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**The Concept of Violence in Resistance
to colonialism According to Frantz
Fanon**

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Degree in Literature and Civilization

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my husband Mohamed who has been a constant source of support, and who has encouraged me all the way and whose encouragement has made sure that I give it all it takes to finish that which I have started.

A special gratitude for my loving mother, the source of my pride and strength. To my dear father, my safe home who has always unconditionally loved me.

For my only sister Asma, I feel your supported and encouragement all the time. To my brothers Youcef and Hamza, words of encouragement prompted me to cross the path towards my ambition. To the most beautiful in life my children Nour Elhouda and Anas.

I would like to dedicate this work, to all the friends and people I had the honor to meet during these two years.

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Abstract

The Martinican thinker Frantz Fanon, one of the most humanitarian intellectuals of the twentieth century, a man who devoted his life for the sake of decolonization, played an important role in the contemporary cultural discussion, and in establishing a liberal approach to resist all types of dominance and colonialism in Third World countries. He is considered as The Godfather of Violence because he believed that, to resist colonialism, the colonized must use violence or hard power. Fanon provoked the armed struggle as a kind of self-defense and the proclamation of the natural rights, believing that what is taken by power can only be restored by power, in order to be free from the cruelty of colonialism. This violence carried a positive and legitimate form. It unites people in one entity that is aware totally about the common case and its solution.

Key words: violence, colonialism, armed struggle, decolonization.

المخلص

يعتبر المفكر المارتينيكي فرانز فانون أحد المفكرين الأكثر إنسانية في القرن العشرين، ورجل كرس حياته لخدمة الحركات التحررية، وقد لعب دورا جدمهم في النقاش الثقافي المعاصر وفي تأسيس منهج ليبرالي لمقاومة شتى أنواع الهيمنة والاستعمار في دول العالم الثالث. يعتبر الأب الروحي للعنف لإيمانه بأنه، لمقاومة الاستعمار، على المستعمر ان يستعمل العنف او القوة. فقد حرض فانون على استعمال الكفاح المسلح كنوع من الدفاع عن النفس واسترجاع الحقوق الطبيعية، فما أخذ بالقوة لا يسترد إلا بالقوة للخلاص من الهمجية الاستعمارية. هذا العنف يحمل طابعا ايجابيا شرعيا، يوحد الافراد في كتلة واحدة واعية بالقضية المشتركة وحلها.

الكلمات المفتاحية: العنف، الاستعمار، الكفاح المسلح، التحرر.

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General Introduction

By the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, African countries became colonized and subjugated to European colonialism, the fact which led to the complete disengagement of Africans from the traditional thought they had formed hundreds of years ago. In fact, the effects of the European tide on the African continent were not the result of the early twentieth century; they rather extend to several centuries before that. This is what led to the birth of a new African thought; a thought that tries with all its knowledge to defend the African man and highlight his achievements and civilizations. Little by little, this thought began to grow and grow over years until it reached the stage of maturity and diversity in the middle of the twentieth century after the Second World War

The subject of this research concerns one of the most vital issues that deal with the misunderstandings that result from the incorrect translations and interpretations of the writings of active personalities throughout history, the fact which raises a lot of controversy and debate between specialized researchers as well as amateur writers in general. As for the character under study, it is the character of a genius theorist who spent a lot of ink. In light of the competition between African intellectual currents, an African thinker rose. He is that rebellious man. He is that baffling man. He is Frantz Fanon of the Antilles: a humanitarian man of Latin American as well as African origins, who absorbed both the French as well as the Algerian culture. He is known as the colonizer who fought colonialism, and very well-known for his struggle against discrimination and racism. Fanon is considered as one of the most prominent thinkers who supported the popular armed struggle for decolonization in the post-World War II era.

In modern day contemporary political time, the world lives a terrible reality, full of fear, killing and persecution, perpetrated by groups against each other, and the most severe example people can witness is in the daily attempts of the Zionist government to destroy and exterminate the necessities of life of the Palestinians. Violence has become prevalent in communities in general, and this violence was not a recent phenomenon that came to exist today or yesterday; it is rather a phenomenon far rooted in the remotest eras of history and it continues to this day. This violence will never stop, and people will not exaggerate when they say that they live in an era of violence, an era of murder and aggression, and for this reason, Mankind needs a philosophy of violence to cope, coexist and survive, or else become extinct under the mercy of the jungle rule the world witnesses. This phenomenon of violence, which was necessary for countries to get their independence, is a very necessary utility up to this day, especially during armed confrontations. This study analyzes this phenomenon deeply from its roots and in all its dimensions, Vis a Vis the perspective of Frantz Fanon's ideals about the inevitability of violence for freedom.

Violence is the most important thing that Frantz Fanon talked about, studied, analyzed and justified, as a solution from colonial tyranny. It is the only way left for the colonized to rise and break the chains of colonialism. Violence in Fanon's expression describes colonialism as an agency, and salvation from it comes only by following the path of violence in order to remove the oppression and violence of the colonizer. Violence here is no longer violence as the connotation or denotation of the term; it is rather a legitimate right and duty. The oppressed must do this duty, as violence is the only way left to reach their desired goal of freedom, therefore the colonizers must undergo it.

The violence that Fanon analyzed and justified is considered as an explicit criticism and break from the alleged dependency complex. After the fourth chapter *Black Skin White Masks* (1952), it becomes clear why violence removes colonial violence and then removes the contract of dependency on colonialism, since it operates from a clear conscience, unites the ranks of the weak, and restores the confidence in them. This is the violence that Fanon justifies. From Frantz Fanon's perspective, resistance to colonialism is achieved only by using violence from the part of the oppressed, since what is taken by force can only be restored by it. Fanon had a rich intellectual production, in which he dealt with many phenomena. He is remarkable for many topics such as violence, racism, colonialism...etc. He was able to prove the effectiveness of his theories at a time when the world was going through a difficult time, shaking the imperialist colonial giant and raising the banner of independence everywhere.

Since the subject of the research is the Concept of Violence and Resistance to Colonialism according to Frantz Fanon, who distinguishes between colonial violence and liberating violence, the main research problem is how violence is a path to freedom in Frantz Fanon though. A number of questions may arise from this problem:

- 1) What are the real reasons that made this thinker adopt the issues of peoples he did not know before?
- 2) What are the issues that prevailed in Africa during Fanon's period?
- 3) To what extent did his political and ideological ideas contribute to the growth of the revolution in Africa?
- 4) What are the contributions of the Fanonian thought to the philosophy of violence and contemporary reality?

Based on this, this research has been divided to three chapters:

- 1) The Legitimacy of Violence for Frantz Fanon.
- 2) Causes for Frantz Fanon's Struggle in Africa.
- 3) Frantz Fanon's Views on Central Colonial Issues.

The nature of the research requires reliance on the descriptive historical method, the analytical philosophical method in analyzing and revealing the nature of the Fanonian violence and resistance to colonialism, and the critical method in addressing the most important criticisms directed to it.

This topic has a particular importance in addressing contemporary problems whose subject revolves on the injustice done to weak countries that still suffer from tyranny. Fanon, the man whom many do not know, wanted to reveal this injustice and call for struggle for freedom through his revolutionary writings.

The importance of this topic is threefold:

- The great admiration for this personage whose compatriots deny and the will to know the personality of this thinker and fighter, Franz Fanon, of whom many people are ignorant.
- The realistic writings of Frantz Fanon, which are not based on a mere counterfactual theorizing that he derived through his contact with the Algerian revolution. His powerful writings that allowed him form a solid contact with the outside world, especially Africa, his best direction.
- The suffering of human societies from violence that increases with the passing of time. In addition to tyranny, oppression, dictatorship and the absence of the idea of freedom from the political field.

