



Workshop on Frantz Fanon (1925-1961)

Content



- AAPRP
- Fanon: A Biography
- Fanon on Colonial Violence and (Settler) Colonialism
- Fanon as a Revolutionary Pan-Africanist
- Fanonism, Cabralism, Toureism & the mass character of liberation struggles

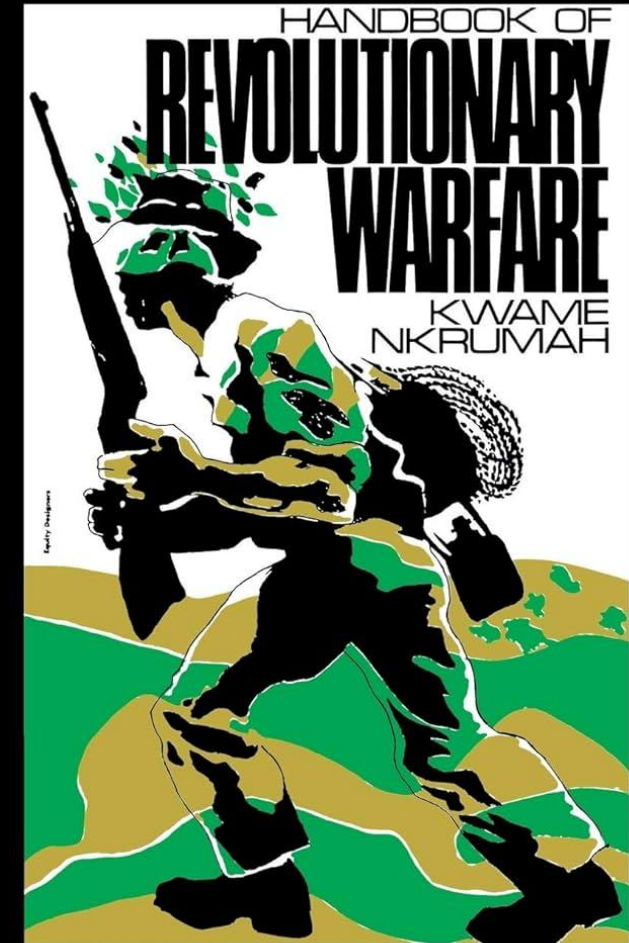
All-African People's Revolutionary Party (A-APRP)



- Founded in Guinea Conakry in 1968
- Goal: a political organization that coordinates the global liberation struggle of African people (Nkrumah, 1968)

„The total liberation and unification of Africa under an All-African Socialist Government must be the primary objective of all Black revolutionaries throughout the world. It is an objective which, when achieved, will bring about the fulfillment of the aspirations of Africans and people of African descent everywhere.”

- Kwame Nkrumah (1968)





Fanon: A Brief Biography



Fanon pre-WWII

- Born 20th July 1925 in Martinique
- Meets Aimé Césaire in 1940
- Fights in WWII, returns disillusioned
- *"The middle class in the Antilles never speak Creole except to their servants. In school the children of Martinique are taught to scorn the dialect. One avoids Creolisms. Some families completely forbid the use of Creole, and mothers ridicule their children for speaking it."*
 - Frantz Fanon (1952)





Fanon post-WWII

- Completed Secondary Education under Césaire
- Fanon took part in Césaire's successful campaign to be elected to the French parliament as a member of the Communist Party
- Studies in Lyon under a war veterans grant (1945-1951)
- Close to local PCF, also inner circle of *Presence africaine*
- *Black Skins, White Masks* published in 1952 (rejected as a dissertation)
- Saint Alban psychiatric hospital: “institutional psychotherapy” (François Tosquelles)
- Construction of **model community** within hospital





Fanon and Psychiatry: The Algiers School

- **Algiers school** of psychiatry (Antoine Porot)
- White race incarnation of “higher civilization” (climatic theories, psycho social evolution)
- Hostility to Islam (seen as pathogenic agent)
- **North-African features:** lack of intellectual curiosity, suggestibility, magical modes of thought, chronic laziness, fatalism, criminal impulsiveness etc.





Fanon and Psychiatry: Blida-Joinville to FLN

- *chef de service* (chief of staff) for the psychiatric ward of the Blida-Joinville hospital in Algeria in 1953.
- patients treated like prisoners, Muslims walled off from Europeans, individual patients kept in isolation from one another
- Treats torturers and tortured

"The doctor is not socially defined by the exercise of his profession alone. He is likewise the owner of mills, wine cellars, or orange groves, and he coyly speaks of his medicine as simply a supplementary source of income. [...] In the colonies, the doctor is an integral part of colonisation, of domination, of exploitation"

- Frantz Fanon (1954)





Fanon and Psychiatry: Blida-Joinville to FLN

- *"We had naively taken our division as a whole and believed we had adapted to this Muslim society the frames of a particular Western society at a determinate period of its technological evolution. We had wanted to create institutions and we had forgotten that all such approaches must be preceded with a tenacious, real and concrete interrogation into the organic bases of the indigenous society. **By virtue of what impairment of judgement had we believed it possible to undertake a western-inspired social therapy in a ward of mentally ill Muslim men?**"*
- *"It was not madness that inspired respect, patience, indulgence, it was man affected by madness, by genies; it was man as such. The attentive care that one lavishes on a tubercular patient, does it imply a particular sentiment vis-à-vis tuberculosis itself? **Respect for the madman because he remains, in spite of everything, a man; and to the madman because he is subject to enemy forces.**"*



Fanon and Psychiatry: Blida-Joinville to FLN

- Regular meetings with FLN 1955, house militants in hospitals
- Resigns in January 1957, moved to Tunis:

"There comes a time when silence becomes dishonesty. The ruling intentions of personal existence are not in accord with the permanent assaults on the most commonplace values. For many months my conscience has been the seat of unpardonable debates. And the conclusion is the determination not to despair of man, in other words, of myself. The decision I have reached is that I cannot continue to bear a responsibility at no matter what cost, on the false pretext that there is nothing else to be done."

