

Frantz Omar Fanon's analysis of the roots of colonial racism and its impact on awakening a unified national consciousness and culture

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Abstract

Frantz Omar Fanon (1925–1961), one of the greatest thinkers and writers of the so-called Black Atlantic Theory. Fanon rose to prominence in the era of the struggle for liberation from colonialism. By drawing on the Freudian and philosophical psychoanalytic tools, as well as relying on historical, political theory and poetry, Fanon's thought resonated throughout the global South, where his influence was deep and ever-lasting. Fanon's *most important works, including Black Skin White Masques (1952) and The Wretched of the Earth (1961)*, were widely influential and posthumously printed, as his numerous journeys from the Caribbean islands to Europe and then North Africa resulted in major shifts in his thought. Fanon dealt with the major topics and issues of his day, including: language and psychoanalysis, questions of gender, race and racism, religion, being and social order, and other issues. His school of thought

had also influenced what is actually known as the post-colonialism theory.

Key words

**Colonialism – Liberation – Existentialism – Race
– Frantz Fanon.**

ملخص

برز فرانز عمر فانون –Frantz Omar Fanon- (1961-1925)، وهو أحد أكبر المفكرين والكتاب فيما يُسمى نظرية السود الأطلنطية – Black Atlantic Theory – في عصر وموجة الكفاح من أجل التحرر من الكولونيالية. من خلال الاستفادة من منتوج التحليل النفسي الفرويدي والفلسفي والاعتماد على النظرية التاريخية والجدلية الهيجلية، والاستعانة بالنظرية السياسية والشعر، وصل صدى فكر فانون إلى عموم مناطق جنوب العالم حيث شهد تأثيره عمقا وديمومة كبيرين. لقيت أهم أعمال لفانون ومنها "بشرة سوداء أفنعة بيضاء" – Peau noire, masques blancs – 1952 و كتاب "معذبو الأرض" – Les Damnés de la terre – 1961، انتشارا وتأثيرا كبيرا بالإضافة إلى مؤلفات أخرى طبعت بعد وفاته، حيث أسفرت رحلاته المتعددة من جزر الكاريبي إلى أوروبا ثم شمال أفريقيا إلى الساحل الأفريقي عن تحولات كبيرة في فكره. تناول فانون الموضوعات والمسائل الكبرى في أيامه ومنها: اللغة والتحليل النفسي، ومسائل الجندرية، والعرق والعنصرية، والدين، والكينونة والتشكل الاجتماعي وقضايا أخرى.

الكلمات المفتاحية

الاستعمار – التحرير – الوجودية – العرق – فرانز فانون.

Introduction

In his writings, such as "Black Skin: White Masks", "The Wretched of the Earth" and other books, Frantz Fanon combined a wide range of scientific tools of the largest schools and currents of thought in his time, such as psychoanalysis, existentialism, philosophy, and history. Fanon also used the literature of the black movement that reflects critical race theories that began to appear in the United States of America in the middle of the last century.

Fanon's analyses of his era were based on an archaeological excavation and epistemological critique of the roots of anti-black racism, which runs deep into the collective consciousness of Western societies. This concern for the crises and problems of blacks, led Fanon a few years later to shift the center of his preoccupation with black problems into a more profound theory of the oppressed, colonialism, and revolutionary resistance, leading to an overall theory of colonialism as a system.

Fanon would not have reached a profound theory of colonialism without his early reflections on how anti-black racism was formed that would warp the subjectivity of both

whites and blacks alike. Therefore, we endeavored in this paper to address the most important ideas and analyses of Frantz Fanon regarding the origins of colonial racism. How effective was his approach in testing the impact of the social and psychological influence of colonial subjectivity on the reality of identity among the colonized and the oppressed? How did Fanon conclude that the violence of colonialism led to a process of awakening of the Algerian national consciousness and the birth of a resistant and emancipatory Algerian culture?

