

The People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
University Mouloud MAMMERI of Tizi-Ouzou
Faculty of Letters and Languages
Department of English



A Thesis Submitted in Fulfillment for the Degree of Doctorate in English
Option: Civilization

Title

***Thomas Paine and Frantz Fanon: Their Vision of Man
and Their Theory of Revolution***

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ACADEMIC YEAR:2016/2017

Declaration

I hereby attest that all the ideas contained and developed in this thesis are mine. All the sources and references are faithfully acknowledged and are provided at the end of each chapter of the present work.

Saïd GADA

To Nadia, Lydia, Sarah, and Yacine.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I want to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Pr. Bouteldja Riche who suggested me the topic of this research and allowed me to make use of his ideas and feedback and gave me the golden opportunity to deal with this issue and to work on two humanist thinkers, Thomas Paine and Frantz Fanon. His proposition contributed greatly to provide insights that guided and challenged my thinking. He was always willing to help and give his best suggestions. His contribution to the writing of my thesis was paramount in providing some valuable insights, instructive comments, and personal documents. His enduring encouragement and his practical advice have been an inestimable source of support for me during this process. My further thanks go to all the panel of examiners namely Doctor Mohamed Gariti, Professor Mohamed Yazid Bendjeddou, Professor Salah Bouregbi and Doctor Fella Benabed. I am especially grateful to the reading committee members for devoting their precious time to read and assess my dissertation. I very much appreciate their willingness to participate in my defense. I am sure that their feedback will be enlightening; their criticism will be objective and constructive. Finally, I would like to express all my appreciation to my wife, Nadia and our children, Lydia, Sarah, and Yacine. They were constantly there, cheering me up and stood by me through the good and bad times.

Abstract

The aim of this study is to compare and contrast the works of two influential thinkers, Thomas Paine and Frantz Fanon from a dialogic and eclectic perspective. Though separated by time and space, the comparison of their works shows that their thoughts, feelings, and action within the structures of power of their social worlds and their times converge in many aspects. The reached findings can be summarized in what follows: first, the examination of the political, philosophical, social, and cultural significance of their works demonstrates how each of them performed a good deal about ethics and the moral life by concerning themselves with the social consequences of morality and the moral quality of social life. Second, the analysis of Paine's and Fanon's dedication to revolutionary action illustrates the way they serve the cause of man. As an ardent supporter of the American and French Revolutions, Paine re-enacts the principles of the Enlightenment to international politics; he contributed to the establishment of constitutional republics, which safeguard individual rights. Like Paine, Fanon dedicated his short life to the Algerian Revolution and insists on individual rights universally by pointing out the miseries and injustices within twentieth Bourgeois liberalism and colonialism. Therefore, he performs some of the humanist values articulated by Paine in the 18th century using a critical discourse, which abrogates the way Europe adulterated the essential elements of the Enlightenment. The first part of the thesis deals with the theories and key concepts which are applied to study the texts. The context of British and French colonization and revolution in America and Algeria is set as background with an interest in an analysis of Britain's and France's imperial powers over their colonies and their competition over territorial expansion. The findings of the second part reveal Paine's and Fanon's rhetoric strategies which "deconstruct" political and religious "habitus" about the struggle of the American and Algerian peoples while the last part illustrates the way Paine and Fanon perform a social drama staging the suffering of victims of colonial

oppression by studying the two authors' communicative action and their participation to the public sphere.

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General Introduction

When opinions are free, either in matters of government or religion, truth will finally and powerfully prevail

(Thomas Paine)

My final prayer: O my body, make me always a man who questions!

(Frantz Fanon)

The dissenting public intellectual has always been concerned with knowledge and how it is used or misused. His or her function is to protect it where it needs protection and one of the ways to make it advance is through questioning. Far from being a static category or something that comes in a package that stays for eternity, it advances if one keeps questioning the existing knowledge on the basis of evidence. Questioning is not in a wild way, where it does not matter from which angle one is asking the question, but on the way knowledge can be used for serving public interest rather individuals. In this perspective, the present thesis brings together two free thinkers, namely the American Liberal democrat, Thomas Paine (1736-1809) and the Martinican Socialist Frantz Fanon (1925-1961), who questioned, each in his way, orthodox knowledge, not just to make themselves into public figures, but for valued reasons where they felt that questioning had to be done. Though separated by space, time, tradition, and context, the task is to situate their works within the unexplored context of the 18th and 20th century Enlightenment philosophical knowledge.

