly independent countries is a government which governs for the people and with the people. Fanon's ideas of the single revolutionary party which undertakes the political education of the people to make them 'adults' , and the people eventually exercising their authority, drive home his egalitarian vision of society.

The onslaught of neoimperialism in the latter half of the last century, and in the new millennium on the underdeveloped and developing countries of the world has been analyzed in the eighth chapter of the thesis. All the instances discussed in this regard prove the predictions of Fanon on neocolonialism to be prophetically true. The roles played by the national bourgeoisie, the neoliberal agencies like IMF the World Bank, the WTO and ADB in neocolonialism have been discussed in depth in the thesis. That globalization is an irreversible process, and what the people of the new millennium require is a fair and humane globalization which can cater to the needs of even the marginalized and underprivileged people of the world (as opposed to the neoimperialist-neoliberal globalization), have been discussed in the thesis. Unless globalization acquires such a universal dimension, poverty will remain the best distributed thing in the world in the years to come.

The hypocrisy behind America's 'war on terror', and discourse against 'violent extremism' has been exposed in the thesis while analyzing the present socio-political scenario in Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran and elsewhere in the world. As the neocolonialist superpowers are not likely to change their nature, what the global community has to do is to maintain constant vigil against the neoimperialists.

Fanon's contribution to the development of the American 'black consciousness', and the eventual upsurge of the Black Arts and Black Nationhood Movements, is analyzed in the thesis with specific

reference to LeRoi Jones, Ed Bullins, Larry Neal and Ron Milner. Why the black Americans remain the poorest people of the richest country of the world even today has also been analyzed in the thesis.

The magnitude of the issues discussed in the thesis drives home the relevance today of Fanon's surgical diagnosis of colonialism and his subsequent prescription for the ailments of this world at large – his concept of authentic decolonization and the vision of an egalitarian global community. This study has further underscored the necessity of the politically conscious people of the entire world shedding their complacency, and organizing themselves to do everything possible to mould an ideal world in which there will be no oppression, no inequality, no poverty, and no hunger.

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