Frantz Fanon's unearthing the roots of colonial racism and its effects on peoples

In his book 'Black Skin White Masks' (1953), Frantz Fanon analyzed the roots of colonialism to enable the understanding of colonial reality, arguing that the phenomenon of fear of the black color goes back to the myth of "black or bad color" embedded in the collective European consciousness, which negatively affected relations between blacks and whites. This myth – or the bad color – deepened the chasm (between civilizations) and ingrained racism in the European collective consciousness and gave the white man all the arguments for the material, political and cultural subjugation and colonization of peoples.

For Frantz Fanon, "France will remain a racist country, as long as the myth of the bad black is an integral part of its collective consciousness." (Frantz Fanon, 1994, p187.)¹

It is also important to understand the source of the inferiority complex toward black men, the latter who only exists in the white man's imagination. The question of color is not raised among blacks, according to Fanon, but when a white man designates black as black, then the latter becomes black, and if he raises the question of his inferiority, it is because the white does not hesitate to deny equality with the black. It is the white man who has imposed on him this vile and degraded status as a slave. The black man becomes colored by the first glance that the white directs towards him, suggesting that he is black, and this view that the white looks at the other goes back to the dialectic of black and white that has existed in Europe for centuries. In Europe, "the black or colored represents bad or evil." (Ibid.)²

Thus, the white represents purity, light and justice, while the black reflects evil, death, ignorance, and lethargy, and in the collective European unconscious black is associated with evil and guilt. This is why Fanon believed that the European culture

unconsciously felt that the black or colored was the source of all potential conflicts and evils." (Ibid, p.165) ³

Europeans make of blacks an incarnation of all that is bad in their society and in all their relations with other societies. According to Fanon, racist colonial rhetoric has been reflected even in artwork aimed at children, as school-children in the Antilles grew up with books and magazines that show blacks as evil, and that evil is represented by blacks.

Thus, the collective unconscious of blacks becomes identical to the European unconscious, and blacks are tangled in a state of phobia and fear of their own people or the colored. For Fanon, the European collective unconscious is the result of an "unthought cultural coercion."⁴ (Ibid, p209.)

The black remains the victim of this cultural coercion, as long as white culture is imposed on him, so the black believes that he must strongly abandon his culture and substitute it for white culture, to the extent that he forsakes his black color and replace it with white. Since black is a symbol of evil, marriage between blacks and whites is seen badly and shamefully by whites. On one hand, the blacks argue that their gender and color should be improved by marrying whites to get out of the dark black spiral that haunts them.

According to Fanon, preserving and protecting the black race has been displaced from its true meaning: saving the race "is not in terms of the meaning that we can assume, that is, preserving the authenticity and identity of that part of the world in which we grew up, but in ensuring that the color white is preserved." ⁵ (Ibid, p 90)

Thus, some women in the Martini and Antilles wish to marry whites to transfer healthier skin into their children and to ensure that their grandchildren will not be too black. If, according to Fanon, a white man married a black woman, he must strip her off her black color and her declining status in order to be accepted into the circle of white masters, for she "did not become the one who wanted to be white, but she became white."⁶ (Ibid, p 19)

Reversely, if a white woman married a black, she in turn recognized him after his skin was taken off and removed from his status as a black man. It becomes as if he married white culture and white beauty, and the advice of the white. Usually, when a white woman gives her love to a black man, the latter feels unworthy of that love, so he "needs a license, or a white man tells him to marry my sister." ⁷ (Ibid. p 111.) This need for permission to marry is linked to a sense of inferiority on the

part of the black, as he is not free in his choices and asks the dominant white for permission to marry and choose a life partner. Fanon sees the nature of the black request for permission from the white as a reflection of the relationship between the dominant and the dominated.

Because of this intricate relationship between blacks and whites, Fanon argues that the prohibition of slavery, represents a false emancipation: "The black ignores the price of his freedom, because he did not fight for it." ⁸ (.Ibid. p 159)

Thus, the black is left with only two options: either he becomes white in the hope that one day he will gain recognition as a white, or he "decides, because it is impossible to get rid of his deep complex, to prove himself as black, as long as the other hesitated to recognize him, leaving him with only one solution: to be recognized." ⁹ (.Ibid. p 135)

According to Fanon, the colored seeks to prove himself as black, by adopting his culture and identity and imposing recognition of himself. Thus, seeking to be recognized as a white man at all costs is not a solution to his rightful status as a human being and a free man, as the latter is recognized as a man only through a process of mutual recognition with another

party, as stated in the Hegelian theory of recognition, which Fanon employed in his writings.

