Chapter 1

Introduction

Though Frantz Fanon has to his credit four books, it is his *The Wretched of the Earth* which has created tremendous impact on the contemporary socio-political and literary spheres. Since the publication of *The Wretched of the Earth* in 1961, there has been conflicting views supporting as well as condemning Fanon’s justification of collective violence for the total emancipation of the oppressed people of the world at large. In spite of the fact that Fanon’s concepts on authentic decolonization, true culture, and the total freedom of the individual have been analyzed and discussed in depth in several Third World countries, and in the West, no exhaustive attempts have been made in India till date to explore his impact on his contemporaries, and on the posterity. Even the European intellectuals, except for Sartre, have not diagnosed colonialism and its disastrous consequences in honest and proper perspectives. An in-depth study of Fanon’s works has revealed that his observations on individual freedom, social emancipation, true culture, native literature, colonization, authentic decolonization, neocolonialism and a host of other issues have immense relevance to the socio-political, literary and ethical realms of human life. The realization that a comprehensive picture of Fanon’s ideas on various matters could be obtained only after a careful study of all his published works,
prompted a thorough analysis of Black Skin, White Masks, Studies in a Dying Colonialism, Toward the African Revolution, and The Wretched of the Earth. (For the sake of brevity and convenience, hereafter, the abbreviations BSWM, SDC, TAR, and WE will be used in the thesis whenever referring to Black Skin, White Masks, Studies in a Dying Colonialism, Toward the African Revolution and The Wretched of the Earth respectively, except when the contexts warrant the mention of these titles fully).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fanon's decision to 'abandon' psychiatry for politics on account of his face to face encounter with colonial oppression even at the Blida hospital, where he worked for three years, and his close association thereafter with the National Liberation Front (FLN), will also be discussed in the second chapter. How best the eloquence and leadership quality of Fanon have been fruitfully utilized by the FLN during the course of the Algerian Revolution will be detailed in the chapter on Fanon's life. The indomitable will of Fanon to serve the wretched of Algeria, and the underprivileged people elsewhere in the world, has been borne out in his determination to work hard despite the painful fact that leukemia and bronchial pneumonia posed a great threat to his life. Fanon's short, but eventful life is a great source of inspiration to the scholar-activists of his own generation, and of posterity in the sense that if one cherishes an earnest desire to serve the oppressed of the world, it could be accomplished even within a
short span of life. Fanon’s life further drives home the reality that if the commitment to serve the people is heart-felt, no force can be a stumbling block in the way of its fulfillment. It is this commitment for the cause of the marginalized which prompts one to rank Fanon with Che Guevara.

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

Fanon’s conviction that the mastery of a language, even the colonizer’s language, is a source of immense power, and how effectively he has appropriated the colonizer’s language for his radically ‘subversive textuality’ of anticolonialism, are analyzed in the third chapter of the thesis. Apart from his work as a political activist, Fanon has shown in quite unequivocal terms how authentic decolonization could be brought about through an effective counter-discourse against the repressive textuality of the colonizer, using the cultural tool called language. The quite redeeming feature of Fanon in this respect is that his use of the colonizer’s language to call in
question colonialism was not a historical accident. Fanon’s perspectives in these kinds of issues are further substantiated in my thesis by citing from the works of Albert Memmi (the anticolonial revolutionary thinker of Tunisia), Ngugi wa thiong’o (the Kenyan radical thinker and writer), Renate Zahar (the German writer and Fanon enthusiast) and Eldridge Clever (the Afro-American revolutionary thinker and writer). But, quite unlike the other revolutionary thinkers and writers, Fanon has emphatically proved that by the effective appropriation of the oppressor’s language the colonized can totally transcend colonial alienation.

The third chapter of the thesis further highlights the fact that Fanon was the first writer to diagnose colonialism and its destructive impacts in quite honest, and in the right perspective. While acknowledging the contribution made by Fanon’s precursor, Aime Cesaire in this respect in Discourse on Colonialism, and the influence of Sartre, Hegel, Nietzsche, and a number of European theoreticians, philosophers and psychologists on Fanon, the third chapter of the thesis underscores the fact that Fanon had no forerunners when one takes into consideration his theory of authentic decolonization. For, Fanon’s theory of decolonization examines all spheres of human life, including its literary and cultural aspects. This chapter substantiates in unmistakable terms that Fanon was the prime exponent of authentic postcolonial theory (and not Edward Said, as Leela Gandhi claims in her Postcolonial Theory), and disclaims the argument that
postcolonial theory has a "poststructuralist parentage" (Leela Gandhi 25-6). Another factor which is emphasized in the third chapter is that unlike Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Homi K. Bhabha and Leela Gandhi, who popularized their theories making use of the leisure time and luxury provided principally by the First and Second World academies, Fanon’s theory of authentic decolonization, native literature, true culture and so on are born by and large out of the revolutionary battlefield of Algeria. In other words, Fanon’s theory of authentic decolonization was refined in the laboratory of his own experience.