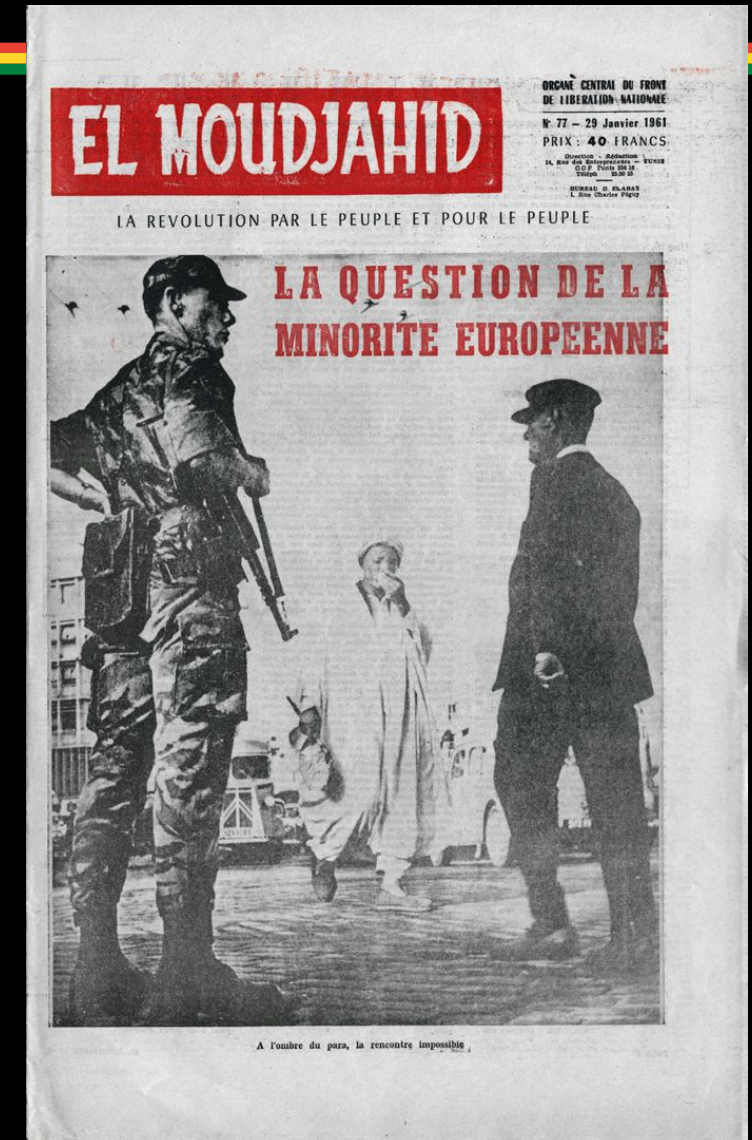
- Frantz Fanon, *Letter of resignation to the Resident Minister*



Fanon in Struggle until 1961



- Editor of *El Moudjahid* 1957-1960
- Second Congress of Black Writers and Artists 1959 (*littérature de combat*)
- Ambassador to Africa to the provisional Algerian government (GPRA) in 1959
- February 1960, Fanon was appointed as an Ambassador to Ghana of the GPRA as a permanent representative in Accra for the All-African People's Conference
- Writes "*Wretched of the Earth*" in 10-week period while dying of Leukemia
- Dies 6th December 1961





Fanon on Colonial Violence and (Settler) Colonialism



Settler Colonialism

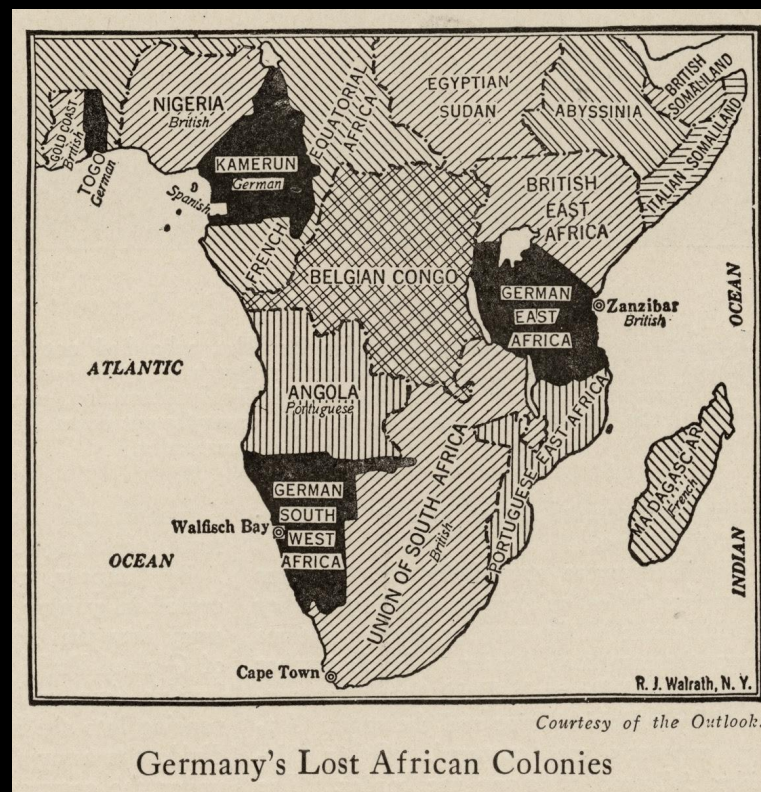
*“Settler-colonialism describes the **logic and operation of power** when colonizers arrive and settle on lands already inhabited by another group. Importantly, settler colonialism operates through a **logic of elimination**, seeking to eradicate the original inhabitants through violence and other genocidal acts and to replace the existing spiritual, epistemological, political, social, and ecological systems with those of the settler society.”*