Therefore, Fanon elucidates that to obtain true recognition and freedom entail engaging in struggle, and willing to sacrifice ourselves for true freedom, and by winning this fateful battle we become free. Because, according to Fanon, the slave did not receive his freedom but was granted to him, as the master told him, "You are free," and therefore the black did not gain his true freedom. Because, according to Fanon, the latter is not granted but is a personal decision, freedom is achieved spiritually first, and not materially, so it is not granted by another party, so to say that someone is free would automatically cancel this freedom. For Fanon, slaves and their descendants live in perpetual frustration, they have not achieved their freedom because they are waiting for that struggle that gives them the opportunity to prove that life is nothing for them without true freedom.

Herein lies the difference, according to Fanon, between the freedom of slaves in the past, and the freedom of the colonized: slaves gained their freedom not because of an awakening or a regain of consciousness among whites, who had eventually realized that they must comply with the prohibition of slavery

issued in 1848, while the colonized won their freedom after a long struggle for which they paid with blood and souls. Thus, the slaves who were granted freedom, according to Fanon, are in a state of "compulsive neurosis", the lack of recognition of their masculinity and true freedom strongly pushed them to acquire the advice of whiteness at any cost and means, and made them feel that their black color, language, and culture were the root of diseases.¹⁰ (Ibid, p 147)

In his writings, Fanon provides a thorough analysis of the contradictions and paradoxes experienced by the colored people in colonial countries. Fanon discovered that there is a black identity and culture hidden behind white masks, these masks imposed by colonialism, were remarkably worn by the oppressed in order to accede to the position of the powerful and the superior. In his detailed analysis of the state of compulsive neurosis, Fanon goes on to extend the repercussions and effects of this neurosis in the daily life and reality of the colonized as follows.

Frantz Fanon and the psychoanalysis of the reality of identity among the colonized

Fanon derives his ideas in this regard from existentialism, as a philosophy, whose insights concerning existence are profound, as well as psychoanalysis, from which, Fanon was able to come up with theories regarding the development of identity and socio-psychological transformations in Algeria after the enduring colonial legacy of racism towards its people. Fanon unveils the anxiety and confusion of the black man after the colonial period, through a psychological analysis of racism that led to the collapse of the African man. Fanon asserts in a provocative way that the black tries to appear white despite not guaranteeing the acceptance of the white, so "every colonized person - or every person who lies in his soul the sense of inferiority caused by the destruction of his authentic cultural roots - will find himself confronted with the language of the civilized nation, that is, the culture of the colonizer." ¹¹ (Ibid.) The colonized achieves some elevation above the "wild forest" by adopting the cultural norms of the colonial power, the more he denies and dismisses his black color and wild forest, the more he becomes white." ¹² (Frantz Fanon, 2005, p 73)

In Fanon's opinion, true identity is limited within the framework of comparison between black and white, skin and mask, as the black man wears a veil under the influence of colonial pressure that hinders the black from acting naturally and spontaneously. Fanon links this influence to the results of colonialism when he decides that the culture and development of the white man has led to an existential deviation from the seriousness of the subject and the origin of the black man's crisis.¹³ (Ibid, p 80-95)

Thus, we understand from Fanon's ideas that the Western powers were able to contain the native culture of the colonized deeply and to change the individual's view and self-esteem by believing that he is not equal to the colonizer or that he will not be able to challenge the positions of the superior. Thus, strengthening control and domination over him.

The importance of identity becomes serious within the confines of rejection and struggle for self-assertion, as the treatment of Western powers of the subjugated nations led to a deterioration in the psychological state and a severe behavioral dysfunction, and this brutal aggression against the identity of the colonized triggered a kind of mental illness according to Fanon's

psychological analysis of the effects of colonial violence on colonized peoples. ¹⁴ (Ibid.)