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

Fanon’s tracing of the three stages in the development of the native intellectuals/writers/artists are also analyzed in the third chapter. The period of unqualified assimilation, during which the native intellectual merely imitates European models and trends in
various realms of art and literature, the ‘disturbed’ period, when the he/she gives expression to recollected experiences of childhood and old legends in a borrowed aesthetics, and the ‘fighting’ phase, when the native addresses his/her own people in a quite radical manner, and in an aesthetics evolved by himself/herself, are the three stages detailed by Fanon with specific examples. The new awareness of the native intellectual could be seen not only in literature and arts, but in music, pottery, ceramics, handicrafts, woodcrafts and other spheres of life.

The fourth chapter of the thesis analyses how effectively Fanon has given expression to his concept of a non-racial society. Fanon’s views in this regard are elaborated in *Black Skin, White Masks*, first published in 1952. Fanon says that his principal intention in writing the book is to evolve “a new humanism” (BSWM 7) as opposed to the European racist humanism. The book is Fanon’s response to the self-demeaning attitude of the black bourgeoisie who tried to become as white as possible, as well as an admonition of the white man for having ill-treated the black man for centuries. Fanon’s contention is that economic reasons are primarily responsible for the inferiority complex which has been imposed on the black people by the colonizers. The economic aspects of colonialism have been endorsed by the studies of writers like Albert Memmi, Ngugi wa Thiong’o and Walter Rodney. Unlike Freud and the other psychoanalysts, what Fanon has done is a socio-diagnostic study of the racial issues. The
colonizer’s language also plays a decisive role in creating inferiority complex in the colonized, as the colonizer through the imposition of the imperial language very subtly erases the native’s original culture. The conscious move of the colonizer to make the colonized believe that they have no culture of their own is done in the formative period of the colonized children. Consequently, the colonized children, when they grow up, find themselves an alienated lot. Herein lies the importance of Fanon’s insistence that the colonized has to master the colonizer’s language. For, as Fanon argues, the mastery of the cultural tool, language, is imperative for the colonized to open doors which have been barred to him/her. That Fanon has made effective use of this cultural tool has been borne out in The Wretched of the Earth, in which he comes out with concrete suggestions as to how authentic decolonization can be achieved.

Psychological reasons too, Fanon believed, played a remarkable though secondary role in the inferiority complex of the colonized people. The coloured people’s eagerness to “have whiteness at any price” (BSWM 49) is a good case in point. ‘Lactification’ is the name given by Fanon to this desire of the colonized. In this context Fanon disclaims the argument of Dominique O. Mannoni that the inferiority complex of the colonized is an inborn trait. Moreover, Fanon firmly believed that colonial racism too has been responsible for the inferiority complex of the colonized. In other words, the native’s inferiority complex is a creation of the racist Europeans. The views of
Sartre, Albert Memmi and Walter Rodney have been analyzed in the fourth chapter of the thesis to substantiate Fanon's contention that racism is one among the several means adopted by the colonizers for the cultural degradation of the colonized. Fanon's study reveals that the desire of the colonized to become white at any cost is generated by the inferiority complex created by the colonizers. His attempt was to liberate the colonized people from their craze for "hallucinatory whitening" (BSWM 100). Fanon told the coloured people that they were no longer the slaves of their skin. He further helped the coloured people to rediscover their valid past.

Another important task that Fanon has achieved in Black Skin, White Masks is the exposure of the hollowness in Jung's theory of the 'collective unconscious'. With specific details Fanon affirms that 'collective unconscious' is a cultural imposition on the colonized, very subtly done by the European colonizers over the years. 'Collective unconscious' is not at all a cerebrally inherited quality of a particular race or section of people, as made out by Jung. The mistake committed by Jung, according to Fanon, was to go back to the childhood of Europe to analyze the psychic realities of man, instead of going back to the childhood of the world at large. That is why in Jung's concept the Negro symbolizes all kinds of negative qualities. The black Antilleans and all other colonized peoples on whom the European cultural imposition has been done have taken over the archetypes belonging to the Europeans. But, by the age of twenty,
when the effect of the 'collective unconscious' is almost over, the colonized people realize what they really are. The ambiguous existence in which the colonized people find themselves thereafter is what Fanon calls 'psychopathological' condition. Hence, Fanon's effort to 'disalienate' the coloured people. For this absolute reciprocity of relationship among individuals is essential. In short, good relationship between Blacks and Whites will be possible only if both these groups shed their inferiority complex and superiority complex respectively. This is the only way for "restoring man to his proper place" (BSWM 88).

