Chapter 7

Fanon's Concepts of Emancipatory Violence and Decolonialization

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

At this juncture a discussion of Jean Paul Sartre’s ‘Preface’ to *The Wretched of the Earth* will be quite advantageous for the study of Fanon, as Sartre was one of the major influences on him. In the ‘Preface’, Sartre speaks of the classic nature of Fanon’s anti-colonial stance. For, he says, here is “an ex-native, French speaking”, who “bends that language to new requirements, makes use of it, and speaks to the colonized only; ‘Natives of all under-developed countries, unite’” (WE 9). Sartre goes a step further and says that the Third World finds itself and speaks itself through Fanon’s voice. Sartre ranks Fanon with Engels when he declares that “Fanon is the first since Engels to bring the process of history into the clear light of day” (WE 12-13). He observes that Fanon has portrayed a truthful and objective picture of the European colonialists in *The Wretched of the Earth*. Sartre exhorts the Europeans to open the book of Fanon and to enter into it. What is more, he says that Fanon offers “a remedy for
Europe" (WE 12), a Europe, to quote Fanon, “running headlong into the abyss” (WE 252). Sartre seems to endorse Fanon’s intellectual justification of violence, for, he says, “Read Fanon: you will learn how, in the period of their helplessness, their mad impulse to murder is the expression of the natives’ collective unconscious” (WE 16). The irrepressible violence of the oppressed, Sartre adds, “is man recreating himself” (WE 18). Sartre becomes all the more emphatic when he says that “no gentleness can efface the marks of violence; only violence itself can destroy them” (WE 18). Sartre believed with Fanon that real violence lay in the heart of the Western colonizers, and that the colonized people were forced to choose violent means of struggle as the only option to achieve genuine freedom. Fanon’s book, Sartre says, is powerful enough even to decolonize the Europeans: “we in Europe too are being decolonized: that is to say that the settler which is in every one of us is being savagely rooted out” (WE 21).

Fanon begins The Wretched of the Earth emphasizing that decolonization is always a violent phenomenon. The historical process of decolonization, Fanon says, “is the meeting of two forces opposed to each other by their very nature; and that “their first encounter was marked by violence” (WE 28). Fanon defines decolonization as the replacing of a certain ‘species’ of men by another ‘species’ of men. The ‘thing’ which has been decolonized becomes ‘man’ in the process of decolonization. In short decolonization is “the veritable creation of new men” (WE 28). Fanon’s strong conviction is that a decisive struggle
between the oppressor and the oppressed is inevitable to bring about authentic decolonization. As far as the oppressed are concerned, absolute violence is the only means to call in question the authority of the oppressor. The oppressed is very well aware of the fact that the foreigner who has come from another country has imposed his rule by means of guns and machines.

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

“The colonial world,” Fanon affirms, “is a Manichean world” (WE 31). The settler looks upon the native as the “quintessence of evil” (WE 32). He declares that the native is “insensible to ethics” (WE 32). To the settler the native represents not only the absence of values, but also the negative of values. Even the Christian church did not provide any spiritual solace to the natives. For, “The Church in the colonies is the white people’s Church, the foreigner’s Church” (WE 32). Fanon
says that “the church in the colonies does not call the natives to God’s ways, but to the ways of the white man, of the master, of the oppressor” (WE 32). Fanon’s conviction about the complicity of the church and the colonizers has been shared by all the other anti-colonial revolutionaries. According to Albert Memmi, “The relations between the church (Catholic and Protestant) and colonialism are more complex than is heard of among thinkers of the left” (Memmi 72). Memmi has the strong conviction that the church has done everything possible to contribute to the acceptance of colonialism by supporting all the ventures of the colonialist. Richard Wright, in his Native Son, vehemently condemns the silence of the church whenever oppression is meted out to the Negro population in general, and to Bigger Thomas, the anti-hero of the novel in particular. Similarly, Walter Rodney, in an ironic vein, observes, “the Christian church participated fully in the maintenance of slavery and still talked of saving the souls!” (Rodney 101). Rodney is of the view that the motive behind slavery was not to carry the heathen natives to Christian lands. What the Christian church did in the colonies as a source of education, rather than as a dispenser of religious values, was to render all possible help to preserve the social relations of colonialism. In order to materialize this objective, the church, as Walter Rodney observes, “stressed humility, docility, and acceptance” (Rodney 278). What the church taught the natives was to turn the other cheek in the face of exploitation. The church further made the natives believe that
every thing would be right in the next world. Renate Zahar, another Fanon enthusiast, also highlights the role of the church in maintaining colonialism. For, she says, that “by condemning the customs and religions of the natives, as heathen and inhuman”, the Christian missions “bolster and uphold colonial racist ideology” (Zahar 22). There is no wonder in neo-colonialist leaders like George Bush and Tony Blair also invoking God while perpetuating atrocities against the people of Iraq and Afghanistan. George Bush’s reported revelation to a Palestinian delegation during the Israeli-Palestinian summit in July 2005, that he was “driven with a mission from God” to fight the “terrorists” of Afghanistan and Iraq, is a good instance in point (The Hindu 8 Oct. 2005:16). Close on the heels of Bush, Blair too, invoked God in his attempt to use religion to justify an illegal war against the Iraqi people, and to escape personal responsibility for the terrible consequences of his own actions. It is by now very clear that imperialists and the church almost always have their lame justification for the pillage they perpetuate.

Fanon says that during the period of decolonization, quite contrary to the attitude of the church, the appeal is made to the native's reason. The native is offered definite values, he is told frequently that decolonization need not mean regression and that he must put his trust in qualities which are well-tried, solid and highly esteemed. During the period of liberation, Fanon says, the colonialist bourgeoisie takes into confidence the ‘elites’ among the natives and
initiates dialogue on values. But the colonized people as a whole will affirm that, their most essential and concrete value is, first and foremost, the land. For, they are aware that the land would bring them bread, and above all dignity. The morality of the native, according to Fanon, "is to silence the settler's defiance, to break his flaunting violence — in a word, to put him out of the picture" (WE 34). "Decolonization", Fanon argues, "is the putting into practice of the well-known words, 'the last shall be the first, and the first shall be the last" (WE 28). In other words, the native's desire is to substitute himself for the settler. The permanent dream of the native is to become the persecutor.