Black behavior causes obsessive neurotic type or puts them in a neurotic position, Fanon believes. There is a constant attempt by him to escape his individuality and eliminate his presence, as the attitude of the black towards the white, or the white race, reflects a delirium that often approaches the pathological."¹⁵ (Ibid, p 76)

What Fanon refers to applies to the status of individualistic alienation among the colonial elites, and because of the loss of their individuality and personality, they became as if they had handed them over to the colonialist who had the right to represent them and speak on their behalf. Fanon focuses on the identity crisis as a whirlpool between the dialectic of being and the other as a consequence of the problem of colonial effects:

"The black man thinks that he has become white by using the dialect of the white and by adopting the world of the other." ¹⁶

(Frantz Fanon, 1994, p61) During the colonial era, blacks, because of their psychological state, tried to demonstrate that they were on an equal footing with whites, and needed to "demonstrate to white men, at all costs, the value of their ideas and the degree of appreciation of their insight." ¹⁷ (Ibid.)

According to Fanon, the behavior of the black man related to the tradition of the colonizer is due to the colonial influence and onslaught on his consciousness, a systematic strategy on the part of the white man, reflected, on one hand, in gathering and applying a belief system of power and control over the other and deceiving the colonized by pushing him to overlook the real differences that distinguish him from whites and give him an image that suggests that he is human - just like whites - and not just a representation or impersonation of the white, thus dismissing the true sense of his worth and being. On the other hand, the colonizer, or white man, deliberately enhances the perception and awareness of the black or colonized by imposing his discourse in the time of occupation, where he degrades the colonized by drawing the ultimate goal of proving that they (blacks or colonized) are not equal to them. Thus, blacks will be forced to "think that they are uncivilized and irrational, and lack moral values, which necessitates the need to re-educate them and reintroduce them into civilization. This deteriorated state of affairs requires the revival and strengthening of the identity, customs and traditions of the locals to continue in the course of history." ¹⁸ (Ibid.)

The restoration of identity after the domestication campaigns that the colonized underwent under the influence of subjugation and colonial domination calls for a radical solution, namely violence as a pivotal concept in the thought of Frantz Fanon. The colonized is in a state of weakness and, therefore, deserves his miserable situation and the feeling of inferiority is greatly intensified, as stated in "Black Skin White Masks". If the feeling of weakness and inferiority on the part of the colonized is a presumption and a reality of the psychological state of the colonial day, revolutionary violence, according to Fanon, will only shake the entire system.

At the moment of the colonized willingness to risk himself for another life and future, the colonizer realizes under the impact of shock the value of the colonized's life, and in turn the colonized will be shocked by his awareness of his potential that enables him to develop an expanded cultural, social and political identity.

Thus, the development of identity is the cornerstone of Fanon's analysis, as the colonial project is considered totalitarian and the colonized finds himself lost in his submission and self-contempt within this project, but violence changes everything.

Violence is seen as an automatic rejection of colonialism and an acceptance of the possibilities of life in the postcolonial phase. Likewise, the (colonial) system cannot continue to live with this shock.

This gives a great opportunity to the three classes within colonial life, that is, workers, toilers and armies of the unemployed, that began to see that the system on which they rely has begun to collapse, and exploitation becomes a focus and a volcano of resistance and not something to endure for a poor material life.

The colonized intellectual, in Fanon's thought, is exposed as an anti-revolutionary element and an important agent in the repressive system, and the common people discover for the first time an identity that moves them from the excesses of daily colonial life to the revolutionary counter-power of domination and oppression.¹⁹ (Frantz Fanon, 2005, p99)

Fanon thus provides a full-fledged investigation into the brainwashing process mastered by colonialism by analyzing the psychological and social impact on the consciousness and perception of colonized individuals and societies, resulting in the loss of identity and disarray. Fanon's ideas about the power

and control used by colonial powers are manifested in their negative effects on the colonized culturally, psychologically, economically and politically through the imposition of hegemony and subjugation that are extremely important and transcend times and places.