The fifth chapter of the thesis is an evaluation of Fanon's attempt to analyze colonialism and its impact in a sociological and scientific perspective. Fanon's observations in this regard are moulded by his conviction that any person who adopts a passive attitude to the developments taking place around him/her is subscribing to an "impoverishment of human reality" (TAR 3). He probes into the "burning past" (TAR 4) of the North African, his pseudo-invalid status, and his "perpetual sense of insecurity" (TAR 12). Fanon comes out with the conclusion that the consistent moves of the European racist humanists to 'thingify' the North African have been primarily responsible for his sorry predicament. The emptying out of the essence of the colonized by the colonizers has been responsible for the existential anguish of the colonized. In Fanon's view, it is the moral responsibility of the colonizer to 'reclaim' the colonized people. All the
same, Fanon once again stresses his conviction that economic factors are principally responsible for the ‘thingification’ of the colonized people. Fanon is of the strong view that the ‘negritude movement’, spearheaded by Aime Cesaire as a protest against the politics of assimilation, and the blatant racism resorted to by the French soldiers of the West Indies after the Second World War helped the West Indians to recast their world, and to valorize their colour. Fanon calls this change of attitude in the West Indians, their “first metaphysical experience” (TAR 23).

Fanon does not minimize the disastrous effects of European racism on the colonized. In fact it is the unabashed racism of the colonizer which forces the natives to admit that all the misfortunes of them are the result of their own racial and cultural peculiarities. It is when the colonized realize their mistakes that they express their “craving for forgiveness”, and in turn, they “plunge into the chasm of the past” (TAR 41). What is most praiseworthy about Fanon is his concept of the reciprocal relationship between the rediscovered original culture of the colonized and the occupant’s newly liberated culture, and the eventual emergence of the true culture of the people.

The quite positive observations of Kwame Nkrumah and Fidel Castro on the necessity of the integration of different cultures further confirm Fanon’s universal vision on culture. It is a pity that in spite of all these positive trends, even in the new millennium institutional racism and covert racial discrimination are practiced in the United States and
in Britain, the countries which are the professed champions of 'democracy'.

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

The sociological ramifications of the Algerian war of liberation on the African people in general, and on the Algerian women in particular as detailed by Fanon in *Studies in a Dying Colonialism* is the object of analysis in chapter six of my thesis. However best the French colonizers tried to exploit the clothing tradition of the Algerian women, and the means of dissemination of news, especially the radio, the collective will of the people of Algeria gave a befitting reply to the colonizers to the effect that they were competent enough to take their destiny into their own hands. The colonizer's dream of unveiling the Algerian women, and thereby making use of them as allies in the task of the destruction of the culture of the natives met with stiff resistance. The determination of the Algerian women to resist the cultural war waged against them by the colonizers, and the strong resolution of the Algerian men not to make their women preys to the imperialist agenda of deculturation, were concrete instances of the
Algerian people having created their own history of sort. However, once the Algerian women began to involve themselves directly in the war of liberation, to the surprise of the colonizer, they removed and reassumed their veil as and when the occasions demanded such gestures. What was more, exigency of circumstances made the Algerian woman the "woman arsenal" (SDC 58) of the Algerian soldiers by carrying revolvers, grenades and bombs concealed in their veils. When the women had to move through the European dominated cities, shedding their timidity and clumsiness, they unveiled themselves on their own.

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

The radical development of the individuality of each member of the Algerian family during the course of the war of liberation further points to the sociological impact of the struggle. The political maturity and the national consciousness of the people as a whole have been instrumental for such a revolutionary change in society. The most noteworthy development in this regard was the empowerment of the
Algerian women. The women of Algeria, through the dynamism of the veil, and their political activities, succeeded in coming to the forefront of the national liberation movement from their formerly exclusive domestic tradition. Fanon's extolling of the role of the Algerian women in their national liberation movement itself is sufficient proof that he is not a misogynist as alleged from some quarters.

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

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

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

The failure of the nationalist parties and the national elites to work towards authentic decolonization was yet another concern of Fanon. Obtaining concessions, and a certain degree of power from the colonizers, were the real motives of these groups. At a crucial juncture of the liberation struggle of the people, the colonialist would start playing the card of nonviolence which would be supported by the capitalists, economic elites and the intellectuals of the colonized
country. All these elements have to bear in mind that the concept of nonviolence itself is the product of centuries-old oppression. Thanks to the machinations of the nationalist parties and the elites of the country, the people would be forced to accept what Fanon calls the "farce of national independence" (WE 53).