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

Fanon warns that at this decisive moment there is the greater probability of the colonialist bourgeoisie coming up with the idea of non-violence. This is just to hoodwink the colonized people, because, even the very concept of non-violence preached by the colonialist bourgeoisie is a bye-product of oppression. In other words, the colonialist bourgeoisie’s non-violent ideas are “conditioned by a thousand-year-old oppression” as Sartre observes” (Preface. WE 21). The colonialist bourgeoisie’s concept of non-violence is, in fact, in tune with the thoughts of the economic elites and intellectuals of the colonized countries. Similarly, capitalism also plays a major role at this juncture in the colonies. Formerly, the colonies were a source of raw materials for the capitalists. Now the colonies have become their markets. Consequently, the capitalists too clamour for settling the outstanding issues of the colonized through non-violent methods. In the trade union sector also this nationalist reformist tendency will be quite apparent. The result is that “this caricature of trade unionism”, as Fanon calls it, adopts a highly peaceful mode of action (WE 52). Stoppage of work in the few industries in the towns, mass demonstration to cheer the leaders, and boycotting of buses or of imported commodities are the actions planned by these trade unions. This kind of action takes place two or three times a year. This practice
of "therapy by hibernation", as Fanon calls it, will not help in resolving the crucial issues of the oppressed of the world (WE 52). Non-violence, and those apostles of non-violence, "who have turned the other cheek . . . who have been spat upon and insulted without shrinking", will not be able to turn the tables against the oppressors (WE 52). What is in store for those natives who are being led by such leaders is "the farce of national independence" (WE 53), or, to quote Sartre, "a simulacrum of phoney independence" (Preface. WE 9). In such countries, Fanon says, there may be certain revolutionaries who turn their back upon the farce of national independence. These elements will be gradually isolated and brushed aside. These "undesirable firebrands", as Fanon calls them, will play a very decisive role in the violent uprising of the oppressed people.

That Fanon was highly prophetic in these observations has been proved by history. Our own India is a good case in point. Even after fifty-eight years of independence, the oppressed people of India still remain oppressed. It is a pity that, in India, even in the states where the Communist Party is supposed to have made great inroads, oppression still persists. The 2006 Padma Vibhushan Award winning writer, Mahasweta Devi, who has been a champion of the cause of the oppressed of West Bengal, Bihar and elsewhere in the country, draws a very grim picture of the tribals and bonded labourers of India, especially of West Bengal and Bihar, in her book, Dust on the Road. Mahasweta Devi could give a very authentic picture of the plight of the
oppressed as she has been deeply involved in the struggles of the people since her resignation in 1982 from the very lucrative job of an English lecturer. It was her concern for the socially marginalized, the poor, and the tribals, and their struggles, which prompted her to expose the exploitation of these groups through “Bortika” (meaning, ‘torch’), the first significant effort in alternative literature in West Bengal. According to a “Bortika” survey of 1984, the then going rate for carrying thousand bricks was rupees three and half to four. This means that the average daily earning of a worker would be a mere four to five rupees after a back-breaking day’s work. Commenting on the bonded labour system even now prevailing in districts like Palamau in Bihar, Mahasweta Devi observes, “In our India acts are for enactment and not for implementation” (Dust on the Road 17). She further says that “India could and would keep the poor as slaves and sermonize to the outside world” (Dust on the Road 18).

In West Bengal too, little children are hired out as cattle grazers and farm labourers. In spite of the fact there are thousands of primary schools in West Bengal, a large number of children are forced to remain illiterate due to poverty. While bewailing the pathetic plight of Indian children of the new millennium, Mahasweta Devi observes, “In my India, children of 7 years are hired out as child labourers just for a meal” (Dust on the Road 68). It must be borne in mind that this is no ordinary person speaking of the plight of the Indians. Yet another observation of Mahasweta Devi is that the curse of the ‘babu culture’
which runs in Bengali veins is the prime factor behind the rampant abuse of the people of the low-caste there. Commenting of the suicide of Chuni Kotal, the first woman graduate from the Lodha tribe, she says, “In West Bengal, even after so many years of Left Front rule, the first woman graduate from a very backward tribe was openly abused because of her low-caste birth, and nothing has been done about it” (Dust on the Road 140). The much acclaimed People’s Planning of West Bengal also turned out to be a fiasco as ‘the programme beneficiaries’ as they are called, are never involved in planning and implementation projects. Consequently, plans are implemented in a manner that leaves the ‘beneficiaries’ as deprived as ever.

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

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

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

In Kerala too, the lot of the tribals and the other aboriginals has not been improved much, in spite of the fact that Kerala has been ruled even by the Left democratic governments for several spells of time. The forty-five days old agitation of the Adivasis and the other tribals at Muthanga in the Wayanad district of Kerala under the leadership of the Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha, demanding the land promised by the then Chief Minister, Antony, was also brutally suppressed by the police in the third week of February 2003. The
Wayanad Wild Life Sanctuary at Muthanga was 'seized' by the Adivasis to protest against the breach of promise. Though the real statistics of the casualty caused by the unprecedented police brutality at Muthanga is even now unknown, one Adivasi youth, and one policeman were killed and hundreds of Adivasis were terribly tortured by the police. In spite of all these unhappy developments, the government has not fulfilled its promises to Adivasis till date.

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

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

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

The Thampuran makes use of various means to make the tribals act according to his dictates. Valliyurkkavamma (Mali) is only one among the means of the indigenous bourgeois to impose his will on the natives, and to subjugate them. The Thampuran makes it out
that the tribals are essentially evil people, devoid of ethics. The plight of the tribals drives home the stark reality that even after fifty-eight years of ‘independence’, the oppressed people of India still remain oppressed. That is why the Gaddikakkaran in the play, Nadugadhika succeeds in making the people assert that the land belongs to those who till it. The tribals realize that their culture has been erased over the years by the Thampurans of this country. Through their ‘nadugadhika’, the tribals uphold once again their dignity and glory. Violence becomes a cleansing force in achieving this objective.

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

As T.P. Sukumaran, the renowned critic in Malayalam literature observes in the preface to the 1993 edition of the Nadugadhika, “the new Nadugadhika is a return to ‘kanavumala’, a symbolic representation of the fulfillment of Rousseau’s dream of a return to nature” (Nadugadhika ix, translation mine). The Gadhikakkaran of the play, no doubt, is the prototype of A. Varghese, the revolutionary, who was tortured to death by the police for having sown in the minds of
the tribals of Wayanad the seeds of self-respect and revolutionary enlightenment.