The power and compelling methodology of Fanon is evident in its reliance on the epistemological premises of philosophical and psychological analyses of colonial influences. Fanon's focus on the evolution of identity is also reflected in the ability of colonized nations to oppose and challenge dominant discourse, and their ability to resurrect and emancipate to confront imperialism. For Frantz Fanon, the ability to retain and develop identity depends on how much people aspire to what they want, regardless of whether they are suffering from authoritarian and unilateral discourse.²⁰ (Ibid.)

Fanon's view on the question of identity is linked to the conflicting bilateral relationship between the colonizer and colonized that is overwhelmed by Eurocentrism. In this relationship, the granting of identity belongs to the dominant West, and the monopoly of truth, as well as the possession of sources of knowledge and the right to impose truth and structured knowledge on the colonized nations.

Fanon highlights the point of linking the colonized man to an ideological system that the colonial powers prepare to entangle him psychologically, culturally and socially. Identity is organized within the constraints of the Western knowledge system, where it becomes difficult for locals to understand themselves outside this system. Domestication and ignorance, therefore, are considered intellectual and cultural methods, which the instrumental hand of colonial power uses systematically

Thus, Fanon argues that the cultural premises of the West are the main reason for the creation of the "other" by distinguishing between the subjugated and the master. To emancipate their identities, Fanon argues, colonized nations must oppose and confront Western powers, reject the identity imposed by these powers, and develop their own, by highlighting the importance and role of resistance.²¹ (Ibid.) Fanon's analysis of the mechanisms of power and subjugation is thus powerful and convincing. He also sees in the violence of colonialism an opportunity to arouse the consciousness of the colonized, and the reconstruction of a new national culture as a leverage for liberation as follows.

Frantz Fanon's analysis of the role of colonial violence in the awakening of a unified Algerian culture and national consciousness

Fanon realized that the colonizer imposed his way of life, politics, culture and language after his reassertion in new territories. Colonialism aims to eliminate the national unity of the colonized and impose its culture on them after targeting and eliminating the national culture. Fanon saw how colonialism destroyed the traditions and vestments of Algerian women, humiliated men in a society where men revered their dignity and honor, and destroyed the privacy of families by imposing the voice of the oppressor. At the dawn of national unity during the revolution, Fanon saw it that it was associated with the birth of a new national culture that was the result of the revolutionary anti-colonial movement. Repression and oppression led to despair and frustration among Algerians, who had witnessed the systematic destruction of their efforts and the crude denial of their culture and existence, as they became literally slaves.²² (Mohamed Al-Mili, 2007, p44)

"During the war, Algerian people realized that if they wanted to give life to another world, they must innovate and create a new Algerian society," wrote Fanon.²³ (Frantz Fanon, 2004, p 78) For him, the Algerian understood that France had succeeded in confiscating his land and annexing it as a colony because of a deep-seated spiritual crisis. The Algerian realized that if the fighters in the liberation struggle did not share one word and one goal in their struggle, they would not claim back their liberation and emancipation from the brutal French colonialism. Algerians must define their goals and solve the outstanding problems that led to colonialism. The solution, according to Fanon, lies in reviving a new culture and a solid national history that is supportive of the new Algerian society. Fanon notices signs of this change among Algerian society. "Algerian women are no longer what they used to be, their status in the Algerian society has progressively changed after they have changed within their families, they have joined the ranks of the struggle." ²⁴ (Ibid, p82)

Fanon believes that the accession of Algerian women to the ranks of the revolutionary national movement led to prominent societal changes, the most important of which is that illiteracy, which was strongly prevalent among women before the revolution, made women seek education and change their lifestyle as soon as they joined the national movement. The revolution forced young women to go outside the home and change their lifestyle and traditional dress to help in the armed struggle against colonialism alongside her brother in the movement. "Algerian women now take the decision to join the liberation revolution on their own without the permission of their families or their fathers. Her status in her married life has also changed, and she is ashamed of her husband, (in case he was found), who does not fight for his country, as she does not keep silent about his decisions and choices." ²⁵ (Ibid, p91)

Thus, Algerians focus most of their attention on resistance, overcoming the fear and taboos in their traditions and customs, by striving to fulfill the ends they set out beforehand. Fanon notes that the national liberation movement led to a change in the pattern of marriage and family bonding, as the compulsions and violence of the war and the possibility of death surrounding

the militants made Algerians marry without family conditions and restrictions. As when "the father learns of his daughter's marriage in the mountains to one of the heroes in the ranks of the liberation army, he does not deny the marital bond or reject it." ²⁶ (Ibid, p 94) Thus, Fanon believes that the priority for Algerians became achieving national collective consciousness, in spite of all obstacles, the establishment of a new culture, and a life welcoming violence and death at any moment.