1.1. Introduction

The phenomenon of violence has become one of the most important problems of the era. The world has become threatening, unstable and no longer safe. Colonial violence is a phenomenon that has made human life dominated by fear and terror. Frantz Fanon is considered as a symbol of the struggle for freedom and liberation, but many people are unfamiliar with him. Many questions surround this topic, including: Who is Fanon? What is violence? How did Fanon try to legalize violence and what were its stages?

To start on correct grounds, one needs to understand Fanon's perspective about violence, that it is not concerned with violence, the term that has a negative denotation, or the one that shows disapproval. Fanon's violence concerns resistance to colonialism, i.e. facing violence with violence. Fanon believed that what was taken by force or hard power cannot be restored except through it. He lived in Algeria during the period of the rising post-World War II public; the public that believed that freedom can only be taken and not granted, especially when they realized that the French promises were mere lies as the elite believed before them. In this respect, Fanon legitimized violence of the colonized and criticized the savagery of the colonizer throughout his works.

1.2. The Legality of Violence for Frantz Fanon

Franz Fanon was considered as a colonialist who fought colonialism. He was born on July 20, 1925, in the town of Bordeaux, in the Martinique Islands, a French colony. Fanon is a physician and philosopher known for his struggle against discrimination and racism. He is one of the most prominent thinkers who supported the armed and popular struggle movements for ending colonialism in the Post-World War II period. His books and ideas are still among the most read literature all over the world, and his ideas are amongst the most influential for many nations, especially African ones.

1.3. The Concept of Violence

There have been many and varied definitions and conceptions about this term, and, the current study will address the control of this concept linguistically and idiomatically. The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy English mentions the denotative meaning of the concept. Accordingly, the etymology of the root for the word violence as being is based on the Latin *violenta*, meaning the unlawful use of physical force in several ways, such as harming people and damaging property, as well as the meanings of rape, punishment and interference with the privacy of individuals (959).

Ibn Manzur's *Lisan Al-Arab* dictionary explains the word using the meaning of breach and transgression, noting that we say violence against him and violence on him meaning violation and unkindness against a person. A person is violent if he is not friendly in his affairs. The matter is violent if a person was handled violently and fiercely has a more violent meaning (257).

Buṭrus al-Bustānī's Arabic extended dictionary of the Arabic Language *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* explains that the concept of violence is derived from the word violence with a

person and on a person (638). These definitions almost agree that violence is an undesirable, negative behavior that leads to the imposition of force and harm to people, as it is an illegal behavior.

On the other hand, there are several connotative meanings attributed to the concept. In his *Dictionary of Philosophy*, Mahmoud Yacoubi defines it as “the illegal use of force to obtain something desirable, or the use of force to retrieve an usurped right or to protect it using a use that derives its legitimacy from its goal, such as: revolutionary violence” (116). This indicates that there are two types of legal as well as illegal violence. The illegal violence, as we discussed earlier, is the use of force for the sake of power. As for the legal violence, it exists in order to obtain or defend a right, and this is what we find in the actions of revolutions that are considered legitimate actions and this is what Frantz Fanon promotes.

Therefore, we can say that violence is the illegal use of force, but in spite of this, there are researchers who have argued that not all violence is an illegal form of power. Violence can take another form to become legitimate, and it exists when defending the freedom and basic rights of the individual. This is what we find in the cases of the struggle and revolution for freedom. Among those researchers who acknowledged the legitimacy of violence there is Franz Fanon who legitimized violence in order to defend the Third World and for authoritarian regimes.

1.4. Fighting Violence with Violence

Franz Fanon has played a pivotal role in changing the public view during the process of the cultural liberation and colonial studies, through his book *The Wretched of the Earth*, in which he exposes the crimes of colonialism and how they can be confronted

through smart methods. Fanon goes on to consider that the colonial state disguises the humanity of the colonized man, and uses various means to insult and enslave him. Thus, he called for violence to end this colonialism. He says in this regard, “Decolonization is always a violent event. At whatever level we study it- individual encounters, a change of name for a sports club, a guest list at a cocktail party, members of a police force or the board of directors of a state or private bank- decolonization is quite simple the substitution of one ‘species’ of mankind by another” (39) . Fanon maintained the legality of violence against the colonizer as a rejection and rebellion against the situation. He says:

Decolonization is the encounter between two congenitally antagonistic forces that in fact owe their singularity to the kind of reification secreted and nurtured by the colonial situation. Their first confrontation was colored by violence and their cohabitation- or rather exploitation of the colonized by the colonizer continued at the point of the bayonet and under cannon fire” (39).

The observation made by Fanon regarding colonialism is that colonialism is not a thinking machine, not a body equipped with a mind, but rather a raging violence that can only be subject to stronger violence. Colonialism has the intention of destroying the will of the colonized people, and making them abandon the demand for independence, and therefore it must be confronted with the most powerful violence of reason, thinking and planning (14). Fanon saw that colonialism destroyed the past, present of enslaved countries, and distorted their deep history, and these countries must recover their rights and national culture, which in his view is a matter of life or death.

Professor Samira Fartas, an Algerian researcher in the field of postcolonialism, supported Fanon saying that in the revolution there is no escape from violence except for

it. However, because it is the only work carried out by the colonized people, this violence has a positive and formative character. This violent struggle brings together individuals; each of them becomes a violent link in the great chain, in the big violent body that was trapped in response to the violence of colonialism. The armed struggle mobilizes the peoples, that is, throws them in one direction, and has no second one, and this trend is the direction of freedom, which gives the individual his dignity within his homeland (09).

Fanon says, “A corrosive element...distorting everything which involves aesthetics or morals...an unconscious and incurable instrument of blind forces” (44). The colonial violence was not only in the form of massacres, but went beyond that to distorting the image of the other, so Fanon linked it to an absolute demonic evil. Gibson defended what was proposed by Fanon, and was affected by the climate of violence prevailing at the time, pointing out that counter-violence is not the same as brutal violence, but is an organized and controlled method, and that violence is like a vertigo before it, not the same as after it (07). He also sees that violence is a therapeutic act, since colonialism creates an envious and harmful native entity, which produces violence, considering it as an entry point for liberation (52).

We conclude from this that Fanon believed in the idea that what was taken by force can only be restored by force. Through resisting colonialism, which tried to distort the history of the colonized and erase his humanity. This resistance can only take place with absolute violence, which is without restrictions because it is considered as the only means for change. He received support in the opinion that considered violence as a reaction that is a therapeutic act, because colonialism distorts the image of the colonized and creates in him a bad-tempered person. Thus, this violence is a revolutionary battle to restore freedom and dignity. It differs in his view from brutal violence based on revenge

and hatred, and it stems from their true faith in freedom and their right in it, thus, they strives for it.

1.5. Stages of Violence for Fanon

For Frantz Fanon, the actual process of liberation begins with the belief that the colonial man's restoration of himself and his humanity can only be achieved through violence, which takes place through two stages to ensure success at its start:

1.5.1. Spontaneous Violence

The first stage of violence is spontaneous and unorganized. In addition, it lacks a clear political vision, and it is directed against the intruder who is the colonizer (28). This the stage where violence begins spontaneously, unplanned by individuals or certain groups and lacks tools and good organization.

Fanon starts at this stage through the situation of crisis which is in the colonial society. Fanon sees that society is divided into two different classes in the first world, there is the colonizing class, in which huge economic differences and a great disparity in lifestyles are imprinted, and then the colonized class, which is considered as the other oppressed class. In addition, this dualism sometimes reaches its logical maximum and strips the colonizer of his humanity, even to consider him as an animal. Consider at the language that the colonizer uses when talking about the colonized. It is the language used in description of animals (08).