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

Fanon is of the view that the nationalistic parties systematically disregard the peasantry. The starving peasant is the first among the exploited to discover that only violence pays. In Fanon’s opinion, in colonial countries only the peasants are revolutionary, for, they have nothing to lose and everything to gain. Fanon’s concept in this regard, to a certain extent, is in tune with Mao Tse-Tung’s conviction of the revolutionary potential of the exploited and impoverished peasants. Fanon’s concept of the revolutionary social force is quite different from the concepts of Marx and Engels. Marx and Engels considered the urban proletariat, the working class as the real revolutionary force. But, Marx and Engels had in mind the Western proletariat. Fanon did not consider the Western proletariat as
revolutionaries. He had the strong feeling that the Western proletariat had no sympathy for the colonized peoples. According to him the 'lumpen-proletariat' constitutes the real revolutionaries (WE 103). He describes the 'lumpen-proletariat' as the "that fraction of the peasant population which is blocked on the outer fringe of the urban centres, that fraction which has not yet succeeded in finding a bone to gnaw in the colonial system" (WE 102). He further elaborates: "the lumpen-proletariat, that horde of starving men, uprooted from their tribe and from their clan, constitutes one of the most spontaneous and the most radically revolutionary forces of a colonized people" (WE 103). All the other underprivileged people, including the prostitutes, the underpaid maids, and "all those who turn in circles between suicide and madness will recover their balance" (WE 104), and march forward with the other revolutionary forces. Fanon believes that the violent means adopted by the colonized masses as their means of liberation is of an intuitive nature. It is this intuitive nature that prompted the Algerian revolutionaries to say to the French imperialists thus: "Take your fangs out of the bleeding flesh of Algeria! Let the people of Algeria speak" (qtd. in The Wretched of the Earth 71 from "The Algerian Resistance" No: 4, Mar. 1957). "The settler's work", Fanon says, "is to make even dreams of liberty impossible for the native. The native's work is to imagine all possible methods for destroying the settler" (WE 73). Violence in a way becomes a cleansing force as far as the native is concerned. The native is freed of his inferiority complex, despair and
inaction on account of this violence. The destruction of the social, economic and political institutions, which were the instruments of oppression of the colonial society, is a precondition for the liberation of the colonized. Fanon believed that revolutionary violence only could cure colonial alienation, and destroy the oppressive social and political structures. His constant goal was to foster the full development of humanity, extending human dignity, freedom, love, care and justice to all the exploited. And violence, Fanon believed, was legitimate in the cause of self-defense of the oppressed.

In this context, it would be quite relevant to note the difference between Mahatma Gandhi and Fanon in their attitudes towards the means of liberation of the oppressed. Quite contrary to Fanon's justification of emancipatory violence, Gandhi advocated non-violent passive resistance as the means of liberation. The fact is that Gandhi was out of touch with the dire impacts of colonialism. Both Fanon and Gandhi were motivated by their respective cultural backgrounds. Moreover, even after fifty eight years of independence, in India, the gulf between the haves and have-nots has widened more than ever. Hence it can be said that India did get only flag independence in 1947. However, as Leela Gandhi observes, "Gandhi and Fanon rewrite the narrative of Western modernity to include the repressed and marginalized figures of its victims" (Leela Gandhi 21). Nelson Mandela was considerably influenced by the non-violent passive resistance ideology of Gandhi. But, he too had to advocate limited violence for the
cause of the liberation of the South African people from the Apartheid regime. For, as Gail M. Presbey observes, Mandela was particularly concerned that the “aggressiveness” of the people “would turn inward, and that they would hurt each other and put their own communities under stress” (“Fanon on the Role of Violence: A Comparison with Gandhi and Mandela”. In Gordon et al ed. Fanon: A Critical Reader 283-296).

Like Fanon, Sartre also believed that violence lay in the heart of the Western colonizers, and that the colonized were forced to choose violent means of struggle as the only viable option to achieve genuine freedom. Fanon, as Peter Geismar observes, “was by no means an apostle of violence when he left for North Africa in 1953; it was the violence of the French in Algeria that pushed him into this pattern of thought” (Fanon 190). Geismar further says that “Third World revolutions are the cathartic vengeance for decades of quieter colonial murders” (Fanon 191). Even while upholding violence as the only means to bring about authentic decolonization, Fanon was very anxious about the success of the liberation struggles of the peoples of the Third World. Fanon’s warnings in the chapter entitled “The Pitfalls of National Consciousness” in The Wretched of the Earth against the quite possible machinations of the national bourgeoisie who are expected to rule the newly liberated countries, as Peter Geismar comments, is “a Communist Manifesto for the Third World outlining
the false paths away from the colonial epoch" (Fanon 193). As Adolfo Gilly observes, “in a world oppression is maintained by violence from above, it is only possible to liquidate it with violence from below” (Introduction. SDC 3). The role played by European humanism in the perpetuation of violence in the former colonies was remarkable. This is one of the reasons for Sartre’s justification of the counter-violence of the oppressed. For, in the Preface to The Wretched of the Earth, he observes that European humanism “was nothing but an ideology of lies, a perfect justification for pillage; its honeyed words, its affectation of sensibility were only alibis for our aggressions” (WE 21). Sartre adds that even the non-violent ideas of the Europeans are conditioned by a thousand-year-old oppression. Those who condemn the criminality of the colonized willfully forget the criminality unleashed by the colonizers for centuries. In fact, as Renate Zahar observes, when acts of violence are directed “against the true enemy – the colonizer – violence loses its criminal character: it now becomes emancipatory, and hence, a potential instrument of disalienation” (Zahar 56). It was the inhuman apparatus of oppression of the colonizer which generated violence in the colonized. As Hugo Chavez remarks, “Those who make peaceful revolution impossible, will make violent revolution possible” (Understanding the Venezuelan Revolution 187). Violence, when directed against innocent people, has to be condemned. As Lewis R. Gordon remarks, “it is when violence is linked to the innocent that there is victimization; and when linked to the guilty, retribution”
The ideas of a common cause, a national destiny, and a collective history, which are developed during the war of liberation, help the natives in the building up of the nation after the liberation. This cement of unity, Fanon observes is "mixed with blood and anger" (WE 74). The people who fought against oppression in the colonial period are called upon to fight against poverty, illiteracy and underdevelopment. The absence of infrastructure is the main stumbling block to progress once national independence is achieved. The colonizers have been very shrewdly withdrawing capital from the colonies once they realized that the colonies were about to be liberated. Fanon's righteous indignation is very well evident when he says, "European opulence is literally scandalous" (WE 76). He reminds the Europeans that the well-being and the progress of Europe have been built up with the sweat and the dead bodies of the Negroes, Arabs, Indians, and the yellow races. Che Guevara too strongly believed that the standard of living in the most powerful countries is based on the extreme poverty of the underdeveloped countries. Walter Rodney also endorses Fanon's views regarding European opulence. For, Rodney is of the view that all the countries named as 'underdeveloped' in the world are exploited by the others, and that the underdevelopment with which the world is now preoccupied is a product of capitalist, imperialist and colonialist exploitation. Rodney
argues that "the development of Europe" was part of "the same dialectical process in which Africa was underdeveloped" (Rodney 162). All of us know how the apparatus of economic pressure has been used the U.S. against nascent states like Cuba. When Castro took over power in Cuba, and gave it to the people, it enraged the United States beyond description. But, the declared will of the people of Cuba resisted, and is still resisting the move of the U.S to strangle its people. The people of Cuba have proved to the U.S that the dollar is not that all-mighty as the U.S believes it to be. Today, the Latin American countries, especially Cuba and Venezuela, are symbols of hope for those who despair at the thought of the U.S. hegemony forever. It is also a warning to those who evince complicity in the machinations of the George Bush government in its efforts to re-colonize the underdeveloped and developing countries. The failure of the Bush government to get the Latin American countries to move towards a Free Trade Area of the Americas (the U.S. grand vision of creating a single market from Alaska to Argentina) is a good instance of the resistance to the U.S. hegemony. The launch of the South American Community of Nations in December 2004 (covering all the thirteen countries of the South) is a formidable threat to the U.S.