The war in Algeria destabilized the society to the point that almost every death was a direct or indirect result of colonial oppression. Death and violence surrounded the Algerian people, who were imprisoned, tortured and killed every day. Fanon watched how Algerians' relationship with death has also dramatically changed, as have the customs and traditions of funerals and memorials.

Violence and hatred replaced the grief and frustration that inhabit the hearts of Algerians, as all the dead are blamed to colonialism, which held the firm belief that "Algeria will be preserved, even without the Algerians." ²⁷ (Ibid, p 96)

How can a nation, Fanon wonders, not change radically when the colonial entity pledges to keep its territory no matter what the consequences and the number of dead, tortured and persecuted? Such an explicit declaration of land confiscation and wanton attacks on lives can only be pushed by brutal violence. That is why Fanon noticed the great change in the structure of life in Algeria, where it became not organized around family, customs and traditions, but about resistance and the pursuit of the brutal enemy. Since the beginning of the liberation revolution, Fanon notes, the colonial plan has been aimed at displacing Algerians in order to eliminate the structure of the social fabric.²⁸(Ibid.)

But the people were united and stronger than ever. By identifying a common enemy and a unifying goal, the Algerian people have been able to get rid of attempts at displacement and division with force and valor. Brutal colonialism destroyed Algerian culture and identity, but Algerians were able to build a solid culture and a history of liberation, "...the Algerian people were able to replace the history of colonialism with the history of national liberation." ²⁹ (Ibid, p 73)

Thus, the new form of resistance enabled the Algerian people to rebuild themselves as a nation, a homeland, individuals, men and women, as the colonized peoples demonstrate a great ability to adapt to the changes imposed by the national resistance. At the beginning of the national resistance, the Algerian people found themselves faced with two important choices: change and resistance or death by submission and surrender. The people as a whole chose the change and struggle that led to emancipation and liberation from the dark nights of colonialism.

However, Fanon warned that the dark nights of colonialism would not draw their curtain by returning the land to its owners, especially if a class described by Fanon as the bourgeoisie took over after liberation and imitated colonialism in its means and ways by wearing a white mask.

Fanon pointed out that instead of working for the prosperity and development of the Algerian people after the liberation process, this class will strive to push Algerians into caves, poverty and deprivation. Fanon warned that the hands of neo-colonialism will sow the seeds of division, tribalism and regionalism, and subsequently the national consciousness,

unity and culture around which freedom fighters rallied have been broken and violently replaced by the division of Algerians.

Fanon's revolutionary and libertarian ideas had a profound impact in mobilizing the collective national consciousness for change and development and getting rid of the seeds of colonialism and its new tools in new independent countries. The effects of Fanon's ideas extended to influence of what became known as the postcolonial school, as follows

Influences of Fanon's ideas on the postcolonial school of thought

Frantz Fanon left a clear imprint and influence on Western thought especially on the centrality of colonial and neo-colonial discourse. His works were largely recognized by Western academies including Anglo-Saxons. Some specialists in postcolonial theory, such as the Palestinian-American thinker Edward Said – explained in his books, such as "Orientalism" (1978) and "Culture and Imperialism", the ways and means of neocolonialism by linking knowledge to power and hegemony, and the methods of resistance that decolonized nations must adopt. The thinker Homi K. Bhabha was particularly influenced by Fanon's thought, as his work the

Location of Culture (2004) elaborates. Bhabha related Fanon's psychoanalysis to its origins, as detailed in the works and ideas of Freud, Jacques Lacan and many others.