Fanon also went to the role of the intellectuals and the bourgeois class. This class lives in the cities, and includes port workers and merchants, artisans and employees. They do not constitute more than one percent of the total people, and they enjoy some

ease, luxury, awareness and modernity. In addition, they are related to the colonial system that bestows on their class some of its advantages and prosperity (12). Fanon says that:

Certain colonized intellectuals have established the dialogue with the bourgeoisie of the colonizing country. During this period, the indigenous population is seen as a blurred mass. The few “native” personalities whom the colonialist bourgeois have chanced to encounter have had insufficient impact to alter their current perception and nuance their thinking. During the period of liberation, however, the colonialist bourgeoisie frantically seeks contact with the colonized elite”. (10)

This class acts as a challenge to Fanon in the struggle process. We find them rushing to negotiate with the colonialists in order to maintain their position and stay in prosperity.

In light of the foregoing, it becomes clear to us, that these practices practiced by the colonizer were out of fear, displacement, killing and persecution. Not only that, but also, the support of the educated class for brutal acts and their disregard for their personal interests, are all reasons that worsen the situation. The colony wakes up from its slumber and revolts around these bad dealings; a volcano of violence erupts, and here in particular Fanon looks at it as it was hidden under fear and control.

Here, in particular, Fanon looks at spontaneous violence as a phenomenon that carries within its entity the seeds of liberation from the psychological complexes that the colonizer suffers from and which he inherited from his history. It shows that Fanon attributes to violence the ability to bring about psychological purification and mental change (31).

Fanon went on to believe that these people were divided into imaginary sects. The people, who were preys of fear, will change when they realize that struggle is the only means, so they will organize themselves. Moreover, they will create a new human being from under the rubble of sorrows and tears left by colonialism, so they can free themselves from the being who crushed their feelings and destroyed their humanity. They will carry out struggle movements and practice violence and work for the sake of liberation (55-56). With this, Fanon calls that violence he wants to achieve for liberation is not by force of arms only to expel the colonizer, but through other values that prevailed in educated societies.

So it becomes clear to us, then, that in spontaneous violence, the colonized people are confined under a strong authority. Which is the authority of the colonizer, which forces them to submit and create class and social contradictions between individuals. These reasons have a profound psychological impact on them, but on the same time, these factors are what makes the colonized rise up against these transactions and try to impose his presence inside his stolen homeland against his will.

1.5.2 Revolutionary Violence

Fanon sees spontaneous violence as an essential precursor to the revolutionary violence that accompanies politicization of the colonists (33). The spontaneous national consciousness of these peoples awakens to enter into a direct and violent conflict with the colonizer in their quest to liberate themselves. This kind of violence is a legitimate violence, and is even necessary in Fanon's consideration. Violence is the necessary outcome of the course of history that it imposes because it is the only tool to ensure the achievement of liberation (107).

Fanon explained the role played by spontaneous violence, which is based on political awareness and the recruitment of the people, as there is a prelude to revolutionary violence that accompanies the politicization of the colonists for the sake of freedom. There is legitimacy in the struggle process. In the revolutionary view of liberation, Fanon highlighted the primary role of the peasants or the workers of the rural class, which he considered as the basis of the process of social transformation, and the revolutionary class that has nothing to lose in this battle in which it is about to fight.

Fanon expressed that the peasantry (slaves of the modern crisis), were the most affected by the colonial system on which his resentment was poured. They suffered poverty, ignorance, hunger, torture, and all forms of oppression and humiliation, while the owners of the bourgeois class and the educated elite possessed a social status free from the injustice and ignorance that was otherwise enforced on the peasant class (13).

Fanon emphasized that the African social structure is the most important characteristic that distinguishes it from the traditions and customs and does not care about race. Thus, liberation in Africa is achieved by restructuring the social system without looking at these differences and racism that Fanon experienced in his homeland and could not fight it.

Fanon also believes that violence does not take on its revolutionary dimensions except with the intervention of some union leaders and the loyal fighters. These men as presented by Fanon are rebels who gather on the outskirts of the cities to escape the pursuit of the police and finally decide to join the rural masses (40). He adds that the bourgeoisie should not be allowed to find the conditions necessary for its existence and growth in different countries (128).

Fanon focused on the role of awareness in the liberation process. In addition, he considered it an essential factor as it is what moves the masses and makes them aware of themselves and their reality (67). In addition, revolutionary leaders are making serious attempts to educate the revolutionaries, address dispersion and fragmentation, create the nucleus of an organized national army and prepare the people to lead the country (Al Dabouli). The policy and principles of a single party succeed only when its leaders are distributed in all regions, not confining themselves to cities, as this distribution secures their direct contact with the masses in order to educate them and serve them (110).

Awareness, then, is a very important process in the revolution, as the latter is considered as an educational tool in the revolutionary struggle and prepares conscious masses to lead the revolution. Social stratification is an opportunity for the colonizer to gain control of the rebel and spoil his plans, the generalization of the socialist state based on equality of the peasantry and the bourgeoisie alike, creates a powerful national liberation army.

All this leads us to the conclusion that the revolutionary violence' goal is the liberation of the peasant. It is he who ignites the fuse, for the revolution is a general expression of what happened and will happen to this class of heinous experiences. The colonizer left it behind and thus he is more powerful than the leading masses by virtue of their necessary demands for life and the greatest claim to recover his land.

1.6. Conclusion

To sum up, we reached a number of general conclusions. Through our definition of the concept of violence, we found that there are two types of violence: illegal, chaotic, and irrational violence based on the use of force for the sake of force. Violence became legitimate as Fanon took it. Fanon dealt with the phenomenon of colonialism and considered that achieving national liberation is a right and fair issue. He explained in his book *The Wretched of the Earth* how to clear colonialism, and for this, he emphasized the use of force and revolutionary violence to eradicate it. This violence is absolute and transcends all barriers in which all means of confrontation are used. He also focused on the role of the peasantry in the liberation process, as he argued that there are two main stages for the success of this violence.

2.1. Introduction

Throughout the ages, the African continent has been a destination. It was for long threatened by the European danger, which was actually embodied and enshrined in the aftermath of the Berlin Conferences (1884- 1885). These approved the policy of the open door on this continent, as the four conferees agreed on a tenth of it to be divided, and the lion's share went to Britain and France.

There was also the emergence of the elite of patriotic intellectuals who imbibed Western Culture with its ideas and ideology and realized the reality of colonialism. They advocated the application and embodiment of the slogans of the French Revolution in their countries. Perhaps the most important of these are Kwame Nkrumah, Ahmed Skotouri, Leopold Senghor, Felix Mommy, Patrice Lumumba, and Gomokiniata....etc.

In addition to the international conferences that were held after the Second World War, there was the Atlantic Conference in 1949, and the result was the emergence of revolutions throughout the colonies. In 1959, the number of independent African countries reached ten. In addition, 1960 was the year of independence in Africa. Eighteen countries took their freedom. Afterwards, the independence of other African countries was completed, and the colonial powers were unable to maintain it after the intensification of the wave of national struggle.

2. 2. Frantz Fanon, a Friend of the Algerian and African Revolutions

The Algerian Revolution was the first contact of the revolutionary Frantz Fanon with the brown continent. Early before all those new transformations that took place in the region, he participated in the Second World War on the side of France in its war against Nazism and fascism. In addition, that was the opportunity of his first contact with his original compatriots, but this did not allow him to find deep and direct contact with liberating revolutions (18).

Frantz Fanon's contact with the African continent was through his contact with the Algerian issue and his fights alongside the ranks of the National Liberation Front. As it formed the real crossing that made him strengthen his relations with it more especially after he was entrusted with various tasks in it by the leadership of the Algerian National liberation Front (132).

If Fanon has become, as seen by some specialists, a theoretician in the field of racism, violence, colonialism, and negroism, then this would not be just a hobby or an intellectual luxury. People would rather embrace those ideas and theories knowingly and convinced after experiencing the phenomenon of colonialism and dealing with colonial peoples. This he knew from books when he worked in Algeria. As a doctor for mental and psychological diseases, and as a fighter, thinker and journalist in the *Mujahid Newspaper* in Tunisia, or in Africa after his appointment as a representative of the Algerian revolution there, Fanon realized that revolution is the only solution.