-McKay et. al.



Examples of Settler Colonialism

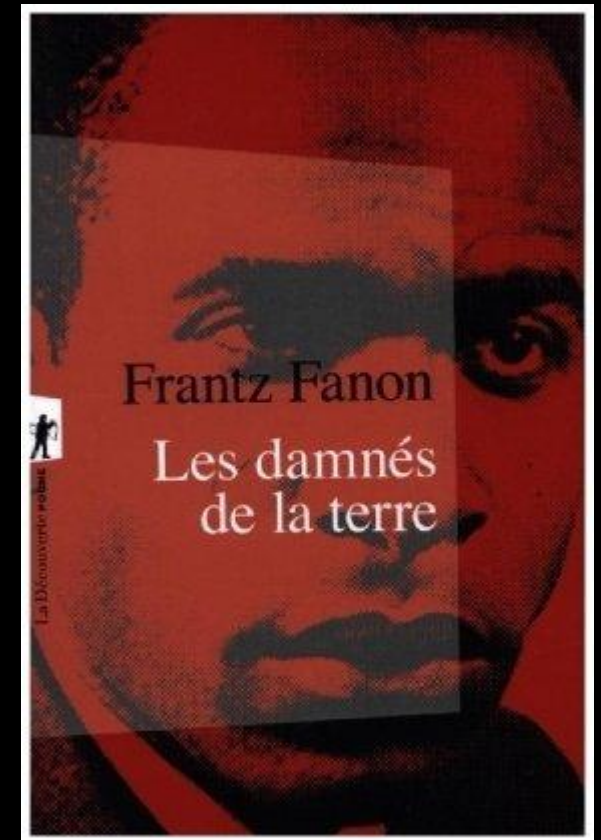
- **Germany claimed several territories in Africa as colonies (“protectorates”) beginning in 1884, including present-day Namibia as a settler colony.**
- **Germany considered it its right, as a nation of „Herrenmenschen“ to secure itself a „Platz an der Sonne“ through occupation, enslavement, rape, torture and genocide, as the other colonial powers did.**
- **Our ancestors mounted a heroic resistance against the oppressors: “where there is oppression, there will be resistance” (Assata Shakur)**



Fanonism



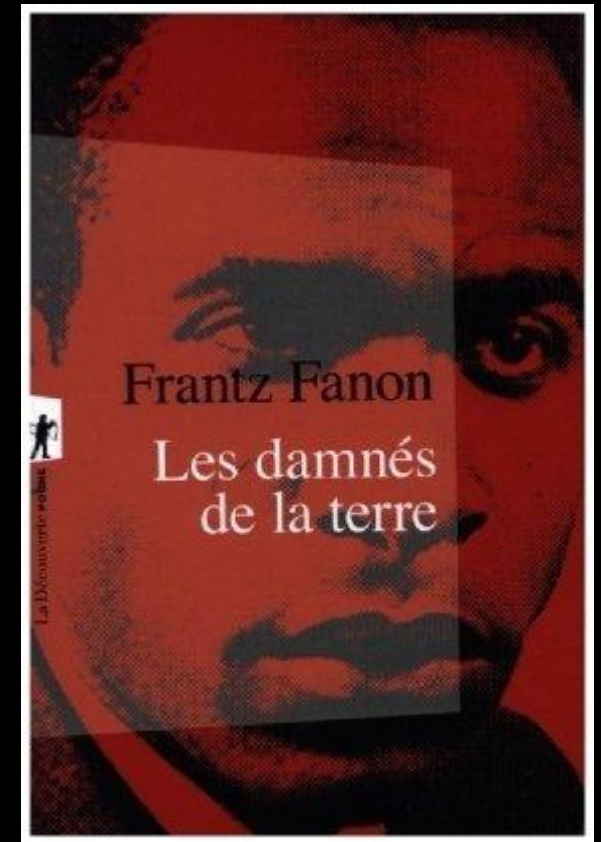
“For a colonized people, the most essential value, because it is the most meaningful, is first and foremost the land: the land, which will provide bread and finally, dignity.” (Fanon, 1961)



Fanonism



“In the colonies the economic infrastructure [base] is also a superstructure. **The cause is effect: You are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich.** This is why a Marxist analysis should always be slightly stretched when it comes to addressing the colonial issue. [...] It is not the factories, the estates, or the bank account which primarily characterize the ‘ruling class’. The ruling species is first and foremost the outsider from elsewhere, different from the indigenous population.” (Fanon, 1961)





Fanon against Fascism / Colonialism

„at the level of the individual and human rights what is fascism but colonialism at the very heart of traditionally colonialist countries?”
(Fanon, 1961)





Excuse: Césaire & Independence

Fascism as „terrific boomerang (*formidable choc en retour*)“ of European colonialism (Césaire, 1950)

„The imperial boomerang is the thesis that governments that develop repressive techniques to control colonial territories will eventually deploy those same techniques domestically against their own citizens.”



