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“Concerning Violence”:
Frantz Fanon’s Rebel Intellectual
in Search of a Black Cyborg

Henceforward, the interests of one will be the interests of all, for in concrete fact *everyone* will be discovered by the troops, *everyone* will be massacred—or *everyone* will be saved.
—Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*

The Language of Rebellion

“Concerning Violence,” the first chapter in Frantz Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), presents black or native bodies seeking liberated land or territory, transforming former colonies into sovereign “Third World” states.¹ “Concerning Violence” establishes the refusal of blackness-as-victimization as will sparked by and culminating in the consciousness of shared connectivity with death or salvation. It is not simply the one but is everyone who is alive in revolutionary struggle, and hence everyone will suffer the penalties or reap the rewards of rebellion.

For those natives who labor as rebels, all worthy endeavors are shaped by an improvisational aesthetic in resistance to white supremacy. Because white supremacy is so violent, such an aesthetic becomes violent as well. The rebellion

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dreams of freedom in a Manichaean world in which the colonizer designates himself as saint and blacks and natives as sinners.

Fanon's expression of solidarity—"the interests of one will be the interests of all" (1963: 47)—among the oppressed in revolutionary struggle against counterrevolutionary terror might seem optimistic or naive. Yet this is the language of freedom in "Concerning Violence." Fanon's articulation thus represents both exhortation and puzzle. His encouragement of solidarity in the face of physical and symbolic or rhetorical violence is clear. The puzzle or problem presented is difficult to identify because it requires that one pinpoint the time and space of *henceforward* and how best to influence events so that the moment of *henceforward* materializes as the pivotal marker of unified mass resistance to oppression. The moment of *henceforward* is the moment of the transformation of the native intellectual, the "organic intellectual," into a revolutionary.

What inhibits this moment is not merely the violence of subjugation. Fanon depicts how Western individualism, a pillar of Western capitalism, has allowed the intellectual to misperceive the mass or collective, the non-elite, as secondary to theorizing and actualizing freedom struggles. For Fanon, the war theorist and psychiatrist, the colonized person "who has the opportunity to return to the people during the [freedom] struggle" (47) will perceive that individualism is a false ideology, one drilled into the subjects by masters, one dictating that "each person shuts himself up in his own subjectivity" (47). Under such conditions, thought and culture are propaganda that serve conquest. In rebellious struggle, language changes. In revolution, familial terms distained by rulers, such as *brother* and *sister*, are revived, and with that revival comes a spirited or spiritual component: vocabulary fosters the alteration of vocation or calling. The rebel intellectual, the former native intellectual, has family obligations and duties that extend to the mass of people. The life or death of that expansive kinship is determined by the willingness of its members to share the same body, that is, to suffer its common vulnerabilities and victories as the moving target of colonial and racist repression.

Fanon's observations about the chasm between the colonized and the colonizer are insightful and shrewd. He applauds the restoration of a vocabulary of kinship as a form of resistance: "Brother, sister, friend—these are words outlawed by the colonialist bourgeoisie, because for him my brother is my purse, my friend is part of my scheme for getting on" (47). This is followed by his dissection of the distance between the colonizer-identified intellectual or the native intellectual and the man or woman

in the street. Fanon posits the native intellectual as the bridge to the colonizing culture: "The native intellectual takes part, in a sort of auto-da-fe', in the destruction of all his idols: egoism, recrimination that springs from pride, and the childish stupidity of those who always want to have the last word" (47). The colonized intellectual will in due course discover the power of the people.

How do the native intellectuals reach this point of awakening? They recover their critical intellect and the will to self-interrogate, "intellectual possessions in pawn" to "the oppressor's culture" (49) lost. This reclamation is dependent on intimacy with the mass, "the people" whose collective intellectual and physical abilities inspire and intimidate the intellectual. For Fanon, the colonized intellectual who "begins to militate among the people" is amazed and "literally disarmed by their good faith and honesty" (49). He recognizes the lack of his own originality and stable independence: "The danger that will haunt him continually is that of becoming the uncritical mouthpiece of the masses; he becomes a kind of yes-man who nods assent at every word coming from the people, which he interprets as considered judgments" (49). This insecurity or inauthenticity is mitigated in crises when colonizers demand native intellectuals both to mediate between colonialists and rebels and to interpret and translate the natives' desires, intents, and degree of resistance.

