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, Nkruma 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 greater 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 neocolnialist 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.