Group Work: Read, Discuss, Take Notes

On Colonialism:

- Excerpts of *The Wretched of the Earth: Concerning Violence* (p.35,37,40,43,58-60,69)
http://hyle.mobi/Reading_Groups/Concerning%20Violence,%20Frantz%20Fanon/



On Colonial Complicity of the Colonial Proletariat:

- Excerpts of *Toward the African Revolution:*
Algeria Face to Face with the French Torturers (p.65-66)
French Intellectuals and Democrats and the Algerian Revolution (p.76-78, p.80-82, p.85-86, p.90)



Settler Colonialism:

- John Trimble: "Imperialism was built on settler-colonialism" (4 Pages)
<https://hoodcommunist.org/2022/05/12/imperialism-was-built-on-settler-colonialism/>





Fanon as a Revolutionary Pan-Africanist

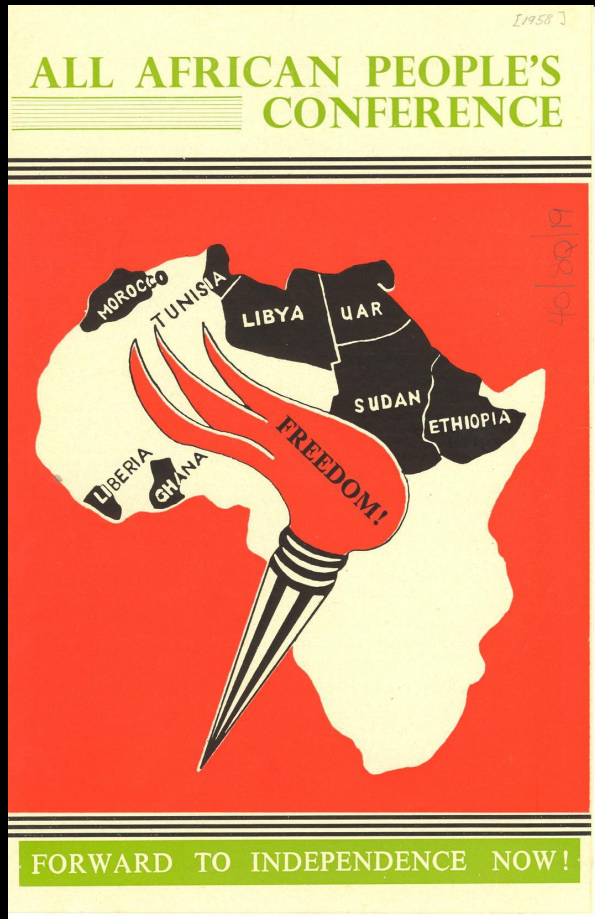


Revolutionary Pan-Africanism

„The total liberation and unification of Africa under an All-African Socialist Government must be the primary objective of all Black revolutionaries throughout the world. It is an objective which, when achieved, will bring about the fulfillment of the aspirations of Africans and people of African descent everywhere.“
(Nkrumah)



Fanon as Revolutionary Pan-Africanist



[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Liberation_Front_\(Algeria\)#/media/File:National_Liberation_Front_\(Algeria\)_logo.svg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Liberation_Front_(Algeria)#/media/File:National_Liberation_Front_(Algeria)_logo.svg)



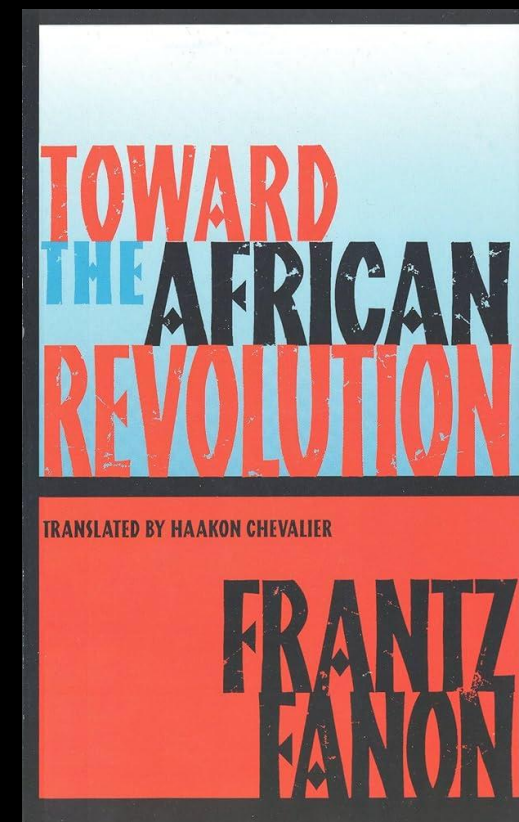
Fanon as Revolutionary Pan-Africanist

- **Personification of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism**

- Caribbean (Martinique)
- Europe (France)
- Northern Africa (Algeria/Tunisia)
- Africa (Ghana, Congo etc.)