The problem is to determine from which moment and place the least vulnerable will understand that they will suffer to the same extent as the most vulnerable, and the most vulnerable suffer as the least. Consequently, one does not struggle to realize that one will become *like* other natives; one struggles to accept that one *is* other natives. Likely the *fellah* and *sistah* are already aware of this reality; neither education nor wealth nor connections offer them protection from the violence of colonization or enslavement. Those natives who have been told that they are *not* like the others but are better because of their proximity to the colonizers' language, customs, religion, education, wealth, and political structures are in for a rude awakening. For *henceforward* the uncommon and the common natives are the same, share one corporeal blackness fabricated as commodity or disposable waste, plague, or evil designated for eradication. Such an understanding must serve as an awakening for the native intellectual. For the uncommon native intellectual has only a distant familiarity with the terror found in the field or favela native, the everyday "nigger" to use Fanon's term. *Henceforward* thus heralds the emergent consciousness of a new political being, one familiar with the simple elegance of revolutionary equations: under the right

conditions, everyone will be murdered; therefore, everyone will usher in the right conditions in which everyone will be *saved*.

Problematically, everyone is more likely to agree that they do not wish to be murdered (and to act accordingly) than to agree that they wish to be saved, with a salvation that may have little to do with the creature comforts of capitalism or technological innovations. Fanon writes *saved*; he does not write *spared* so there seem to be additional requirements that the native must meet or agree to. One can imagine that being *spared* means to have the prospect of specific violence or violation removed as a political possibility. That is an absence of evil, not necessarily the presence of good (except for the minimalist equation that good is whatever is not evil). Fanon's *saved* suggests a promise greater than physical survival in the face of torture or execution. Every survivor of an extermination camp is not necessarily saved, but all are spared. That sparing could lead to a life of dissolution, depression, or suicide, such as death by slow (self-)extermination outside the camps without the ministry of guards. To be saved, however, suggests a position outside the camps' reach through time and space and the trajectories of its violent desecrations that tend to touch lives decades later all over the world—from Algeria to various metropolises.

There appears to be little in the Algerian context depicted by Fanon's "Concerning Violence" to suggest that being *saved* through ousting the colonialist would lead to a richer spiritual and material life for the natives. Yet the word itself is part of the new "vocabulary" of rebellion, and that word has religious connotations pertaining to the religiosity of revolution. For the only way, it would appear, that one can be saved from a massacre, as opposed to being spared in one, is to render the killer(s) immobile. While dispersal or destruction of one's enemy formation may not be sufficient for salvation, it presents a good start for creating something that would resemble redemption. Part of the puzzle or challenge of being saved is how to stay alive and stay saved; that is, it is not a onetime achievement or acquisition but an ongoing struggle. The revolution that must come the rebellion that precedes it and await the rebellion that will come means that *henceforward* is a war without end, movement without end. *Henceforward* is the name for the struggle that must always begin again.

The new beings, the rebel intellectuals, birthed in *henceforward*, become the target of military and police disciplinary and disappearing tactics, strategies enhanced by the betrayals of collaborators, natives, or captives seeking security or status within the colonizing or enslaving castes. They are those who have not merged into *everyone*—not all receive or answer the call.

Yet the conscious new political being understands the goal and essential nature of struggle: comprehension of the unity of the oppressed, not the resolution of battles for freedom. This sounds cerebral in the midst of a bloodletting, but the metaphysical and the material mingle. When the one individual, solitary rebel is recognized as *everyone* and everyone as she, and all act in accordance with that recognition, then the war is won (and the next war waits in the wings). Poverty may persist. Violence may continue. Lives are crippled and remain so or are lost. Still, transformation has manifested. The indissoluble ties of the individual and the mass seeking freedom result from their internalizations of the other. The new being, the rebel intellectual, is now cyborg; it is individual and collective, in overt and covert rebellion, alive because everyone has now become mechanized in its rebellion, with the spiritual force of freedom driving it—biological, mechanical, divine.