Unlike Marx and Engels who considered the urban proletariat as the true revolutionary force, Fanon had infinite faith in the revolutionary fervour of the starving peasants of the colonized countries. Fanon's stress on the revolutionary potential of the exploited peasants is more or less in tune with the concepts of Mao Tse Tung. For, Mao believed that the general direction given to the revolution by the impoverished peasants would always be the correct one. According to Fanon, the starving peasants and the underpaid working class constitute the 'lumpen-proletariat' (WE 103), which will be a decisive force in the liberation struggle of the colonized country. Their realization that violence only could destroy the oppressive political and social structures of colonization will lead to authentic decolonization. For, Fanon had the strong conviction that for the self-defence of the colonized people, violence was a legitimate means. Fanon's ideas on emancipatory violence are quite contrary to Mahatma Gandhi's ideals of non-violent passive resistance. But, it is a fact that the kind of freedom India achieved in 1947 through non-violent methods was only flag independence. This has been proved by the Indian experience of the past fifty-eight years. In many respects
India has not recovered from the colonial ethos till date. Hence the
ever-widening gulf between the haves and have-nots of India.

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

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

As the nationalist parties failed to rise up to the expectation of the colonized people, the people had no option but to resort to armed struggle for their total liberation. The political education of the people is imperative for their liberation in the true sense of the word. The main impediments to socialist revolution of any country, according to Fanon, is the national middleclass which takes over the reins of power, once the country succeeds in liberating itself from colonial rule. Instead of undertaking the task of socialist revolution, the national middleclass, without any economic power and dynamism about it, becomes the mangers of Western enterprise. Fanon's exhortation to the people of the newly liberated countries is that it is
their duty to keep this harmful middle class away from power. What
the people require is a government which “expresses its desire to
govern with the people and for the people” (WE 145). What Fanon
envisages is a non-repressive and non-authoritarian society in which
the people will have quite meaningful and fruitful relations among
themselves. Fanon had the strong conviction that only in a socialist
society could these ideals be materialized. And the first precondition
to bring about socialism is to nationalize the means of production,
distribution and exchange. What Fanon had in mind was an equitable
distribution of the wealth of the country in question. By
nationalization Fanon meant the reorganization of the economy under
the control of cooperatives. In short, Fanon’s concept was that of a
society in which there would be no landlords, and the land would
belong to those who till it.

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

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

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

The eighth chapter of the thesis analyzes Fanon's prophetic revelations about the advent of neocolonialism, the relevance of Fanonism today, and the impact of Fanon on the Black Nationhood concept and Black Arts Movement. The neoimperialist onslaught engineered by the former colonizers and the highly industrialized nations on the Third and Fourth World countries vindicate Fanon's warning that unless the people of the newly independent countries prevented the possibility of the national bourgeoisie wielding their power, they would become victims of neocolonialism. As Fanon predicted in 1961, in almost all the Third World countries in which the
national middleclass came to power, one could see the new rulers frantically approaching the former colonizers and the highly industrialized countries for what Fanon calls "aid and assistance programme" (TAR 121). The remarkable influence of the IMF, The World Bank, the World Trade Organization (WTO), and now, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) – organizations practically managed by either the former imperialists or the highly industrialized countries – proves Fanon' prediction that the national economies of those countries governed by the national middleclass would be virtually controlled by the neocolonialists. Moreover the neoimperialist maneuvers of today even surpass Fanon's apprehensions. For, the modern neoimperialists adopt all kinds of callous measures, including their military might, against the countries which reject their dictates, or pose a threat to their economic and military hegemony.

Now that Fanon's fear of the former colonizer controlling the economy of the newly independent countries has been confirmed in Algeria itself, a detailed assessment of the Algerian situation will be done in the eighth chapter of the thesis. A close analysis of the impact of the neoliberal agencies on the other Third World countries also is intended in this chapter to highlight the magnitude of Fanon's prophecy in this respect. How disastrous has been the effect of the Structural Adjustment programmes (SAPs – renamed as Poverty Reduction Strategy Programmes, PRSPs), on the economies of the underdeveloped countries will also be discussed. The fraud involved in
the much applauded Official Development Assistance (ODA) of the developed countries will be exposed in the chapter. All possible ideal solutions to the impasse created by the neoliberal agencies will also be looked into in this chapter.

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

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