It was a Herculean task to build up the nation as far as the Third World countries like Cuba and Algeria were concerned. These countries with the meagre resources they had in hand tried and succeeded in finding an answer to their appalling hunger and poverty.
The nationalist leaders of countries like Algeria and Cuba exhorted their peoples to make a gigantic effort to rebuild their respective nations. A period of austerity and hard work unprecedented in their history followed to find an answer to their nations' baffling hunger and poverty. In due course of time, these nations created history of a sort by establishing, to quote a term from Fanon, "an autarkic regime" (WE 77).

When the FLN leader Ben Bella took over power in Algeria after its independence in 1962, several revolutionary measures were taken to lead the country towards the socialist revolution as envisaged by the Front leaders. On 29 March 1963, Ben Bella, the first President of independent Algeria made a historic announcement to the people of Algeria on television and radio that the government had decided to entrust the workers, once for all, vacant farms and factories. He told them that they were the masters of their destiny, and exhorted them to "undertake the exalting task of the socialist edification" of their country (qtd from Ben Bella's speech of 29 March 1963 in Algeria: The Politics of a Socialist Revolution 59). In March 1963 itself, through a series of decrees known as the 'March Decrees', Ben Bella legalized the takeover of extensive agricultural farms and industrial properties abandoned by the former colonizers, propounded the concept of "Autogestion". "Autogestion", as John P. Entelis says, "was conceived as an economic system based on workers' management of their own affairs" (Algeria: The Revolution Institutionalized 58). Ben Bella felt
that 'autogestion' was imperative for the transformation of Algeria from a colonial to a socialist economy. But, self-management proved to be a failure, as the political education of the workers was sadly neglected by the FLN after Algeria became independent. As David and Marina Ottaway observe, "the party provided no help in educating the workers". Consequently, they add, "Algeria had become a prisoner of the myth of self-management" (Algeria: The Politics of a Socialist Revolution 66-67).

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

Boumedienne, though he came to power through a coup, stressed the importance of participatory democracy, and the role of the citizens in a socialist society. Till his death due to sudden illness
in November, 1978, Boumedienne did his best to stabilize the nation's leadership. He consolidated government control over the economy, and introduced comprehensive economic planning towards a socialist orientation.

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

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

In spite of the efforts of the successive Algerian governments since independence to provide basic amenities, as water, electricity, food, housing, education, healthcare and transportation, considerable success has not been achieved in these fields because of the uncontrolled population growth of Algeria. Living conditions remain
woefully inadequate. However education remains mandatory for all children under the age of sixteen. The principal crops of Algeria are wheat, barley and potatoes. Natural gas and petroleum are the major sources of energy. The principal source of imports continues to be France. Italy is the principal market for exports. The other major trading partners of Algeria are the USA, Spain and Germany.

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

Those countries that refused to undergo such ordeals, Fanon says, concluded treaties and undertakings with the former colonizers. Several Third World countries, including India, have now become
victims of neo-colonialism, globalization, and WTO thanks to the machinations of the ruling elites. When the IMF and The World Bank were created in 1944, the IMF had the short-term objective of providing temporary assistance to correct the balance of payment problems of the member countries. Whereas, the World Bank’s emphasis was growth and development through long term project funding, initially for reconstruction after the Second World War, but later, the assistance was extended to all the developing countries. But, gradually trade liberalization was forced upon the countries which received assistance from the IMF and the World Bank, in order to open their markets, which in turn crippled the productive structures of these countries. Consequently, devaluation, removal of food subsidies, spending cuts etc. resulted in damaging effects on income distribution in developing countries, especially in the countries of the Third World. The IMF and the World Bank laid its trap in such a way that most countries which receive assistance from these agencies cannot choose, but have to accept the conditions laid down by the IMF and the World Bank in gross violation of the national sovereignty of the developing countries. As Kjell J. Havnevik observes in the introduction to The IMF and the World Bank in Africa, “many countries with fund programs in the 1980s experienced contraction in per capita income, rising unemployment, rising urban poverty, reduced government expenditure per head of the population, rising malnutrition among children, stagnant or falling levels of real
investment and that there was no improvement, but in some cases
deterioration in the current account of balance of payments” (9-23).
What was more, the per capita income fell in over seventy percent of
the IMF-assisted countries of Africa and Latin America in the 1980s.