Therefore, his ideas stemmed from his deep belief in the necessity of defending those vulnerable people in the brown continent, especially those who had for

long been prey to settler colonialism or exploitative colonialism of their hidden wealth. By moving to Algeria, he had the opportunity to take revenge on the colonizer with all his forms of occupation practically through his involvement in the National Liberation Front. Since the Algerian revolution was an armed revolution, it imposed itself and transcended its narrow borders to affect the whole of Africa. The opportunity came again for Fanon in a broader framework, this time to take revenge on colonialism and the attempt to prove the superiority of the African Negro over the white European (132).

The truth is that Bandung Conference in 1955, which expressed the will of fifty-six Afro-Asiatic (African-Asian) countries, was a fundamental turning point in the history of Africa, which awakened from deep slumber, and transferred from the stage of inactivity to the stage of struggle. This was the beginning of the new stage out of the revolution of the rising nations, and made a new spirit that became known as the Bandung spirit. Through it, African countries realized that armed struggle was the only and legitimate solution to defeating colonialism. In addition, from this historic conference began signs of calling for unity of Africa (163).

The Algerian revolution tried to embody and perpetuate that African cohesion that was one of its dimensions, especially since colonialism was common, the French colonialism. As France, during the liberation revolution in Algeria, controlled a large number of Western and tropical African countries, the French occupier realized this dimension from the beginning and tried to strike it in the depths with African soldiers in the war with Algeria, especially the Senegalese (132).

Moreover, in 1958, the Fourth French Republic collapsed, De Gaulle returned to Paris, and Fanon spoke about his return. He said that, "The concerted efforts between the French colonialists and the fascists with their military vanguard in Algeria

in addition the reactionary forces in France made it possible to impose the arbitration of General De Gaulle” (135-147). The new Algerian generation has become fully aware of the disguise of the French under masks promoting civilizational excuses and implementing instead imperial colonial savage crimes. It became impossible for France to fool the Algerians with excuses of assimilation and other foolish vacant promises. It is clear that Frantz Fanon was not satisfied with De Gaulle's return to power. It classifies the accomplices in Algeria with this return as fascists, and clarifies the real goal behind the introduction of De Gaulle. He says that, “the fascist forces that prepared this plot, wanted to use General de Gaulle's name to establish organizations that would be able to effectively take the wheels of power, even if the matter later leads to the removal of the chief general” (139).

After De Gaulle's return, he tried to avoid the danger of a national tide in the colonies. He presented what he called De Gaulle's constitution, De Gaulle project or De Gaulle referendum to get any French support of whatever form. Moreover, he indicated that Algeria would get its independence, provided that foreign affairs, currency, defense affairs, general economic issues, and strategic resources remain under French control, and in this case it would receive all forms of French support, but remains completely linked to France (Fanon 158).

Fanon criticized the motives that made De Gaulle present this proposition to Africans, and saw that this was nothing but a perpetuation of colonialism and domination, and said, “After the experiences of Tunisia and Morocco, also the narrow experience of India, which was more severe and harsh, the colonial circles swore not to allow any new surrender” (139). Fanon wrote an article published in the twenty-ninth issue of September

17, 1958 of *Al-Mujahid newspaper*, entitled "An Appeal to Africans", in which he explained the dimensions and danger of that project, and in which he said that:

The participation in voting and the expression of the African citizen's opinion on issues purely French; this is to be resolved by the (French Union), which was empowered under the pressure of necessity to a (French-African group) distort the African personality and recognize a single nationality, as the French Constitution says. Participating in the referendum means implicit recognition of belonging to a nation with problems, is common among its various members, when the reality is otherwise, because every African who participates in the referendum will help to tighten the bonds of his people and his country with the gimmicks of French colonialism. (136)

However, the African countries and the Antilles failed Fanon, as all of them said yes to this project. Even Aimé Caesar, who was mayor of Fort-de-France, also welcomed the De Gaulle project. Caesar's position was like sulfur which ignited the revolution of the angry masses, which surrounded the town of Fordeaux for six full hours (140).

As for Fanon, a man who did not compromise on the principles he has embraced since his youth, he has shown his strong admiration for this public stance made by the Martinique youth in a strong reaction to the statements of his teacher Caesar. He wrote an article published in the fifty-eighth issue of January 5, 1960 of *Al-Mujahid newspaper* entitled "Blood Flows in the Antilles". In it, he said that, "the old colonies are also taking the path of (rebellion). These humble flowers, these countries that provided a large number of good servants and loyal helpers also began troubled" (172).

Fanon expressed his deep regret over what was happening to African Leaders, who, once they took power, they immediately lost much of their sanctity and idealism, as their disloyal practices desecrated the history of West Africa. Overwhelmed by greed and personal purposes, he looked down at Senghor, who used to live in a house given to him by the West African Bank (Cote 98). Frantz Fanon said in this regard that, "What is certain is that when the people turn toward independence, the political leader, whether in the Antilles or elsewhere, loses his importance as a person of good standing" (143). However, Secou Toure the Guinean leader gratified Fanon, when he rejected the De - Gaulle project and out cried his famous quote, "We prefer poverty in liberty to riches in slavery" (*The Washington Post*). From this, we conclude that Fanon made African issues of Liberation the principles for which he lived and fought. He fought with pure sincerity and enthusiasm for the revolution against the colonists in this continent the wealth and even character of which was all robbed.

2.3. Fanon's Contributions in Conferences about Revolutions

Fanon visited Africa several times, as he participated in the First Symposium of the Union of African Peoples held in Accra in 1958, accompanied by Ahmed Boumendjel and Chawki Mostfai (Cherki 203). Because Ghana became after its early independence a center for communications and dialogues of the revolutionaries and African heads of state, the slogans of this symposium were Hands off Africa, it should be a free Africa. The leaders who attended tried to exchange views on the continents problems, and tried to find ways to devote cooperation among them, in all areas, and this conference has resulted in a number of results, the most important of which were:

- Demanding France to end the fight in Algeria and withdraw its forces from it, as the Algerian people have the right of independence and self-determination.
- Cooperation between African countries in order to guarantee their full political and regional independence and sovereignty.
- The necessity of providing aid to Algeria as the front safeguard of the African liberation movement in the face of the colonial west.

Fanon spoke about this conference in an article published in the twenty-fourth issue of December 1958 of *Al-Mujahid* newspaper, entitled "Accra: Africa confirms its unity and challenges its strategy". In it, he talked about the main goals that African leaders were seeking to reach through this symposium, which was an affirmation of the national will against foreign domination, and the attempt to reach that by weakening the colonial countries one by one, and thwarting all the maneuvers and intrigues that the colonizer is doing.

During this symposium, the leaders stressed the need to unite the countries of the continent so that they can get their independence, which will undoubtedly be soon if they follow that strategy. Through this article, Fanon always emphasized the unanimity of African countries on choosing armed struggle as the only method to eliminate European colonialism (157-160). He concluded this influential article by saying that, "The Africans in Accra have sworn to exchange aid and loyalty, and no pact between them will truly be broken. The future of colonialism has never been darker than it was the day after the Accra conference" (161).

The truth is that after this symposium, Fanon prepared an accurate report on the effects of the 1958 Accra symposium. He proposed a new idea that he alone put

forward, which is the formation of an African front to support the Algerian revolution. The content of this proposal was the formation of an African international (military) in order to support the Algerian military force in its war against colonialism on one hand, and initiate its military formation through its participation in that war on the other hand.

Thus, Fanon was a fighter and an opponent of colonialism, and a theorist of the revolution and post-independence in African countries. As he did not discriminate between Algeria and his original country in the Antilles, and the ancestral land of the brown continent in general, he believed that all countries under colonial domination had the right to revolution, against the colonialist and the right for the national development of their poor countries, the diverse wealth of which was drained and exploited. In fact, Fanon found himself bewildered after this example, thinking about the situation of the African countries and the situation Nkrumah called for: the African unity and solidarity. Fanon believed that this was a difficult matter to achieve, especially with the divisions resulted by the forms of colonialism, and the foreign cultures that it prolonged in those countries (206).