The essential duty of the *one* is to struggle for the realization or consciousness of the cyborg. The cyborg is born at that moment in which the convergence of interests among anyone and *everyone* seeking or dodging freedom is inescapable and inescapably recognized; the cyborg glimpses the possibilities of permanent revolution, as the veil descends. This convergence is cemented in more than blood and rational choice. It is shaped by imagination and memory, longing and aversion.

The Process of Decolonization and Mutually Assured Destruction

Fanon's 1960s writings about the Algerian war of liberation from the French illuminate aspects of the 1980s Cold War's détente. The first, like all of the post-World War II battles for freedom in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Middle East (and the "internal colonies" in the Americas and beyond), was asymmetrical warfare. The Cold War was not. Both forms of warfare, hot or cold, were in the postwar era largely fought on or against the bodies of the colonized.²

To inhibit nuclear proliferation between two waning empires, the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), diplomats and activists crafted new vocabulary. Mutual assured destruction (MAD) was coined as the language of rational-minded Westerners seeking to preserve what they had accumulated or appropriated. In order to avoid an apocalypse—at least for the imperial crowd—sobering reality would dictate the demilitarization of East and West and the playing out of antagonisms on Third World terrain where the casualties against bodies already dehumanized by

Europe would not create significant political collateral damages in either democracies or dictatorships of the people.³

“Concerning Violence” exhibits contempt for superpowers and their respective blocs or adherents for the native who has completed a revolutionary struggle against the colonizer and now enters the world arena as a leader. For Fanon, diplomacy is simply another war strategy or strategy of maneuver to safeguard the newly emerging nation that seeks to avoid becoming a neo-colony or a “failed state.” Fanon offers the possibilities of a diplomacy that is dynamic, alive, and insurgent: a “strange contrast to the motionless, petrified world of colonization” (1963: 78). He cites several examples of “boorish” or inappropriate behavior on the part of those ostracized or distanced by the West: “[When] Mr. Khrushchev brandishes his shoe at the United Nations, or thumps the table with it, there’s not a single ex-native, nor any representative of an underdeveloped country, who laughs. For what Mr. Khrushchev shows the colonized countries which are looking on is that he, the *moujik*, who moreover is the possessor of space rockets, treats those miserable capitalists in the way that they deserve” (78).

Fanon finds the theatre of Soviets similar to that of the Cuban representatives, although only the latter fought a prolonged bloody war in the postwar period. Thus there is a profound difference in the ways in which Fanon describes the implications of Nikita Khrushchev’s pounding of foot-gear and Fidel Castro’s presentation of war as bloodshed, not mere theater:

In the same way, Castro sitting in military uniform in the United Nations Organization does not scandalize the underdeveloped countries. What Castro demonstrates is the consciousness he has of the continuing existence of the rule of violence. The astonishing thing is that he did not come into the UNO with a machine-gun; but if he had would anyone have minded? All the *jacqueries* and desperate deeds, all those bands armed with cutlasses or axes find their nationality in the implacable struggle which opposes socialism and capitalism. (78)

There is a violence reserved for the colonized both as receiver and as proponent that seems predictable and part of the biopolitical world he or she is reduced to living and being perceived as living. Khrushchev by some accounts actually seems to have enjoyed his visit to the United States (embracing at arm’s length, with considerable threat, his distant Euro cousins). The same cannot be said of Castro (who would be subject to multiple assassination attempts by the CIA), unless one counts perhaps his visit with Malcolm X in Harlem and his stay at the Theresa Hotel in Harlem when

hotels in downtown Manhattan denied accommodations for the Cuban leader and his entourage.