- **Key Questions:**

- Persistence of (Neo-)Colonialism
 - Relationship of Colonialism & Fascism
 - Nation / Class Analysis
 - African Unity, Race, Religion and Bourgeois Nationalism
- “Pitfalls of National Consciousness” (Fanon, 1961)





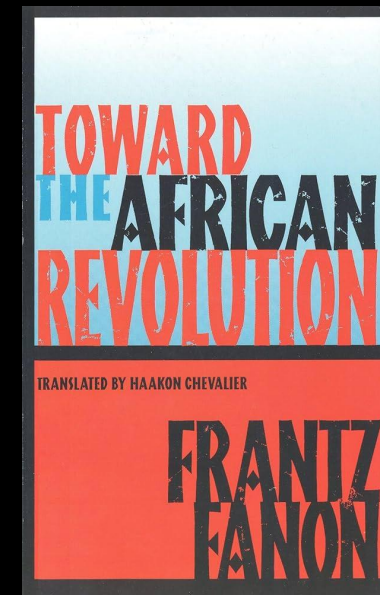
Group Work: Read, Discuss, Take Notes

**Read + Mark or Note Key Messages + Discuss in Groups
(10+10+10 Min):**

- p. 150-152 Chapter “Algeria in Accra”
- p. 170-173 Chapter “Unity and Effective Solidarity Are the Conditions for African Liberation”

OR

- p. 153-157 Chapter “Accra: Africa Affirms Its Unity and Defines Its Strategy.”

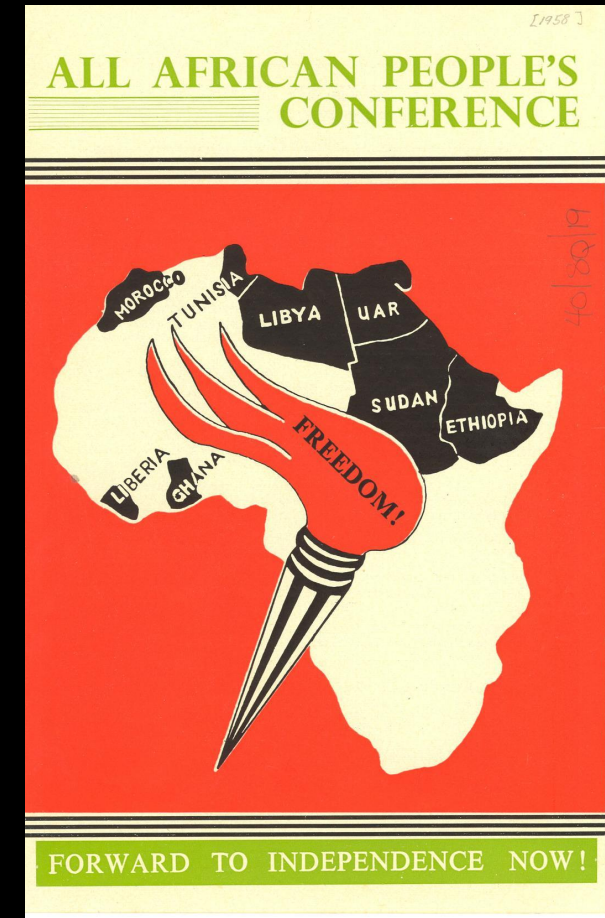


Fanon & All-African People's Conference



- Accra, Ghana: 8–13 December 1958
- **Initially named the Sixth Pan-African Congress**, later retitled the All-African People's Conference, likely reflecting Nkrumah's intent to highlight its significance as **the first of its kind on the continent**
- **organized by Kwame Nkrumah**, his advisor George Padmore, and Ras Makonnen, key figures in the Fifth Pan-African Congress of 1945
- seminal event in the emergence of continental Pan-Africanism
- Notable attendees included Tom Mboya from Kenya, who served as the chairman of the conference; Patrice Lumumba from the Belgian colonized Congo; **Frantz Fanon representing FLN of Algeria**

Fanon at All-African People's Conference



Fanon & Black Panther Party



Black Panther Party BOOK LIST

MALCOLM X	The Autobiography of Malcolm X
FANON, FRANTZ	Wretched of the Earth
NKRUMAH, KWAME	I Speak of Freedom
DAVIDSON, BASIL	The Lost Cities of Africa
APTKEKER, HERBERT	The Nat Turner Slave Revolt
Aptheker, Herbert	American Negro Slave Revolts A Documentary History of the Negro People in the U.S.
Bennett, Lerone Jr. Bontemps, Arna W.	Before the Mayflower American Negro Poetry--Story of the Negro
Cronin, E.D.	Black Moses (The story of Garvey and the UNIA)
DuBois, W.E.B.	Black Reconstruction in America--Souls of Black Folk The World and Africa
Davidson, Basil	Black Mother, the Years of the African Slave Trade
Fanon, Frantz Franklin, John Hope	Studies in a Dying Colonialism From Slavery to Freedom--Negro in the United States
Frazier, C.F. Harrington, Michael Garvey, Marcus	Black Bourgeoisie The Other America Garvey & Garveyism--The Philosophy & Opinions of Garveyism
Herskovitts, Melville J. James, C.L.R. Janheinz, John Jones, LeRoi Lincoln, C.E. Malcolm X Mwmmi, Albert Nkrumah, Kwame Patterson, William L. Rogers, J.A.	The Myth of the Negro Past A History of Negro Revolts MUNTU: The New African Culture Blues People Black Muslims in America Malcolm X Speaks The Colonizer and the Colonized Ghana We Charge Genocide Africa's Gift to America World's Great Men of Color; 3,000 B.C. to 1946 A.D.
Wesley, Charles H. & Woodson, Carter G Woodward, C. Van Wright, Richard	The Negro in Our History The Strange Career of Jim Crow Native Son