Francis Johnson asserts in his book *The Faith of an Unbeliever* that Fanon said, "Who am I if I don't try to give meaning to my life? I think it is possible to understand other people, fight with them. I believe in that but I cannot prove it, and if I just believe it, it would be a mere opinion and superficial awareness. However, if I try to live it, it will be a bet. I will perform it with my life" (Stora 206-208). Based on this text, we conclude that Frantz Fanon was not like his contemporaries among the existential philosophers, for example, who focused on theoretical philosophy. Rather his political philosophy was a practical philosophy, based on thinking and then transforming those ideas and theories into the practical field, and perhaps this is evident in his rapid transformation from mere

thinking about resisting colonialism to following the course of the anti-colonial revolutions.

There is no doubt that Fanon gained appreciation for his political activity and his enlightening intellectual impetus, for a prominent position whether in Algerian or Tunisian circles, but in all of Africa, and what increased his position on the continent is that he is always considered as a black man of African descent. In addition, today he returned to the soil of his ancestors for which he fought. He was the real link between North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa. He continued his struggle with firmness, commitment and a deep sense of the issues surrounding this continent and its many internal and external problems, in which it had for long been floundering. He actively participated in international conferences and seminars that addressed the concerns of the continent and its political and economic problems.

He participated in the seminar on peace and security in Africa, which was held in Accra between April 7-10, 1960, and at the African-Asian seminar between April 12-15, of the same year in Conakry, and at the African Youth seminar in July and August of the same year in Accra as well. He also participated in the Third seminar of Independent African countries in Addis Ababa in June 1960 (Cherki 212), which was attended by twelve delegations from the independent African states as well as by political and national bodies. This seminar focused in its work on:

- African Unity.
- Attempting to find solutions to post-independence problems.
- The establishment of the African Development Bank project, which was considered as an important step in promoting an independent Africa.

2.4. Frantz Fanon, a Theorist of Revolutions

Frantz Fanon once again attended a meeting in Africa at the end of August and early September 1960, in the city of Leopold Ville, where Patrice Lumumba was invited. His participation in all these official seminars was as a diplomatic representative of the Algerian National Liberation Front. He tried in all his interventions to show the impact of the Algerian revolution, considering it as a role model and support for the revolution in Africa. He wrote in one of his articles in 1960 that, "We are the Algerians, we do not separate or differentiate between the struggle. We are leading and between Rhodesia and Kenya, our solidarity with our African brothers is actual solidarity, in direct action" (179).

In April of the same year, he delivered an intervention that left its mark on all the audience, entitled "Why did we choose violence?" In this presentation, he emphasized the impact of the Algerian case across the continent, and the changes it left in the French policy towards those African countries. As he said in this regard that, "The new transformations in the French policy towards Algeria called for Africa to come into existence because of the pressure generated by the Algerian war" (Cherki 212). He necessitated the consolidation of the struggle to get rid of colonialism in all the countries of the continent, without paying attention to the national struggle at the expense of the African struggle, saying that, "The national struggle must not be isolated because it is not possible to implement the settlement policy alone with the colonial powers" (212). This means that the national struggle must be based on the violent act of war instead of the peaceful act of settling and forming new colonies for the colonized, let alone the peaceful act of negotiations.

This revolutionary thinker has alerted the new African leaders to the relations with their peoples and with the colonial countries, so that they should not be deceived by the foreign policies, which might bring them back to the first square from which they started in the struggle against colonialism. There was a belief that these leaders still lack experience and knowledge in the methods of governance and relations between them and their old enemies. We derive from this discussion two main issues:

First, Fanon has started talking about the Algerian revolution, as an Algerian patriot, stressing that the Algerian revolution is what forced the French colonial empire to change its policy towards the colonies in Africa. It used to consider them as a private property of the French nation alone, governed by the French constitution, and the laws of the colonies enacted by French jurists. It began to think of flexible systems and methods to maintain a friendly and beneficial relationship with these African countries, instead of considering them as countries under its domination.

Second, on this occasion, Fanon emphasized that the national struggle in Algeria should not be separated from the struggle in other African countries, because the union of resistance and of looking to the future between these peoples is the only way to force France to submit to the demands of these struggling nations.

Thus, Fanon followed all the political and military moves that were taking place in Africa. There were attempts to unite, and their failure was due to various reasons, namely divisions, betrayals, intrigues etc. He witnessed first the failed experiment that was embodied in the Mali Union that was established on June 21- 1960. Senegal, France, Sudan, and Volta were a collective Supreme Court, but it only lasted for three months.

On the other hand, Fanon persisted on his attempts to foster the union between Ghana and Nigeria which leader Nkrumah called for. He optimistically declared that from

people could consider Ghana and Nigeria as one thing. Unitary attempts that this part of the brown continent knew were nothing but attempts to unite the continent, but they certainly failed. External colonialism and some internal conspiracies that were an inevitable product of racism and the nervousness that colonialism perpetuated in this country for a long time were the major cause. However, at the same time the African countries realized the necessity of union and cooperation to achieve complete independence in all fields, and to get rid of the occupier forever.

This is what Fanon always called for, as he supported the idea of African solidarity and unity. He wrote an article entitled, "Unity and Effective Solidarity are the Conditions to Liberate Africa", published in the fifty-eighth issue of *Al-Mujahid* newspaper, issued on January 5, 1960, in which he described the attempts of independence. He said that this optimism is not the result of a new behavior on the part of the colonizer, which made him appear less savage and more human. The optimism that exists in Africa today is a direct result of revolutionary action, whether politically or revolutionarily, or combining them both, as is often the case for revolutionary action that the African publics are doing. The African man who is under the French domination, colonialism which dominates the borders of his country is not his only enemy, but also all forms of colonialism and its manifestations, regardless of the flag under which it is (20).

In this article, Fanon addressed African nations, "African peoples should remember, in turn, that they faced a form of Nazism and a form of human exploitation, as well as the attempt to get rid of the material and spiritual form of the African personality. They must commit themselves to confronting this evil as an evil over all the soil of Africa" (Qtd. In El-Mili 17). Indeed, while Europe suffered the discrimination of

Nazism and Fascism for less than a decade, its African and Asian colonies suffered the colonial discrimination, oppression and racism for decades and even centuries.

Fanon always considered the working class to be the best part of the nation and felt contempt and hostility towards the indigenous bourgeoisie, because he saw in it nothing but a formidable obstacle on the way to independence (137). He saw it as an ally of imperialism, and a fragile game in the hand of colonialism. He also warned against the one-party system in African countries, and how that latter becomes a means to achieve greed, personal ends, and privileges in all its forms. He considered it as a tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie to support the state apparatus, and warned that it acts as a barrier between the people and the authority, rather than a link between them.

The truth is that the course of history after the independence movements in Africa has proven the predictions Fanon had. His analyses of the political, economic and social systems in Africa, predicted a realization that these countries, which have recently escaped from colonialism, will gradually become an easy prey for the class of the local bourgeoisie. Collaborating with the national authority would depend on its relations with other social groups under the pretext of preserving national unity and the political and economic independence of the nation, and this is against the National People's Army itself. Perhaps the cooperation of this bourgeois class with the same enemies of yesterday has happened in some countries of West Africa.

2.5. Conclusion

We conclude from this chapter that Frantz Fanon had contact with South African Sahara through the Algerian issue in many conferences there, and then widened his scope. He divided the issues of the continent based on all their forms and complexities, and got acquainted with most of the Africans leaders, including Kwame Nkrumah, Felix Moumie, Patrice Lumumba, Roberto Holden etc. He witnessed the attempts of these leaders to unite the continent through various alliances to reach a comprehensive African unity, but at the same time he realized that the continent was floundering in many problems and that its political independence was not sufficient to achieve its liberation from the restrictions of imperial colonialism.