India became a prey to the IMF conditions for the first time in
November 1981, when the government of India drew five billion dollars
from the IMF as three-year Extended Fund Facility. Cheryl Payer, in
his article, “The IMF and India”, observes that the Extended Fund
Facility India drew then “was the largest amount ever extended to any
borrower, larger even than drawings by industrialized countries such
as Great Britain and Italy” (The IMF and the World Bank in Africa 65-
83). Extending such a huge amount to a country like India, which did
not face any crisis in 1981, drives home the machinations made by
the IMF to spread its debt trap on the developing countries of the
world. Payer further adds that he sees “a very patient, very long-term
campaign on the part of the IMF and the World Bank to open the
Indian market to Western exports, Western technology, and Western
private investment whether or not these were needed by India” (Payer’s
emphasis, The IMF and the World Bank 65-83). Surprisingly, the loan
amount was not spent by the Indian government to resolve the
balance of payment crisis. India made use of that money for one of the
costly Imports the country did in 1981, the purchase of French Mirage
aircraft (which was not indispensable), which incurred an amount
equivalent to the IMF loan.
A series of price increases in India, of major consumer products and services in the public sector in 1980, and in early 1981 which preceded the IMF loan agreement, according to Payer, could be viewed against the conditions of the IMF loan agreement (Payer quotes from supportive documents published by the government of India and the IMF). The demand on the part of the IMF for the devaluation of the Indian rupee, accepting the World Bank conditions for foreign participation in offshore oil exploration, urging India to borrow more and more from the international monetary agencies are the consequences of the Indian indebtedness to IMF in 1981. Over the years it has been proved beyond doubt that import liberalization is not a panacea for the economic ills of the developing countries of the Third and the Fourth World, but a heinous trap which cannot be broken that easily. In short, the IMF and the World Bank are indeed like the stepmother of Cinderella, who advised her daughters to cut off their toes and heels so that their feet could fit into the glass slipper, as Cheryl Payer’s analogy drives home (The IMF and the World Bank 65-83). The admonition of the IMF and the World Bank to the various countries of the world is, definitely, to cripple their productive sectors in the hope of winning the grand prize of an export market.

It may be noted that, even decades before Isebill Gruhn (the author of the essay, “The Recolonization of Africa: International Organizations on the March”), and Cheryl Payer, Fanon with his remarkable foresight had predicted and warned (in 1961) about the
above mentioned predicament of the countries which fall prey to the IMF and World Bank debt-trap. It was not any kind of paranoia which prompted Fanon to make these predictions, but, on the contrary, his sharp, acutely sane, and out and out rational revolutionary thinking.

Curiously enough, the French government has a considerable hold on the oil companies of Algeria today. The Western financial groups demand political stability and a calm social climate in the newly independent colonies. Such a condition, Fanon asserts, is impossible to obtain in these countries since the state of the people is appalling. This frightful condition, especially, the periodic famine and starvation in the newly independent countries is again the creation of the former colonizers. That colonialism has ‘modernized’ the colonized is a superficial and blatantly bogus claim of the colonizer is evidenced in the harsh realities of malnutrition and starvation in Africa and in several other countries of the world today. The fact is that, as Walter Rodney puts it, “the vast majority of Africans went into colonialism with a hoe and came out with a hoe” (Rodney 239). The concerted move of the colonial rulers to replace the diversified agriculture of the African tradition with ‘monoculture’ – colonial economies which were centered around a single crop – was, according to Rodney, the real cause of today’s famine and malnutrition problems of Africa. For, as a consequence of monoculture, the increased produce of a particular crop of a colony was exported, and several items were imported, resulting in what has been described as ‘growth without development’.
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Walter Rodney's analysis of how the U.S. forced certain countries of Latin America like Costa Rica and Guatemala to concentrate heavily on growing bananas, and the eventual contemptuous term of 'banana republics' for those countries, is a specific example of how monoculture underdeveloped the colonized people. In some countries like Gambia, the impact of monoculture turned out to be quite alarming and disastrous, as the exclusive cultivation of cash crops like groundnuts, disregarding the urgent need of the people for staple food like rice resulted in famine. Consequently, as Rodney observes, "Colonialism created conditions which led not just to periodic famine, but to chronic undernourishment, malnutrition and deterioration in the physique of the African people" (Rodney 258). These facts prove that the malnutrition and starvation of the Africans of today are not the natural lot of those people from time immemorial, as made out by the so called 'benefactors' of the African people.

The poster of a black child with transparent rib-case, huge head, bloated stomach, protruding eyes, and twigs as arms and legs - a favourite poster of the large British charitable organization 'Oxfam' - representing a case of kwashiorkor (a term borrowed from Ghana), a classic case of extreme malnutrition, is in reality, the conscious distortion of historical facts to explain away the real cause of the poverty of the African countries, and the other newly independent countries elsewhere in the world. 'Oxfam' will never admit the fact that capitalism and colonialism have been responsible for the nutritional
deficiencies of the children of the Third World countries. It is a foregone conclusion that it was the insistence on monoculture which put an end forever to the more varied diet of the pre-colonial era. Drought is only a comparatively recent phenomenon in certain African countries, the cause of which has to be probed in detail, when one takes into account the immense water resources of Africa.

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

As already hinted by Fanon, as far as the nationalist parties are concerned, the will to break colonialism is linked with another quite different will: the will to come into friendly agreement with colonialism. But the mass of the country people think of their liberation in terms of violence, in terms of armed struggle only. The
armed struggle of the masses naturally disconcerts the political parties because, as Fanon puts it, "their very existence is the constant condemnation of all rebellion" (WE 101). In this context, Fanon underscores the urgent necessity of raising the standard of consciousness of the rank and file. In other words the masses should be politically educated and indoctrinated. That is, the political education of the masses becomes a historic necessity. As the struggle of the masses begins, the colonizer’s behaviour becomes more ‘human’. The natives are liable to be disarmed by some concession or another. These concessions, Fanon says, are “bones of charity” flung to the natives by the colonizer. He tells the natives that “colonialism never gives anything away for nothing” (WE 114). Fanon warns the masses and their leaders that “certain concessions are the cloak for a tighter rein” (WE 114). The reality is that it is not colonialism that grants such concessions, but the native himself that extorts them. Fanon urges the natives not to surrender their principles when concessions are flung to them. “Violence alone, violence committed by the people,” Fanon argues, is the only means of the liberation of the masses (WE 118). A quite welcome gesture on the part of certain prominent citizens of the mother country boosts the morale of the fighting masses. For, these prominent citizens condemn the war policy of their government and assert that the national will of the colonized people should be taken into consideration.
The battle against colonialism does not run smoothly along the lines of nationalism. Factors like the un-preparedness of the educated classes, lack of practical links between them and the masses, the intellectual laziness of the national middle class are responsible for such an impasse. The national middle class that comes to power at the end of the colonial regime is forced “to send out frenzied appeals for help” to the former colonizer (WE 120). Quite naturally this middle class refuses to follow the path of revolution. “The national bourgeoisie of under-developed countries”, Fanon observes, “is not engaged in production, nor in invention, nor building, nor labour; it is completely canalized into the activities of the intermediary type” (WE 120). The developments in Algeria and in almost all other newly liberated countries of the world highlights Fanon’s prophetic insight in this regard. As elsewhere in the world, in Algeria also a middle class which scrambled for power and personal wellbeing began to develop. This sizable middle class was the greatest stumbling block to the launching of a socialist revolution, after Algerian independence. The socialist measures taken by the National Liberation Front government considerably prevented the consolidation of the power of the national bourgeoisie. Walter Rodney is of the view that “Fanon has dealt scorchingly and at length with the question of the minority in Africa which serves as the transmission line between the metropolitan capitalists and the dependencies in Africa” (Rodney 36). In Rodney’s view, the presence of Africans serving as economic,
political and cultural agents of the European colonists is one of the
decisive features of the colonial system. The assessment of Rodney
that even in Algeria there emerged a number of subjects called ‘the
yes, yes men’, “who always assented to carrying out French
instructions in opposition to the interests of most of their brothers”,
evidences that Fanon’s prediction proved to be quite true (Rodney
284). Instead of exercising any progressive function, “the ‘bourgeoisie’
in the developing countries is parasitical and redundant”, as Renate
Zahar says (Zahar 102).