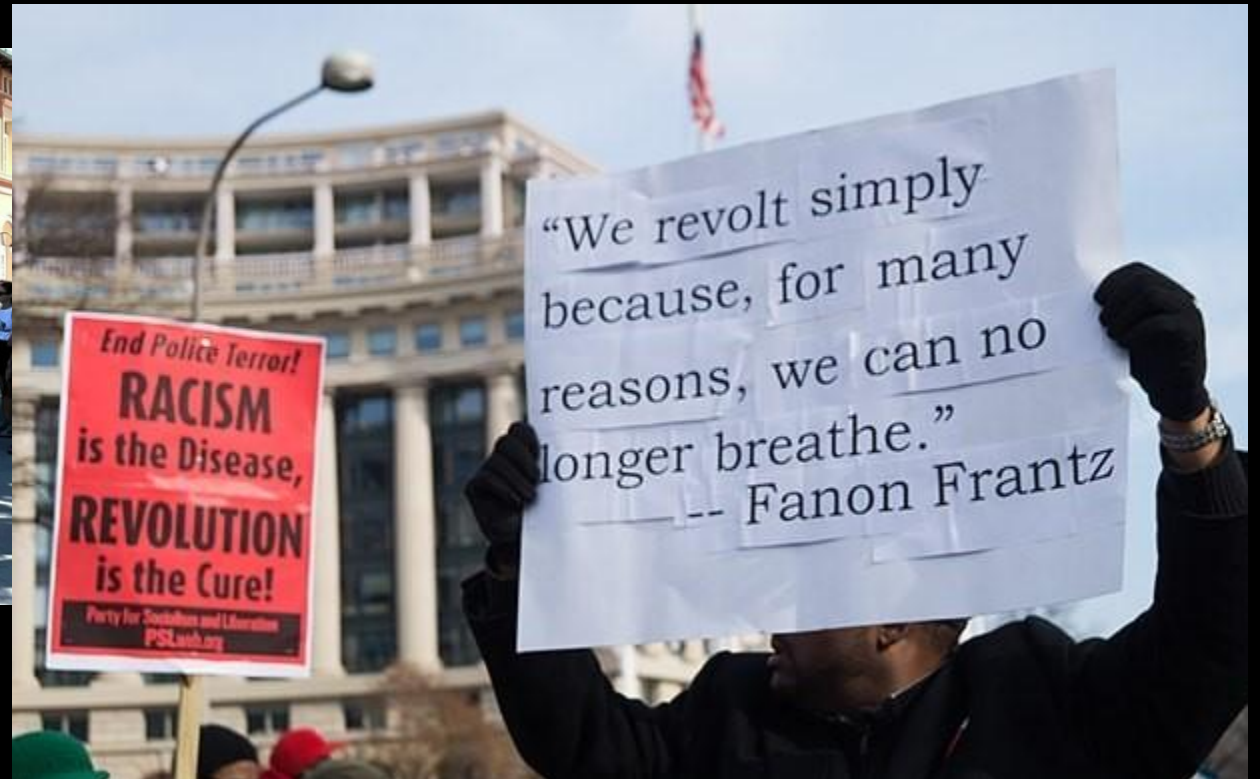
Fanon & Economic Freedom Fighters



Fanon & African Diaspora



<https://toz.de/Initiative-Justice-for-Nelson/16107615/>





Group Work: Read, Discuss, Take Notes

Group 1: Fanon in the African Diaspora Group

Mumia Abu-Jamal: “Frantz Fanon and His Influence on the Black Panther Party and the Black Revolution”, pages 7-12 + 23

OR

“The Black Liberation Army Study Guide”, pages 40-47

Group 2: Fanon in (South) Africa Today

Floyd Shivambu: „Ideological outlook and character of the EFF”, pages 76-79 (4 Seiten)

OR

Mbuyiseni Ndlozi: „What Frantz Fanon teaches us – Statement issued by the Economic Freedom Fighters, 20 July 2016” (1 Seite)



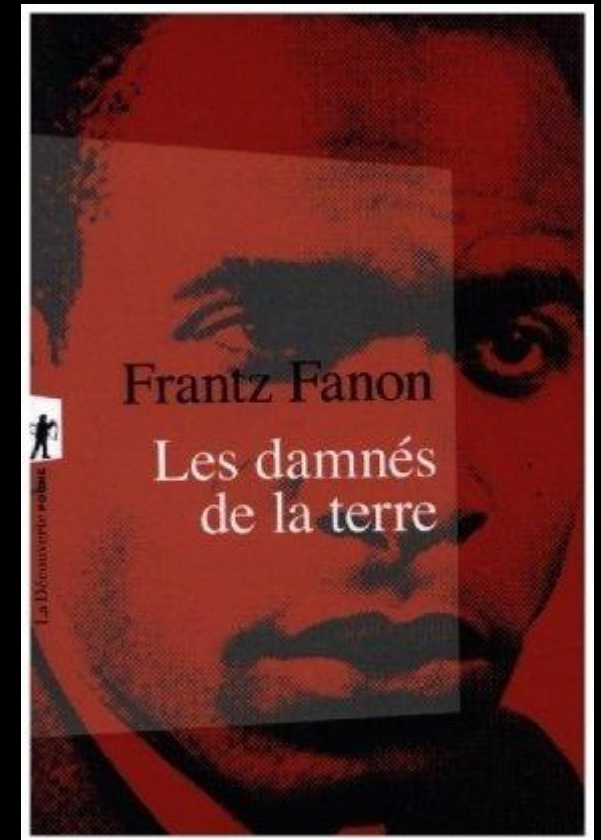
Fanonism, Cabralism, Toureism & the mass character of liberation struggles