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses Fanon's intellectual, political, and literary productions. His life and career knew major intellectual, literary and political contributions, despite the short duration of his life, thus, he attracted the attention and interest of comrades, friends and specialists in various fields alike. However, what cannot be denied is that no individual researcher can be fully acquainted with Fanon's works and the ideals they can denote associated to various fields and various periods of time because they have diverse dimensions and deep specializations. All his intellectual works should be re-read in light of new cultural, political and social developments, especially since he wrote about many topics (colonialism, violence, racism).

3.2. Frantz Fanon's Views on Colonialism

Fanon studied the phenomenon of colonialism deeply, especially as he witnessed its direct effects on the colonizer and colonized, in addition to the social and geographical environment it imposes, first when he was a young man and joined the French army, and then through his involvement in the ranks of the National Liberation Army. When he was a doctor in Blida Hospital (Frantz Fanon Hospital), it became one of the strongholds of the Algerian Revolution, which was experiencing its zenith at the time. Then through his travels in the African continent and his movements, he acted a major role as an activist pro getting rid of foreign colonialism. There is no doubt that any reader of law books in general, and *The Wretched of The Earth* in particular, would realize that Fanon had a great hatred for colonialism, which made him distinguished from other writers with special theories about the phenomenon of colonialism. There are those who define it as the resort of a strong state to use its military power to strip a nation of its sources and wealth, and the act of replacing some of the most important subjects of the weak state with the subjects of the strong state in order to ensure control.

This phenomenon was realized, especially after the Industrial Revolution, which accelerated its exacerbation and became more entrenched in Africa after the Berlin Conference (1884- 1885), and after the Second World War, the colonial empires were forced to use the indirect method with their colonies. Then America appeared as the heir of the colonial states. As for Aimé Caesar, the greatest anti-colonialist, he gave a speech in 1953 about this phenomenon, pointing out that colonialism is in reality a destruction. In addition, he said that this word is the equal to the grave of civilization, and that it is never a humanitarian project. In addition to that, he adds that this colonial destruction is what the colonizer calls civilization, but in fact it builds itself on the ruins, murder and destruction of the civilizations of the

oppressed peoples after it eliminates them, and suppresses their instincts for life. Moreover, all these barbaric practices were ignored by Europe, which turned a blind eye because they were not practiced on Europeans.

In addition to that, Aimé Caesar said in his speech, that Europe and such countries that claim civilization are in reality unable to overcome two basic problems whose existence cannot be overlooked; the problems of colonialism and proletariat, both morally and ethically. He demonstrates stating that, “The Vietnamese had an authentic, rooted culture before colonization entered them”, and that “they were artists, poets and administrators” (32). Nevertheless, the French psychoanalyst and author Octave Mannoni opposes him in this and declares that it is not the white colonizer who is responsible in the end, but the sons of the colonists. Even Karl Marx (1818-1883) in his late days did justice to the oppressed peoples. He indicated in his book *Kovalevsky on Forms of collective ownership of the Land* that the colonists are no longer the bringers of civilization and progress to him, but they are rather nothing but thieves and jackals monopolizing plunder.

As for Fanon, in December 1957 he limited his description of colonialism to “The conquest of an area and the oppression of a people. This is all there is to it” (Cote 86). However, it was later that he realized that the colonial system is a system based on violence that colonialists use to achieve political and economic interests. This is confirmed by the intercourse of the African with the settler, which was based on a large-scale use of spears and guns. However, Fanon was not primarily concerned with researching and investigating the roots of political or economic colonialism, but he rather looked at this phenomenon as a position or perhaps as an abstract position from all forms of humanity, centered mainly on the European self and the negation of the other. His teacher Aimé Caesar considers the colonizer as an object that has no human value. In addition, there is no form of human interaction between the

colonizer and the people of the colonies; there is only pressure, humiliation, exploitation and transforming the people of the colony into something to serve the colonizer's interests.

Fanon spoke of the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized exemplifying with this fracture and expressed it with precision and strength. He said that:

The settler's city is a solid city, and is all built of stone and steel. Its streets are covered with cement. The settler's feet are hardly visible, except at the seashore. Sturdy shoes protect his feet, although the streets of his city are clean and flat, without potholes or stones. The settler's city is a well-fed city, an affordable city, whose stomach is full of bounties, and the settler's city is a city of whites. (46)

Fanon did not leave any topic about the relationship between the white European man and the black African man undiscussed or without subjecting it to study, analysis, criticism and comparison. This fact makes any researcher, consider him a distinguished thinker in the field of colonialism and settlement, regardless of his nationality and even his identity. However, we wonder what Fanon means in the last paragraph of the sentence "a city on its knees" (46). Did he mean here that it has surrendered to its destiny and accept colonialism? If that was his intent, he then agrees with the theory of the Algerian thinker Malek Bennabi, The susceptibility to colonization, which says that Colonialism ends when its ability ends (5). In addition, he considers that the African and Asian peoples did not begin their historical process with colonialism. However rather with the beginning of the ability to be colonized.

Fanon gave culture a great importance in order to form an internal national consensus in the face of colonialism, and he even considered that the mere armed struggle becomes a tool and a precursor to cultural renewal and restoration. Thus, Frantz Fanon was an anti-colonialist until the last day of his life, expressing his ideals with a luminous thought and an excellent and eloquent literary style, exposing colonial crimes and its remnants. In addition, he described it

as a violent regime that cannot be eliminated, but only its oppression and attempts to bury the local culture can be eliminated with the condition of the use of violence in which Fanon sees the only solution and optimized option to eradicate the violent and brutal practices of colonialism.

3.3. Frantz Fanon's Views on Violence

Fanon expressed his conviction that violence is the only option, which the oppressed peoples must take to free themselves from the bondage of colonialism. In addition to that, the will to struggle and liberation requires adopting a more effective method way than pointless discourse. Fanon considered violence against the colonizer and his brutal practices as the psychological purification that ends the feeling of fear and inferiority. In addition, violence of the colonizer makes him achieve nothing but doubting the human equality of the lives of the oppressed, and achieving a degree of self-confidence when believing in it. Fanon's severity of the anti-colonial man reached its maximum, to the extent that he found violence as the only way to deal with colonialism. He says, for example that, "Violence is the only door from which the colonizer has lost his humanity and diverted to humiliation, and the sooner the colonizer stops the violent attitude of the occupying man, and snarling at him at his face, the sooner he would realize that he is above him in humanity" (8). Fanon here means organized collective violence, not individual violence which he completely rejects. He glorifies and sanctifies violence as the irreplaceable solution, saying that, "Only violence practiced by the people, the violence organized and instilled by their leaders, is what enables the masses to understand social facts, and provide them with the key to these facts" (42). Moreover, the lawful violence that he means here is the violence based on man, including his human energy with its enthusiasm, and not only the energy of weapons.

Fanon supports the fact of his unconditional penchant for violence. In addition, in his view concerning the people who choose the armed struggle, he declares that he no longer trusts the blatant colonial system, which has taken violence as a means of killing and harassing those whom Fanon called *The Wretched of the Earth*. Perhaps the reader of Frantz Fanon's writings believes that it fuels violence, calls for it, even promotes it without justification. Fanon, however, sees violence as just a reaction to oppressive criminal and tyrannical practices. In the chapter "Colonial War and Mental Disorder", of his book *The Wretched of the Earth*, he described a series of pathological conditions and finally concluded that random violence is not a natural behavior. Fanon, as a physician, does not write violence as a prescription for a cure, but he rather diagnoses the condition and seeks to change it.