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

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

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

In the name of tourism, the national bourgeoisie set up rest and relaxation centres, and pleasure centres to appease the Western bourgeoisie. Fanon has in mind certain Latin American republics of the late 1950s when he makes some ‘unpleasant’ remarks on the national bourgeoisie. For, the banking magnates, technocrats, and the big businessmen of U.S. were provided with all the paraphernalia of a very luxurious life in some Latin American countries, despite the untold famine and poverty of the native peoples. These tourist resorts in due course of time will become “the brothels of Europe”, as Fanon terms it (WE 123). Within a few years, the bourgeoisie invest a large amount in foreign banks from the profit it makes out of their native soil. Over the years it has been proved beyond doubt that almost all
the bourgeoisie leaders of India have deposited huge sums in Swiss banks and other foreign investment centers. Apart from the already listed inhuman traits, the Western bourgeoisie is fundamentally racist. Western bourgeoisie racism is racism of contempt. Commenting on this, Fanon observes: “It is a racism which minimizes what it hates” (WE 131).

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

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

Fanon believes that it is the duty of the people to see that the bourgeoisie is not allowed to find the condition necessary for its existence, and its strength. He is of the view that “the combined effort of the masses led by a party, and of intellectuals who are highly conscious and armed with revolutionary principles ought to bar the way to this useless and harmful middle class” (WE 140).
After having dealt with in detail about the drawbacks of the bourgeoisie class, Fanon tell us what his concept of authentic nationalization is. If the government of a newly independent country genuinely desires to bring the country out of stagnation, and to lead it on the road towards development and progress, “it must first and foremost nationalize the middleman’s trading sector” (WE 144). But, Fanon warns that such nationalization must not contribute to “the triumph of a dictatorship of civil servants . . . .” (WE 145). “Nationalizing the intermediary sector”, according to Fanon, “means organizing wholesale and retail cooperatives on a democratic basis; it also means decentralizing these cooperatives by getting the mass of the people interested in the ordering of public affairs” (WE 145).

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

Fanon envisages a government that wishes to educate the people politically, a government that “expresses its desire to govern with the people and for the people” (WE 145). By political education Fanon means not to treat the masses as children, but to make adults of them. An ideal leader of the people, Fanon observes, should be the shepherd of the people. In international politics today, one can think of only a few leaders who satisfy Fanon’s criteria of leadership quality. One of them is definitely Fidel Castro. For, he is a leader who could interpret the full meaning of the people’s desires and aspirations, and he has been struggling for the past forty-six years to fulfill the
promises he made to the people of Cuba. Castro could accomplish this Herculean task, as Che Guevara said, on account of the “close dialectical unity between the individual and the mass” (Global Justice 32). Hugo Chavez may be the only other leader (perhaps next only to Castro), who could be called ‘the shepherd of the people’ for having saved Venezuela from the impact of neo-colonialism by planning through democratic, participatory and public debate.

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

Thanks to the Algerian Revolution, the intellectuals of Algeria could directly come into contact with the people, and this, in turn, has helped in the onward progress of the consciousness of the Algerians at large. The people’s tribunals and the local planning commissions of
Algeria have played a remarkable role in the making of the Algeria of today. That “the land belongs to those that till it” has been a fundamental law of the Algerian Revolution (WE 154). This kind of education has made the Algerians “an adult people”. They are now “men of property” (WE 155).

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

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

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

The army of the post-revolutionary country, Fanon observes, “is not always a school of war”. It is rather “a school of civic and political education” (WE 162). Similarly, women will enjoy equality in all walks of life. For, Fanon says, “Women will have exactly the same place as men, not in the clauses of the constitution, but in the life of everyday: in the factory, at school and in the parliament” (WE 163). Fanon strongly believes that if a nation desires constant progress, concerted moves should be made to develop a political and social
consciousness from national consciousness. A well-defined economic and social relations programme is imperative for a government which really desires to free the people politically and socially. “The living expression of the nation,” Fanon feels, “is the moving consciousness of the people; it is the coherent, enlightened action of men and women” (WE 165). The national government will be national in spirit only if it is governed “by the people and for the people, for the outcasts and by the outcasts” (WE 165). In quite unmistakable terms Fanon affirms that no leader, however popular he may be, can substitute himself for the will of the people. In short the national government “ought first to give back their dignity to all citizens” (WE 165).

While speaking of culture, Fanon asserts that there existed a national culture before the colonial era, and thereby pooh-poohs the colonial theory of a pre-colonial barbarism. Aime Cesaire had asserted emphatically that the old Negro civilizations were “courteous civilizations” (Discourse 51). Cesaire justifies his contention citing the words of the German Africanist, Frobenius: “The idea of barbaric Negro is a European invention” (Discourse 53). Fanon shares the views expressed by colonial intellectuals to the effect that there was nothing to be ashamed of the past, but rather dignity, glory and solemnity. The professed intention of the colonizer that colonialism came to lighten the darkness of the natives is a big fraud. Albert Memmi too ridicules the so called moralizing and cultural mission colonialism. Memmi strongly rejects the claim of the colonizer that “he
has the immense merit of bringing light to the colonized's ignominious darkness" (Memmi 75). He calls "it charitable racism", and calls in question the very dialectics of exalting the colonizer and humbling the colonized. Olufemi Taiwo also shares the views of Fanon and Memmi regarding the claims of a 'benevolent colonialism'. For, as Taiwo observes, "Colonialism was no benevolent extension of civilization into some picturesque but obscure corners of the globe ravaged by savagery although some of its apologists would like us to believe that it was" ("On the Misadventures of National Consciousness" in Gordon et al ed. Fanon: A Critical Reader 255-70). On the other hand, Taiwo believes, colonialism was a response to the rapacious demands for raw materials of the emergent capitalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Fanon leaves no stone unturned to prove that a Negro culture and a Negro literature existed. For, he tells us that the native literature of the 40s and 50s of the twentieth century is Negro literature. "The concept of Negro-ism", Fanon adds, "for example, was the emotional if not the logical antithesis of the insult which the white man flung at humanity" (WE 171). The poets of Negro-ism oppose the idea of an old Europe to a young Africa. They assert that concepts like lyricism, frankness, liveliness, and liberty are not the monopoly of the Western poets. Negro-ism had its echo not only in Africa, but in America and elsewhere in the world. Similarly the struggle for national liberty has given birth to another cultural phenomenon, namely, the
awakening of Islam. Contemporary Arab writers are very voluble about their assertion of “the great pages of their history” (WE 172).