Fanonism

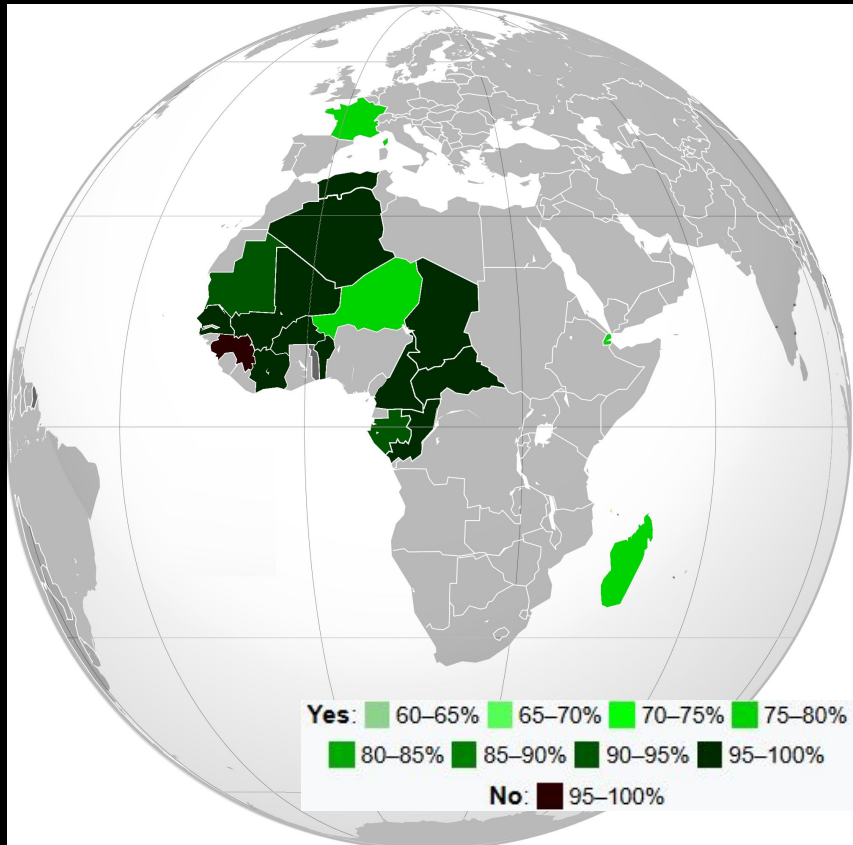


„It is not enough to write a revolutionary hymn to be a part of the African revolution, one has to join with the people to make this revolution. Make it with the people and the hymns will automatically follow. For an act to be authentic, one has to be a vital part of Africa and its thinking, part of all that popular energy mobilized for the liberation, progress and happiness of Africa. Outside this single struggle there is no place for either the artist or the intellectual who is not committed and totally mobilized with the people in the great fight waged by Africa and suffering humanity.”

- Sékou Touré (Fanon, 1961)