Fanon believes that violence and colonialism go hand in hand. Colonialism is used to subjugate the colonized peoples, but it ends in driving the local and indigenous colonized people out of control, turning them into a striking force and, just as the colonialists give themselves the right to repress and kill, so does the colonized population hold the right to respond and use the same style. This is what Fanon means. Observing Fanon's style in his book *The Wretched of the Earth*, he concludes that he talks a lot about Africa and Africans, but he never talks about Asia. From here, the researcher realizes the extent to which Fanon was affected by the land of his ancestors, to which he tries with his ideas and opinions to find a solution to help get rid of all forms of exploitation. His ideas in this book are in firm, strict style, and are undisputable (Cote 119). There are those who say that Fanon failed to address his statements about the peasants in particular. In his defense, he asserts that they alone can be relied upon to take the armed struggle as a way, because they have nothing to fear or lose, unlike the working class, which Fanon sees as the bourgeois part and that it has something to lose and fear. Therefore, while the peasants engage in the struggle in the countryside, the working class remains silent in the cities, as if it were not their concern. Fanon was also criticized concerning his reference to

the peasantry class in Africa, claiming that it was general and unspecified, provoking the inquiry about which country he was referring to, and in which African country this phenomenon appears. There was the inquiry if he considered the peasants of Ghana, Nigeria or Ivory Coast as poor, claiming that they enjoy a much higher standard of living than workers in other countries do. Fanon's opponents continue to wonder if poverty alone is sufficient to generate struggle and revolutionary consciousness. Lenin, the father of the revolution in Russia, for example, opposes this vision.

Fanon in fact never attempted a social dialectical analysis of the classes as it seems, but he put forward his ideas in this context through his own awareness and belief in the role of the peasantry class towards the revolution. He is not a social scientist or an expert in political economy, he is just a man with deep sociological knowledge of the development of the so-called Third World societies. His argument is about social forces and not about class formation. When Fanon talks about revolution and violence, he talks about the revolution of peoples against the capitalist system world, based on the reality of these peoples themselves. That system, as Fanon realizes, is just as good as conquering peoples and snatching their humanity. Fanon speaks of enthusiasm over violence only for its necessity to make people get rid of the fear of independence. The picture that some African countries have accepted, convinced and opened the way for the bourgeoisie to devour their countries from within.

In his last days, Fanon tried to reinforce violence or armed struggle through his idea of forming a southern front to support the Algerian revolution. As previously said, and from here it seems that Fanon's convictions are convictions followed by practical application, not just hollow slogans. Therefore, his idea of violence will remain alive, as long as peoples suffer from colonial oppression. In February 2002, the writer Saleh Suleiman said that, "Indeed, Fanon is a great thinker who refuses to die- He is the prophet of violence" (*Diwan Al Arab*).

3.4. Frantz Fanon's Views on Racism

The main cause for Racism is the acquired hate that people learn from their family, community or society, and this hatred was the main reason for French colonial violence against Algerian Muslims, of all minorities and skin colors. The phenomenon of racism is an ancient phenomenon rooted throughout history, known to peoples, civilizations, nations, since ancient times, and it differed according to goals and interests in distinguishing between one country and another, one gender and another or one group and another...etc. With the beginning of the colonial movement, racism was exploited to serve the goals of colonialism in light of the new conditions in the colonies. This phenomenon was further entrenched from the beginning, with the encouragement of colonialist settlers to justify their looting of colonized peoples' lands. It strengthened the phenomenon of colonialism, which has its roots in the nineteenth century. It strengthened the presence of strangers, mainly Europeans, in the region of the indigenous population. Indeed, racism is an integrated system and practice based on the premise that the determining factor in the characteristics and capabilities of human beings is based on an ethnic affiliation, and that racial elements vary qualitatively, not only in terms of form but also in terms of intellectual, moral and social capacity (Al kayali 249-250). Accordingly, some humans are superior to others, and therefore there are differences in their treatment according to their racial affiliation.

As for Fanon, he defines racism as "the link in the process of every economic structure that wants to establish itself at the expense of another structure" (5). Therefore, he opposes what Mannoni said, "Colonial racism is different from all other racism" (Qtd. In Chikhane 33). The settler groups in the colonies practiced modern forms of racism and denial of the national existence of the indigenous people, who were rejecting them. Nevertheless, the settlers with their material power, they imposed themselves on these inhabitants and allied

themselves with external forces to obtain the lands that are the material basis of the settlement. The settlers felt superior in all respects over the natives, whom they saw as retarded and as their own. Proceeding from the aggravation of this phenomenon, scholars and specialists rushed to analyze and study it from various aspects, and to put forward theories and arguments to prove or invalidate such practices. Views differed about racism. There are those who support it, and there are those who rejected it. For example, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a group of philosophers appeared, such as David Hume, Taine and Renan, who acknowledged the existence of racism and justified it, saying that there are different mental abilities and faculties, which made them rule out the fact that the *Negro*, the Indian, or the American should be equal to the European.

The modern racist theory is based on the belief that there are relationships between racial traits and cultural traits, i.e. the existence of human groups that are more prohibitive and superior in nature than other groups. Racism is defined as having “the belief that one genetic group is subjected naturally to a genetic deficiency, while another group is predestined to have a hereditary superiority” (Qadah 8). Most of the theories formulated by Western thinkers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and even in the twentieth century, such as the theory of Nazism and fascism, for example, are all theories and opinions related to the political, economic and social interests of the peoples of the West. Accordingly, they technologically surpassed the peoples of the East, and harnessed and exploited all their creativity to serve the white man at the expense of other races, not only in Africa, but also in Asia and Latin America.

Contrarily to these views, a group of scientists and specialists in genetics, biology, social psychology, sociology and anthropology issued a general statement from UNESCO headquarters in Paris, explaining the invalidity of racist theories. As for Frantz Fanon, he says that, “Racism is the most prominent and recurring element on a daily basis, and the most severe of the elements of a particular apparatus” (15). He believes that colonialism is the one who

perpetuated this colonial racist phenomenon and supported it by practicing it. In addition, his teacher Caesar supports it when he says that, "Europe has fed old injustice with modern abuse and racism with the antique inequality" (24). The truth is that the bitterness and pressure of racial discrimination was a thorn in Fanon's life. His life robbed him of comfort and tranquility, as he was suffering from the effect of his black color throughout his life, the fact which led him to try to overcome that obstacle through developing himself. When he moved to France to study medicine there, he discovered, after his contact with the white race, that the French (the whites) consider him a black negro in spite of everything and above all. He expressed this by saying, "When people like me, they like me *in spite of* my color. When they dislike me, they point out that it is not because of my color. Either way, I am locked into the infernal circle" (9).

The truth is that a sense of discrimination follows Fanon in every place he goes, even in the countries of the Third World, which are known for the existence of colonialism and the struggle to eliminate. Colonialism united the vision of the colonized peoples according to colonial views. In Tunisia, for example, the eyes did not let him forget that he was black, and because he was black, they treated him with clear racism. When he was in Manouba Hospital in Tunisia in 1958, they accused him and his companions of torturing Algerian militants. When Fanon published his *Black Skin, White Masks* in 1952, this book was seen as a scandal of the WASP, because in the end it brought up topics about black people, their preoccupations and their suffering. He put forward the idea of racism and dealt with it from a sociopolitical standpoint. He relied on his personal experience, to analyze a situation that truly existed. He spoke in this book about everything, politics, economics, language, culture, myths, and all the values that affect the individual life. This book is scandalous simply because Fanon, a black man, wrote it, exposing Western Civilization, especially since the whites were accustomed to present the conditions of the blacks by themselves, with their views, orientations and choices,

with an orientalist-like perspective, filled with prejudice and misjudgments. Fanon is undoubtedly an important stage in influencing humanitarian values.