Also, Glen Coulthard in his book Red Skin, White Masks (2014) based on Fanon's title "Black Skin, White Masks", explored the tragedies of indigenous Americans people in the Americas and their suffering under racism and the annexation of their ancestral lands to imperialist exploitation in various energy programs and the extraction of minerals and resources. Another book by the academic researcher Hamid Dabbashi, a friend of Edward Said, entitled "Brown Skin, White Masks" (2011), showed the pillars of discourse and neo-colonial projects in the region. Other scholars, such as Nigel Gibson, Louis Gordan, Richard Pithouse, and others, were influenced by Frantz Fanon's thought and expanded the range of concepts contained in their work to deal with experiences of exile and migration, the experiences of African Americans and Caribbeans, and experiences of resistance and the struggle for justice for post-apartheid South Africa. ³⁰ (John Drabinski, 2019)

This ability to extend post-colonial studies, stems from Fanon's interest and concern for the colonized as a revolutionary force.

He successfully gave them a descriptive and existential dimension, not only an abstract ideological scope. Fanon's interest in the presence and depth of resistance among the masses, albeit among the most powerful forms of colonial oppression, reflects Fanon's most important contribution to the revolutionary theories of blacks across the oceans, the South, and peoples of marginalized origins and ethnicity. Fanon's works, therefore, transcends the logic of the number of pages and books.

The ability to position and describe the issue of the colonized under colonial domination with such textual momentum and precision is a talent for Fanon in academia, and more than that for all those engaged in radical resistance against racial oppression.

Conclusion

We have seen how Frantz Fanon analyzed the roots and origins of the colonial phenomenon. His approach was to monitor the phenomenon of colonial racism and link it to the myth of the white man who sees "bad and evil in the black color", which worsened the relationship between blacks and whites in the past and gave powerful nations an opportunity and justification to subjugate other peoples and drain their wealth and resources. Within this myth, Fanon examined the complex social relations between whites and blacks, and concluded that "unthought cultural coercion" imposed a totalitarian European culture. The latter destroyed the identity and culture of blacks and people of color and made them feel that the roots of the crisis lay in their color and origins and not in the brute force that trampled on their identity, culture and religion. The choice of these nations is between submission to this coercion or revolt against it. Fanon concluded that the colonial regime is totalitarian in nature, so he believed that only violence against it can destabilize the entire system.

Fanon also excelled in his psychological analysis of the colonial phenomenon, which seeks to eliminate the national identity of the colonized through a process of domestication, ignorance and misinformation. This process ultimately leads to the alienation of the colonized and a sense of inferiority and decline in the face of the power, vigor and civilization of the colonizer. Fanon warned that this feeling would extend to post-colonial eras, if the nations freed from colonialism did not challenge attempts to impose the identity, culture and language of the imperialist powers by creating and strengthening the local national identity. Also, by developing a national literature and culture that stand against Western centrism and expose its plans and approaches towards Islamic nations particularly, and the eastern and southern regions generally.

Fanon discovered that the repression and violence exerted by the colonial power in Algeria with its strenuous attempts to annex Algeria and to displace and divide the its people, was a golden opportunity for this people to rally around one cause and join the national movement and the liberation revolution.

The Algerian collective consciousness was a catalyst for the people to change their social lifestyle, family ties, customs and traditions in favor of the liberation struggle and the revival of a

unified culture that challenges French cultural subjugation and attempts at division and displacement.

With the Algerian people gaining their freedom and independence, Fanon warned that the black skin hidden behind the white masks, imitating colonialism, will replace the latter and further divide and mislead the Algerian people.

Finally, we saw that some of the pioneers of postcolonial theory were influenced by Fanon's writings and ideas, projecting them on their social and political reality in their countries and calling for exploring the tools and means of neocolonialism and reconstructing a culture, identity, thought and literature of resistance that tell the truth as it is to power and authority.

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²³ Ibid.:

²⁴ Ibid, p 82.

²⁵ Ibid, p91.

²⁶ Ibid, 94.

²⁷ Ibid, p 96

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid, p 73.

³⁰Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, www.Plato.stanford.edu/Fanon.

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