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

When talking about culture, Fanon makes a distinction between ‘culture’ and ‘custom’. “In its essence”, Fanon says, “culture is opposed to custom, for, custom is always the deterioration of culture” (WE 180). Fanon’s advice to the native intellectual who desires to create an authentic work of art is that he must be realistic
in his endeavour. The native intellectual must search for truth in “the seething pot” of reality out of which “the learning of the future will emerge” (WE 181). In other words, the artist should come forth with revolutionary art. This is applicable to poetry too. In the period of assimilation one can witness rhyming poetry. Then comes descriptive and analytical poetry in which revolutionary ideas are abundant. Fanon admonishes the poet that it is his/her duty to take up arms on the people’s side, when the occasion demands it. Fanon cites the poem entitled *African Dawn* written by Keita Fobeda, the Guinean poet to illustrate how best a poet can reinterpret the rhythmic images of his country from a revolutionary point of view. The poem delineates the fight between colonial darkness and the dream of the day of liberation. Eventually the night gets totally exhausted, and dies. The hero of the poem, Naman, the hardworking farmer and the best representative of his race, is marked out to serve as a soldier in the French forces in North Africa. From there Naman goes to Germany, and, eventually, he is taken prisoner by the German forces. After years of Naman’s departure from his home, his wife Kadia was informed that Naman would be coming back home soon. But, one month after that information, Kadia was indescribably shocked by the news that Naman was shot dead in Senegal by his white officer, under a flimsy pretext. The concluding lines of the poem give one the impression that Naman’s people will definitely avenge his murder. Fanon believed that through the tragic story of Naman and Kadia,
Keita Fobeda was symbolically portraying the inhuman torture resorted to by the French colonizers in their various colonies. Through the refrain, "Dawn was breaking", the poet succeeds in reaching out to the heart of the oppressed the message that eventually the fight between the night of colonialism and the colonized mass at large will end up in the total liberation of the oppressed. Commenting on the poem, Fanon observes, "the colonized man who writes for his people, ought to use the past with the intention of opening the future, as an invitation to action, and a basis for hope" (WE 187).

To make the binding of a culture possible, Fanon argues, the native man of culture has to fight for the liberation of the nation. It was the concrete expression of the Algerian culture that one could witness in the collective fight of the men and women of Algeria for their liberation. True culture, during the liberation movement, becomes the entire culture of the nation. What colonial domination has been doing over the years was the obliteration of the native culture. Concerted moves were on to make the native believe that his culture was a kind of inferior culture. The withering away of the reality of the nation and the death-pangs of the national culture take place simultaneously. The intelligentsia is the first section of the society that is being influenced by the culture of the colonizer. It is only while the native intellectual is addressing his own people, one can speak of a national literature. Such literature, according to Fanon, may be called "a literature of combat, because it moulds the
national consciousness . . . it assumes responsibility, and because it is the will to liberty expressed in terms of time and space" (WE 193). The reappearance of the epic as an authentic form of entertainment in Algeria since 1952 was symbolic of the new-found cultural value of the native writers and their ‘compact’ reading public. There was nothing surprising about the attitude of the French colonizers when they began arresting the new storytellers systematically since 1955. This change of outlook in the native intellectuals is reflected not only in literature, but in other domains like ceramics, pottery making etc. Formalism is done away with in the works of craftsmen. The repercussions of the rising Revolution in Algeria could be seen in the colour used to decorate jars, jugs and trays. Music, dance and singing too have been very much influenced by the social and philosophical developments in underdeveloped countries. For instance, ‘jazz’ is now no longer an expression of ‘niggerhood,’ but the expression of “the consequences of the defeat, slow but sure, of the southern world of the United States” (WE 195-96). Thus, Fanon drives home the fact that the reflection of a national culture can be felt in all walks of life. He concludes his remarks on culture saying that “the conscious and organized undertaking by a colonized people to re-establish the sovereignty of that nation constitutes the most complete and obvious cultural manifestation that exists” (WE 197).