Fanon's call, through this book, to liberate the black man from exploitation, which made him captive of a duality (master and slave), a duality that prevented him from seeing his existence as an independent, active being, and forced him to understand his destiny through the eye of the other (white). This alienation turns, as Fanon says, into a *collective unconscious* shared by the colonizer and the colonized, which leads to a psychological barrier and eventually to the impediment of any actual liberation process. The German philosopher George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel confirms this when he says that:

A man is not a human being, except in the extent he desires to be imposing himself on another human being, in order to make himself, as long as he has not actually recognized the other. For this reason, the other remains his actual subject. Therefore, his human value and reality depend on this other's recognition of him. The meaning of his life is condensed in this the other. (203)

Through this book, Fanon studied the relationship of black to white and white to black, and concluded that the black wants to be white, and the white is always desperate to confirm his position over the black, meaning that the white is locked in his whiteness and the black is locked in his blackness. Through this law, he tried to discuss this duality, obsessions, psychological contract, etc. To discuss how the white considers himself as superior to black, and the desire of the black to confirm his equality with white.

Thus, Fanon's book was a clinical study that influenced him when analyzing the racism that the Negro confronts, with the arguments Sartre identified in his treatise on Anti-Semites and Jews. Like Fanon, his teacher Caesar struggled all his life to get rid of the image of a black man unable to take charge of himself and build his future. He was an anti-racist until

the last day of his life. However, Fanon's book *Black Skin, White Masks* deepened the discussion of how the world of blacks became subject to the terms of the white man systematically. Fanon spoke very closely of the black Negro's desire for a white European so that he gets rid of his feeling of inferiority by touching and sleeping with her, because then, he would feel that he is touching all the white civilization he wishes to be from. Fanon speaks on the tongue of a black man, and his perspective of what he thinks about a European white woman, wondering what would happen to him when paired with a European. Speaking about the colonized people with the psychopathology, Fanon says, "I declare not only my hatred for the women of my race. But I am drawn to the desire for white flesh, which we other Negroes, since white men have dominated the world, do, and I do my best, carefully, to take revenge by myself from a European, and from everything that her grandfathers did to my grandfathers over the generations" (76). Fanon also says that, "The negro who possesses a white is a god to his people" (78).

Fanon also spoke in this book about the racism of language. He sees that the colonizer imposed his own language on the colonized not from a civilized perspective, as it was claimed, but rather to occupy him. In this he says that, "We target all the colonized people- that is, on the tongue of the colonizer – every people in whose core a complex of inferiority has arisen due to the burial of authenticity and local culture. The colonized will be free from his jungle as much as he embraces the values of the cultural metro pole, and it will be as white as it refuses to be black" (20-21). Perhaps the Algerian people were the most people against whom racism and oppression were practiced, and against whom France practiced all forms of oppression, violence, persecution and racism in all its forms. Fanon himself was a witness of this and considered the Algerians among the oppressed tormented, whose land was taken by force, and he called on them to use violence because extremism certainly breeds oppression.

3.5. Conclusion

In Sum, Frantz Fanon passed away, leaving behind a diverse intellectual legacy. His effectiveness is witnessed in many topics, and if this indicates anything, it indicates that he was educated in a realistic manner, and was aware of what he wrote in-depth, concerning global issues, and the issues that affected the African continent, to the point of being able to theorize about them. He spoke about colonialism and considered it a form of oppression and exploitation rather than simple colonialism or settlement. According to him, colonialism is a symbol of oppression and a tool of objectification of the other, programming a sense of inferiority and alienation within him. He called for the need to get rid of all its forms by the use of violence, because it is the only effective way to eliminate it. Fanon saw that violence is a medicine for the soul and a cure for it from the various psychological complexes that colonialism implants inside it.

According to him, violent colonial system can only be confronted with violence. He believes that the peasantry is the main class capable of raising this task on its shoulders, because this class has nothing to lose, meaning that it is the one that suffered the most, was looted of all its possessions, and is therefore the most class that can use violence to get rid of violence. Fanon also talked about racism and considered it as a symbol of man's contempt for his fellow man, and said that it is nothing but an element of a colonial system that relies on contempt, objectification and disregard for the other. He also discussed racism that the white practices over the Negro. He says that the Negro struggles to be white, and the white struggles to prove his superiority over the Negro. He rejects this equation with both sides, and calls for each side

to get rid of the crucible in which it placed itself. Fanon's discussion of a variety of topics allowed him to analyze them and follow them closely in a manner that establishes him as the intellectual who was most aware of the reality of human duality under colonialism and discrimination.

General Conclusion

This research establishes several results and conclusions. At the beginning of his life in his motherland, Fanon realized the consequences of colonialism and how the latter strips man of his freedom and existence and denies his principles that are based on peace. Fanon struggled for the human and intellectual rights of the alienated peoples of the African continent and was hostile to the colonial thought. Based on the foregoing notes, the goal that Fanon sought is to liberate man from the psychological barrier or the bondage of the colonizer, and his theory was based on that, establishing the ideal that it is not enough to liberate the Land, but we must also liberate the minds. This African fighter turned ideas upside down through his theory about the third world and his prediction of what will happen in its future. His approach is still valid in our contemporary time and its revolutionary ideas are still spoken by the world, and this is what makes its ideas strong as they serve as an inspiration for many liberation movements in the world. Fanon also explained the importance of violence and its role in decolonizing and building a progressive revolutionary society.

In this research, we concluded that the concept of violence takes several forms, including illegal violence and legitimate violence. Illegal violence is the use of force for the sake of force. Destructive violence destroys societies, destroys civilizations and leads to underdevelopment, while legitimate violence is in order to obtain or defend a right. This legitimate violence is what we find in the actions of revolutions that take violence as a way to liberate their societies.

Each thinker had his own vision, through the multiplicity of regimes, forms of oppression and authoritarianism appeared, and this in turn led to many actions, including

rebellion, revolution, violence, genocides and rejection of the prevailing regime. Violence is a means to eliminate oppression and authoritarianism as a reaction. This is what Frantz Fanon urged through his justification of violence and criticism of tyrannical regimes in weak societies. That is why Fanon's main goal was to build a philosophy that would eliminate this oppression and achieve happiness and security, which is a human right. Fanon also focused on the role of national culture in the struggle process, as violence alone is not a guarantee of liberation, since it is under a civilized intellectual container filled with national culture and patriotic feelings.

Fanon was a doctor who rediscovered humanity in another way and another content, and his profession was nothing but a path to knowing the other and liberating him from his complex and suffering. In addition to that, Frantz Fanon's writings had invalidated many of the opinions of French doctors led by Antoine Porot. Porot was a French psychiatrist and the founder of the psychiatric school of Algiers and the racist theory of primitivism. He described Africans as backward, primitive and reactionary, and argued of their inability to accept anything new and that it is a hereditary problem. In this way, Frantz Fanon corrected the image of Africans before the world and expressed his African sense of belonging. On the other hand, this research makes us conclude that Frantz Fanon did not rely only on theorizing, but rather combined theory and practice in all areas in which he lived as a servant of his issues. In addition, it makes us realize that Fanon had exposed colonialism and made sure that it could not be uprooted by persuasion and negotiation as he emphasized in his writings, especially in his book *The Wretched of the Earth*.

Colonialism is a system based on violence. Both Aimé Césaire and Albert Camus agree with Fanon. They expressed this in their writings about colonialism through

investment. In his writings, Fanon clarified the physical, psychological and social effects of this destructive colonial system in the hearts of the colonized, and called for the necessity of getting rid of it through revolutionary violence, the violence of liberation, and affirmed that it is the only option to eliminate the brutal colonial system.

To sum up, Frantz Fanon served the revolution in Africa and is widely loved and appreciated as a friend of The Algerian Revolution of Independence because he was one of its sons, before he was one of its fighters or one of its thinkers. In addition, it was the main gateway that opened the way for him to return to his original homeland and transcend regional borders to the world. In order to unite to the ranks of the free people on the brown continent, he lived as a fighter and died as a fighter, a revolutionary and a thinker. His soul overflowed in America and was buried in the land he loved, Algeria, which did not forget him, but rather, immortalized his name on the banners of its institutions and streets.

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