“Concerning Violence” intimates that the Soviet/Eastern bloc would be an adventurer in Third World freedom and as opportunistic as the West in its own fashion. However, Fanon does not explicate, writing in the height of decolonization struggles against Western imperialism and before the Soviet collapse, how the specter of Western colonization and the benign face of Soviet domination, through weapons and currency to those seeking freedom from the West and United States, might in fact mutate into a shared body or host. One cohort in alliance against black freedom, one corporate-military state conglomerate that understood its feeding grounds to be the “wretched of the earth”—the black, brown, yellow bodies who had not morphed or blossomed into cyborgs capable of resisting colonization and slavery.

Understandably Fanon need not depict an adversary so grotesque in its abilities to consume black life. He can focus on the colonialist, the French settler as the enemy formation, although this colonialist or settler is actually just an errand boy for another, more formidable foe. Fanon, without confronting the increasing concentration of military power and finance witnessed in the twenty-first century, offers a redemptive possibility beyond enlightenment or rational self-interest or choice; he offers an apocalypse of sorts. For when the “one” solitary merges with others to become the revolutionary, he or she is no longer a conventional human. As cyborg, as one/mass unified against the divine, mechanical, and biological terror of the colonizer, as its own biological, mechanical, and divine formation, a human being as a conventional being no longer exists (at least momentarily).

Revolutions of course mark the end of time and space as conventionally understood and relied on. What happens when the human becomes part machine and part divine, the alternate manifestation to what the Fourteenth Amendment to the US Constitution, an amendment theoretically crafted for former enslaved blacks, created when it enabled corporations to become cyborgs by allowing them humanity or political personhood? What, then, is the predictability of time and space in a struggle between cyborgs? And would such a struggle of unequal equals be a form of MAD?

If the enslaved or colonized disappear as materiality and consciousness, then the consciousness of the enslaver and colonialist is left homeless, a roaming ghost, the zombie that Fanon mocks the native for fearing more than her oppressor or the secret police. The enslaver and the colonialist without the slave or native cannot haunt themselves. Thus the colonialist or

enslaver would be insane or suicidal to usher in the *henceforward* moment in which every native is massacred. The disintegration of the multitude of individual natives is based on their common vulnerabilities to suffering as slaves or colonized folks. Their pain becomes a weapon against their oppressor (who, although decapitated, is still capable of a lethal strike).

Fanon lays out the minimum demands of the colonized in the face of the realities of subjugation: “the proof of success lies in a whole social structure being changed from the bottom up” (1963: 35). The structure is not to be abolished or disappeared; it is to be altered by personnel changes. The colonized is to change places with the colonizer, to substitute him or her in his or her social, economic, political (and libidinal?) standing. The maximum demands from the colonized, if in fact there are any—that is, if in fact she or he is capable of the imagination to have visions rather than mere dreams—remain unspoken. Perhaps because the shadow of the colonizer and enslaver figures so large in the cultural, political, and economic landscapes, it has been interiorized into the minds of even the rebels and revolutionaries. The Manichaeon requires a frightful, bloody dance that never ceases; one can never lose one’s partner; there is no “dialectic” promotional here for freedom in *The Wretched of the Earth’s* “Concerning Violence.” Without *henceforward*, there is only MAD.

Violence and Morality

In “Concerning Violence,” Fanon offers a definition of revolutionaries in search of freedom predicated on truth not deception: “the *fellah*, the unemployed man, the starving native do not lay a claim to the truth; they do not say that they represent the truth for they *are* the truth” (1963: 49).⁴

For Fanon, “Truth is the property of the national cause. . . . Truth is that which hurries on the break-up of the colonialist regime; it is that which promotes the emergence of the nation; it is all that protects the natives, and ruins the foreigners” (1963: 50). He sounds apocalyptic, but his commitment here is for the nation-state, not for “humanity” in general. Fanon preserves the native in human form and recognizes that truth is about change. Change is inevitable. Progress is not. Revolutions bring about change, true, but not all revolutions bring freedom. For Fanon, the native can challenge imposed immobility if and when he or she “decides to put an end to the history of colonization—the history of pillage—and to bring into existence the history of the nation—the history of decolonization” (51).