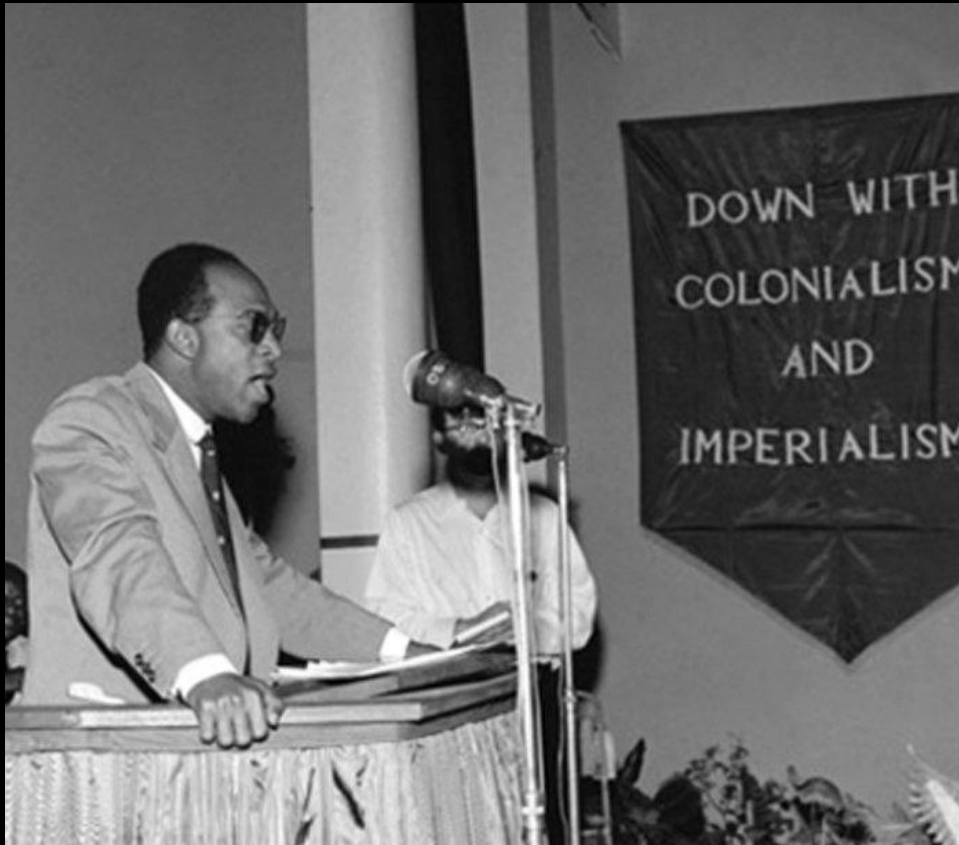
Fanon & Toure



**“NOUS PRÉFÉRONS LA
PAUVRETÉ DANS LA
LIBERTÉ À L'OPULENCE
DANS L'ESCLAVAGE.”**

AHMED SEKOU TOURE

Fanon & Cabral



<https://www.nofi.media/en/2025/04/fanon-revolutionary-black-panther/94596>

ENERO 20, 1976. TERCER ANIVERSARIO DE SU ASESINATO
JANUARY 20, 1976. THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF HIS ASSASSINATION
JANVIER 20, 1976. TROISIEME ANNIVERSAIRE DE SON ASSESSINAT
20 كانون الثاني 1976 - الذكرى الثالثة لاختفاءه



<https://lefteast.org/the-tricontinental-racial-justice-movement/>

Fanon & Cabral



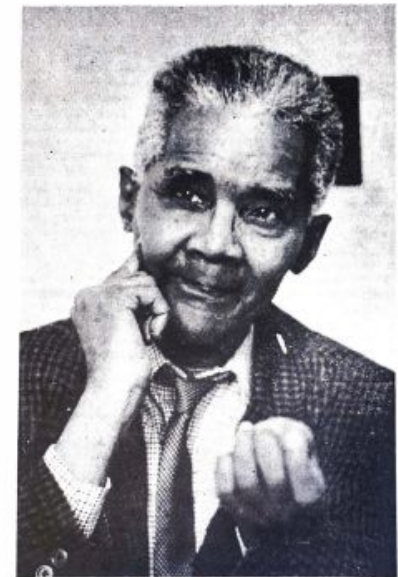
“does history begin only with the development of the phenomenon of ‘class’, and consequently of class struggle? To reply in the affirmative would be to place outside history the whole period of life of human groups from the discovery of hunting, and later of nomadic and sedentary agriculture, to the organization of herds and the private appropriation of land. It would also be to consider - and this we refuse to accept - that various human groups in Africa, Asia, and Latin America were living without history, or outside history, at the time when they were subjected to the yoke of imperialism [...] **if class struggle is the motive force of history, it is so only in a specific historical period** [...] the level of productive forces, the essential determining element in the content and form of class struggle, is the true and permanent motive force of history.” (Cabral, 1966)

Fanonism



“Fanon said: In the nationalist revolution of the twentieth century, the people must be against not only the imperialists. Some of the people's leaders who come forward to lead the revolution have nowhere to lead the people, and revolution must be as fiercely against them as against the imperialists. He said that some of the writers, having learned all they could from Western civilization, will join the revolution, but bring nothing positive and corrupt the revolutionary movement. The intellectuals will have to learn that they must dig deep among the mass of the population to find the elements of a truly national culture.” (James, 1970)

From DuBois to Fanon

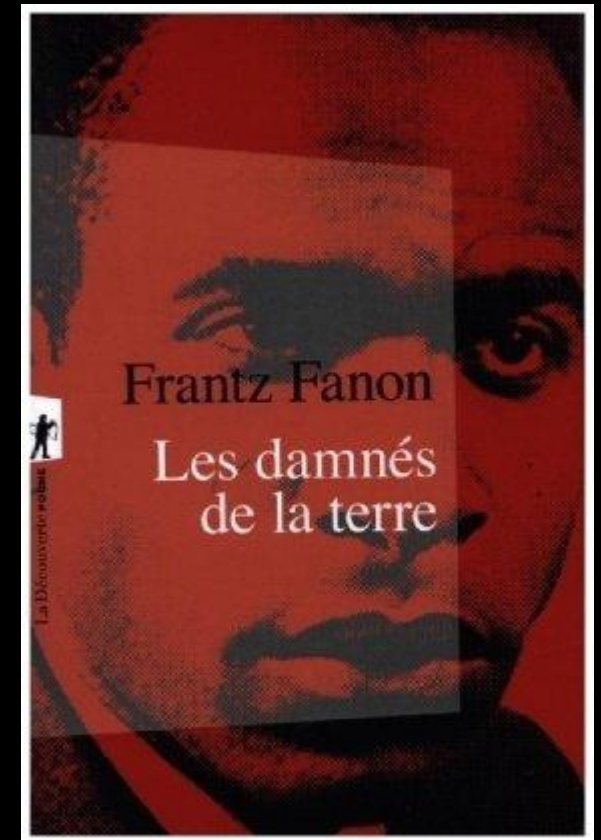


C.L.R. James

Fanonism



„Each generation must discover its mission, fulfill it or betray it, in relative opacity. [...] preceding generations have simultaneously resisted the insidious agenda of colonialism and paved the way for the emergence of the current struggles.“
(Fanon, 1961)





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