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

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

In the last chapter of The Wretched of the Earth, Fanon analyses the problems of mental disorders developed among Algerian people during the period of their national struggle. Fanon's study shows that, the objective of colonialism always has been the systematic negation of the personality of the colonized. All the privileges the colonizer enjoys are at the expense of the colonized.
Albert Memmi comments on this state of affairs in the most poetic and precise words, for, he says that the more freely the colonizer breathes, the more the colonized are choked. The concerted move of the colonizer, or what Memmi calls, "the stubborn effort to dehumanize" the colonized, succeeds in the gradual objectification of the colonized. Fanon succeeds in proving that torture profoundly upsets the individuality of the persons who are being tortured. Torture and rape of the wives of the militants who refused to divulge the details of the whereabouts of their husbands, and the consequent dreadful impact of this on the men who realize this truth later, and their eventual impotency is one of such instances of mental disorders. In the new millennium also one witnesses the same inhuman kind of torture unleashed in Iraq by the so called custodians of modern democracy, the U.S. and its allies. Seizing and jailing of the wives of suspected militants in Iraq in the hope of leveraging their husbands to surrender, is a shocking parallel of our times to the Algerian situation in the 1950s. The report of a secretive task force locking up the young mother of a nursing baby, the move to catch the husband of an Iraqi woman by tacking a note to the family's door telling him 'to come get his wife' are the harrowing kinds of human rights violation resorted to by the U.S. allied occupation forces in Iraq. One has to view against this background the kidnapping of an American woman journalist, Jill Carrol on 7 July 2006 by the Iraqi Resistance Movement. (She has been released unhurt after 80 days).
Accusatory delirium and suicidal tendency in a native who could not enroll himself in the revolutionary army, was another instance of mental disorder pointed out by Fanon in Algeria’s case. Very atrocious kinds of torture, like injection of water by the mouth accompanied by an enema of soap water given at high pressure were adopted by the French soldiers to extract information from the Algerian revolutionaries. French doctors working in Algeria used to administer ‘truth serum’ (intravenous injection of thiopentone) to lure out secrets, disregarding all medical ethics and traditions. Fanon’s purpose in citing these and several other case studies is to prove that colonialism tried its best not only to depersonalize the individual, but the social structure too of the colonized people. The quite shocking revelation of the Italian State Television on 8 November 2005 that the U.S. forces used white phosphorous shells ‘in a massive and indiscriminate way’ against civilians during the November 2004 offensive in Fallujah (Iraq), highlights how barbaric the America’s ‘war against terrorism’ is. The report says that white phosphorous kills indiscriminately, and that it is a cloud that, within 150 metres of impact will disperse and burn every human being or animal. Reporters could see the bodies of burned children and women after the bombardments of November, 2004. Through these heinous crimes, the U.S. is proving that ethically it is the most underdeveloped country of the world today.
The argument of French psychiatrists that the Algerians are congenitally impulsive and criminal by nature has been proved untrue by Fanon's study of their problems. Fanon comes to the conclusion that "the Algerian's criminality, his impulsivity, and the violence of his murders are not the consequences of the organization of his nervous system", as the French psychiatrists made it out, "but the direct product of the colonial situation" (WE 250).

Fanon's exhortation to the wretched of the earth is to "shake off the heavy darkness" in which they have been plunged by the Europeans (WE 251). He further urges them to be firm and prudent in their determination to welcome the new day, which is at hand. For, Fanon was quite confident that France was going to lose its battle against the Algerian people. Moreover, the out and out optimistic Fanon believed that the wretched of the earth would learn further lessons from the liberation struggle of Algeria and elsewhere in the world, and thereby make all possible efforts to put an end to all kinds of oppression. Besides, Fanon knew that the struggles of all the colonized peoples have a common nature. He earnestly asks them not to imitate Europe any longer, a Europe which is "running headlong into the abyss" (WE 252). Fanon's firmness of purpose is prompted by the truth in the following words: "When I search for Man in the technique and the style of Europe, I see only a succession of negations of man, and an avalanche of murders" (WE 252). After having exposed the inhumanity involved in European racist humanism, Fanon
admonishes the people of the Third World countries to try their best to "create the whole man, whom Europe has been incapable of bringing to triumphant birth" (WE 252). Fanon concludes his treatise on decolonization exuding the immense optimism that the people of the Third World countries can "resolve the problems to which Europe has not been able to find the answer" (WE 253).

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

The spread of democracy and its consolidation in Latin America is the biggest change brought about through free and fair elections and a free media. Luiz Lula Silvia, an industrial worker and the leader of the Workers Party, has risen to the Presidency of Brazil. Evo Morales, the President of Bolivia, is a coca farmer and indigenous Indian. The preceding study underscores the fact that the people of Latin America have given a specific and transparent signal against the
unbridled 'free market policies' of the U.S., and the IMF. The President of Argentina, Nestor Kirchner has been bold enough to cancel the IMF-World Bank debt. Yet another bold move of Kirchner is the order issued by him to make it mandatory for all U.S. nationals who arrive in Argentinean airports to get fingerprinted. These instances prove that Fanon's dream of the Third World countries resolving their problems disregarding European hegemony has been realized, though in a very limited way, at least in the Latin American countries. The Latin American countries have shown the world that social democracy is the credible alternative to the Anglo-American style of capitalism. China's replacing of the U.S. as the largest consumer of Chilean copper, Venezuelan efforts to reduce its dependence on the U.S. market for its oil by diversifying to new markets, including China, are quite positive steps towards the Third and Fourth World countries asserting their right to self-determination.

The Socialist Trade Initiative aimed at providing an alternative to the US-backed Free Trade of the Americas is a quite welcome move in the history of the Latin American countries. Evo Morales, the President of Bolivia, joined Fidel Castro and Hugo Chavez of Venezuela on 29 April 2006 to endorse an agreement which Castro and Chavez signed a year ago. The agreement is viewed as part of the fulfillment of the dream of the Latin American countries to put an end to the US hegemony in world affairs. After signing the agreement, Chavez spelt out the objectives of the three leaders. For, he said: "We don’t want to
be rich, but we do want to live well, with dignity, as brothers so there is no misery, so there is no poverty, so people are not excluded – that is among our fundamental objectives” (as qtd. in “Bolivia, Cuba, Venezuela forge trade pact” The Hindu 1 May 2006: 14).

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

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

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

The decision of the Hugo Chavez government of Venezuela on 7 May 2006 to impose 33.3 percent tax on foreign firms that extract oil from Venezuela is a very strong and positive signal to those Third and Fourth Countries which have allowed large-scale ‘tax havens’ for foreign and multinational companies.
The persistent efforts of the Latin American countries to counter the cultural imperialism emanating from the American and European media resulted in the launching of their own television stations like "Telusar" and "Telesouth". Such a move was necessitated due to the electronic warfare waged by the West against the Latin American countries. Venezuela, Uruguay, Argentina and Cuba joined hands to challenge the monopoly and hegemony of the Western electronic media over the South American countries.

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

In spite of the fact that Fanon has taught the world how to achieve authentic decolonization, the people of the twenty-first century know that neo-colonialism has been making inroads into almost all the countries of the world that had achieved 'a simulacrum of phoney independence' from the former colonial powers. Neo-colonialism is no longer "that idle dream of the mother countries" as Sartre described it (Preface. WE 11). France has once again proved in Algeria that neo-colonialism is not at all "a lot of hot air", as Sartre believed it to be (Preface. WE 11). Perhaps, except for Cuba, Venezuela, and the other newly liberated Latin American countries, all the other countries of the Third and Fourth World have pledged
themselves once again to neo-colonialism. It is high time that the people of the Third World countries did something concrete to dissuade their respective governments to cancel the treaties they have already signed with IMF, The World Bank, the WTO, and the Asian Development Bank (ADB). Unless they succeed in this task, the neo-colonialists will pooh-pooh Fanon’s concept of a new humanism, and authentic decolonization as a ‘lot of hot air’.