What we recognize now, from the vantage point of the early twenty-first century, half a century after Fanon's *Les damnés de la terre* was published in English, is that transforming the colony into the independent nation was not the endpoint of revolutionary struggle or even its midmark. The nation is as passé or anachronistic today as the colony was in the mid-twentieth century. The entity to be transformed and liberated today is both individual and collective. The revolutionary objective is to be freed from a humanity which under centuries of capitalism and imperialism has become another commodity in the marketplace. One sold with the accessories of Western democracy, consumer culture, mass advertising, and excess juxtaposed with increasing deforestation of lands and devastation of seas, and the extinction of species or their patenting by biotechnology firms.

Fanon as the observer and chronicler is not the fellah. So he is not the "truth"; he relays it through analyses and words, always one step or level removed from total intimacy with and surrender to it. The truth may be that not only what hurries on the demise of the settler but the demise of the fellah as well is truth. And what better, quicker break from the fellah, former captive, wannabe administrator, than to allow him or her to be reborn as cyborg?

Decolonization "sets out to change the order of the world," making it for Fanon a "program of complete disorder" (36). (One hears this echoed in prison theorist, Black Panther Party field marshal George L. Jackson's call for "perfect disorder" in *Blood in My Eye* [1996].) Faced with two "species"—the colonized native and the colonizing settler—Fanon envisions violence as the historical and futuristic trajectory resulting from first contact. And it is this violence that must be resolved in revolutionary struggle. If the New Testament philosophical/metaphysical injunction is read by Fanon as a Manichaean material struggle that realizes that "the last shall be first and the first last" (37), then there is nothing but the physicality of violence to resolve the contest and to realize the divine law.⁵ Divine law seems to be attended often by sacrifice and suffering and by violence. Evil seems never easily to succumb to good, nor does good succumb to evil, even when racialization is not part of the pattern. Yet, when is it not? Fanon describes how the Manichaean logic of racism represents the native in zoological terms. The colonizer "speaks of the yellow man's reptilian motions, of the stink of the native quarter, of breeding swarms, of foulness, of spawn, of gesticulations. When the settler seeks to describe the native fully in exact terms he constantly refers to the bestiary" (1963: 42).⁶

White supremacy is part of the religion of finance and acquisition; thus Fanon describes how colonizers constructed Manichaeism, the struggle of good versus evil, as a racial and political mandate:

The colonial world is a Manichean world. It is not enough for the settler to delimit physically, that is to say with the help of the army and the police force, the place of the native. As if to show the totalitarian character of colonial exploitation the settler paints the native as a sort of quintessence of evil. . . . The native is declared insensible to ethics; he represents not only the absence of values, but also the negation of values. He is, let us dare to admit, the enemy of values, and in this sense he is the absolute evil. (1963: 41)

With such proclamations, both explicit and subtle, the settler state or colonizing culture is able to declare total war against the native as not only the enemy of the state but also the enemy of the present and future civilization. Thus for Fanon, “The native who decides to put the program into practice, and to become its moving force is ready for violence at all times. From birth it is clear to him that this narrow world, strewn with prohibitions, can only be called in question by absolute violence” (37).

The violence introduced not by the native but by the settler is the necessary requirement to enslave, control, exploit, and manipulate. If the natives have been transformed into the perfect or complete victims—acquiescent, passive, obedient, conformist, and mimetic—then to undo their slavery requires a violent transformation they must undergo by their own hands. This self-making requires that the slave become rebel or revolutionary. The willingness to meet violence with violence at all levels is what renders her or him mechanical, and thus divine, above moral law or the laws of man.

What is absolute violence, then? Is it measured by scope, by magnitude, by the unease and terror that it excites? If the world that the settler made out of the forced labor and sacrifices of the native is to die, what will be born from its ash? And what should one do with the settler bodies that remain after the reversal, now read as an apocalypse?

It might be useful to note here that the Fanonian colonial situation differs from the slave situation. The slavery of the native in the invaded territory is analogous to but not synonymous with the slavery of the native exported to other shores, who meets the colonizing settler amid the bodies of the natives already militarily vanquished. Even though Fanon’s writings would inspire black radicals in the United States and in the 1960s would circulate among black revolutionaries in prison such as Jackson or other affiliates or members of the Black Panther Party, among hundreds and

thousands seeking to comprehend the limits and aspirations of black power, or brown power, or red power, the setting was off. The differences were both important and essential between slavery in the colonial world of the external foreign territory and slavery inside the imperial world of the internal foreign territory. The native nigger in his/her own land inhabits a world that predated invasion; the native nigger as export does not.

The absolute violence that Fanon writes about as the tool or technique by which one counters colonization and the reconstruction of the black human as black victim or host to parasites has its imaginary limits set by antiblack violence that originates in the colonizing state and its settlers. To be taken from the land, another "old world" (Europe was not the only one), and deposited into a "new world," another indigenous peoples' old world made "new" by the genocidal violence used to wipe it clean of power structures that prohibit colonization, is an act of violence that *The Wretched of the Earth*, based in the Algerian War against France, cannot envision due to its locale. Fanon writes, "The governing race is first and foremost those who come from elsewhere" (40). Yet, the governed race in the specificity of the black American experience is first and foremost about those who come from another territory, who are "unlike the original inhabitants" (40). This would include both the Native Americans and the Europeans who imported enslaved African bodies.

The possibility that the mechanics of structures might have consumed the humanity of the colonialist, that the slave master or mistress might be captive to slave bureaucracy, would not be taken seriously in "Concerning Violence." To ask "What if the colonizing enslaver is also a 'slave'?" would smack of humanism or New Testament sentimentality. If the mechanisms of capitalism/imperialism, patriarchy/heterosexism, and white supremacy alter culture writ large, then rebellions spring from multiple sites.⁷

Nonetheless, the meanings of violence from both the colonizing settler and the colonized native are different. Their fundamental distinctions mark not just the end of the world but the end of humanity. At the end of humanity, one sees the birth of the black cyborg rebels within the internal colonies, the inner organs of the empire or nation-state.

Conclusion: Black Cyborg Rebellions

Fanon's "Concerning Violence" rebellion against colonization and slavery offers dreams of freedom but little vision of a posthuman or posthumanist world. His redemption appears in the same world, one now with black

“sinners” leading the white “saints.” Essentially, this is the same driven world but with different persona at the helm. Power relations are inverted, not transcended, for the world remains a domain for humans trying to prove or disprove humanity and thus their right to rule. One is left to wonder about a world in which the native, fellah, and sistah relinquish the fight to be considered “human,” and subsequently folded into the national or international communities, and seek instead to become black cyborg rebels—biological-mechanical-divine entities in service to freedom. (Some might argue that the “true” cyborg rebel comes from slavery, not from colonization; only slavery destroyed the full humanity of both the master and the enslaved as well as the terrain that gives meaning to one’s past.)

The ability to refuse blackness-as-victimization and reconstitute blackness-as-resistance may be the black cyborg rebel’s only real possession. Blackness no longer as the negation or target of white supremacy maneuvers as something no longer human, or subhuman or deficient in humanity. *Human* and *black* have been constructed as oxymoronic for at least half a millennium in the West (and longer elsewhere). The Underground Railroad, as an escape path away from the gravitational pull of whiteness-as-mastery, would entail a flight from the “human” as well.

The cyborg rebel’s three-in-one trinity—divine, biological, mechanical—offers an unlikely road toward freedom for Fanon. The scientist who reduces the divine to superstition or colonialist propaganda, the biological to the colonizer’s war against nature embodied in the native, and the mechanical to technologies of warfare and finance that enabled the colonialist to triumph, would not pursue this line of inquiry. Yet, Fanon writes that if the morality of the colonizer is to break the native’s spirit, then the morality of the native is to rekindle that spirit by breaking the settler’s “flaunting violence” and by putting him “out of the picture” (1963: 44).

It is only one step more in imagination to put the human out of the picture, to banish the unending genocidal squabbles over who is “human.” Costly struggles to possess or refashion the prize, the social construct “human,” may not in fact be revolutionary battles but skirmishes. Given that the gravity of and triumph in warfare are not determined by body counts, perhaps rethinking the “thinking body” as something different but not necessarily superior to human might be one of the few rewards for centuries of rebellions against violence. The cyborg embrace might be one strategy toward freedom that distinguishes the dreamers from the visionaries, the *henceforward* moment that puts another game into play.

Notes

- 1 A discussion of black cyborgs and black suffering appears in Vargas and James (2012).
- 2 For a critique of Zbigniew Brzezinski's mutual deterrence, see James 1996.
- 3 The nuclear arms race did not cease solely because of enlightened self-interest or MAD. Economics had a role to play as did the shared sensibilities of white supremacy in which the "colonies" both external and internal were designed and maintained as inferior to their European Western, Euro-settler Western, and Euro-Eastern imperialists. The United States and the USSR battled by purchasing weapons systems that would never be deployed (and some such as Ronald Reagan's "shield" were not even operable). In the process they depleted their respective national economies. Reagan could drastically cut back on social services and deunionize jobs through antiblack racial scapegoating. The Soviets dismantled their empire through perestroika and glasnost as the former USSR transitioned into nonstate capitalism. The larger mechanics of capitalism, controlled or administered by governmental elites in both the East and the West, created two empires that had more in common with each other than with the so-called Third World. Thus, Fanon could condemn both socialism and capitalism in his opening chapter to *The Wretched of the Earth*.
- 4 In this stage or phase of resistance to oppression, Fanon offers a severe criticism of the colonized or recognized intellectual—the one who is always maneuvering as an "opportunist," the colonized or native intellectual, the black intellectual—who in the early phase of resistance "over-stresses details and thereby comes to forget that the defeat of colonialism is the real object of struggle" (1963: 50). Yet, the defeat of colonialism is not possible without the defeat of humanity, which permitted colonialism and slavery to arise, endure, and mutate.
- 5 Fanon gives an example referring to Senegalese president Léopold Sédar Senghor, who "Africanized the Europeans" by demanding that the higher posts in government be given to Africans. Fanon writes that in this case the "native can see clearly and immediately if decolonization has come to pass or not, for his minimum demands are simply that the last shall be first" (1963: 46).
- 6 This would include "those children who seem to belong to nobody" (Fanon 1963: 43). Hence, one imagines that from the 1955 killing of Emmett Till in Mississippi to the 2012 slaying of Trayvon Martin in Florida the "animal world" is at the disposal of and exists at the pleasure and consumption of the "human" world; the black and native appear legitimately only in the former. This would include "those children who seem to belong to nobody" (43). During the time of the English publication of Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, the 1963 Birmingham church bombing and the murders of preteens Addie Mae Collins, Carole Robertson, Cynthia Wesley, and Denise McNair registered the tragedy of the black "animal world" at the disposal of the white "human world."
- 7 There is in Fanon's narrative no possibility of the colonizer "going native." Yet this is part of Americana moral culture, the right to choose enacted by those of the enslaving or colonizing castes. In US pre-Civil War history, revolutionary abolitionist John Brown was incarcerated for forty days and nights before the US government executed him for leading the raid on Harpers Ferry. In a twentieth-century Hollywood blockbuster,

Kevin Costner's Euro-American Civil War soldier flees a corrupt and inept army to become one of the indigenous outlaws in the sentimentally racist *Dances with Wolves* (1990), a narrative of a white man's moral burden reprised decades later in James Cameron's *Avatar* (2009).

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