To explore this contention, emphasis will be put on recovering the conditions of language communication operative in their texts, paying particular attention to their performativity of the existing knowledge and how they moved on to questioning on the basis of evidence and logical reasoning whether that knowledge can be advanced further by performing it or putting it into practice. Paine and Fanon did not write systematic philosophical essays and did not engage directly in metaphysical issues, but their criticism of the established religion, political systems of power and

their involvement in dialogues with intellectuals concerning the political and social debates place them in a special relation to the philosophers of their times. The main argument is to examine the traditions to which they belonged, their struggles against the structures of power to reestablish man's self-respect, and self-determination. Though they are separated by two centuries, the growth of a sense of solidarity, the capacity for making political judgments, and the experience of "Man's happiness" in Paine's and Fanon's writings remain at the margin of the critical studies devoted to these two committed intellectuals. Hence, I intend to explore, from a comparative perspective, the complexities of their thoughts and the plurality of their commitments. By drawing on their perceptions and sensibilities, the task is to explain how historical circumstances and social constructions shape their visions of man and society.

Review of Literature

Previous studies on Paine's life and times have been generally charted in a biography by the American historian David Hawke in his book entitled *Paine* (1992) and in David Powell's *Tom Paine, the Greatest Exile* (1985). Moreover, Jeremy Engels writes about Paine's use of the word "enemyship" as a valuable recurrent rhetorical strategy to introduce a "disciplining democracy" in the early United States. The reviewer suggests that Paine coined the term in *Common Sense*, to unite the North American colonists against Britain by raising their political consciousness and convincing them that neither dialogue nor reconciliation were possible. Engels concludes that Paine, thus, persuaded the colonists that "revolution was the only logical option for Americans who wanted to protect their families from the avaricious reach of monarchal power" (Engels, 2010:21).

Important issues remain to be explored, however, especially the ethical questions Paine poses with regard to his vision of man. Critics write about Paine's radical political ideas, but he has not really figured in the popular revival of the revolutionary generation that is taking place in the USA. Though he was the subject of at least ten biographies during the twentieth century, little attention has been devoted to his ideas, particularly his different commitments to the defense of human dignity and social emancipation. As an illustration, his pamphlet, *Common Sense* (1776), has been universally praised for its effectiveness as propaganda, but little attention is devoted to its contents in relation to the human values it vehicles and the universal precepts it defends. Paine's texts call for a renewed exploration of their humanist dimensions in the context of crisis of the liberal humanist thought of today and his time. The focus will be put on the contribution of Paine to enlarge political debate beyond the narrow confines of the eighteenth century's political action, which has not been adequately discussed or fully investigated by academic researchers. In scholarly circles, Paine has only slowly begun to receive all the critical attention he deserves; his role in the American Revolution has become more obvious after recent studies by Eric Foner's *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (1976), Alfred Owen Aldridge's *Paine's American Ideology* (1984), and Edward Larkin's book *Thomas Paine and the Literature of Revolution* (2005) which examine Paine's literary achievement, and can therefore, be considered as the first book to assess Paine's place in the 18th century print culture. However, to date, scholars have been rarely interested in Paine's American and European careers, in the European sources of his ideas, and the bearing of his American experiences on his later thought. So, this research seeks to look at how Paine performs the dominant ideas of his time during his participation to the American Revolution, and in the course of his performance, he

enlarges the scope of his vision of man, his ethical thought, and his attachment to the ideal of community as a means to guarantee the people's financial protection and social security. Reconsidering Paine from the perspective of performance of the liberal ideas is necessary to temper the political and intellectual preferences of earlier historians and political theorists.

This analysis is meant to provide a more detailed treatment of his ideas and to compare and contrast them with Fanon's, since no previous study has investigated Paine's and Fanon's political thought together. What brings the two thinkers together, though their belonging to separate generations, countries not withstanding cultures, and traditions, is the fact that both look at the dominant issues of their day from a historical and philosophical perspectives. Both respond to nationalist threads, writing at a time of crises of the liberal, and are active if also wary partisans of an idea of man. Both of them tried to regenerate that idea not simply by composing essays about it but by performing it through participation in the two most famous revolutions in the world: the American and Algerian Revolutions. The theories of revolutions that emerge from their engagement in the revolution are marked by the centrality of human values across cultures and nations. Paine's and Fanon's ideas meet in their revolutionary thoughts which aim to free all people from economic exploitation and political subordination hoping, in the words of Joan Cocks, "for a worldwide transvaluation of values" (Cocks, 2002:46).

Contemporary political philosophers and economists have showed more interest in some of Paine's proposals in *Rights of Man* (1791) and *Agrarian Justice* (1795) for a basic income for all those coming of age. Paine's account of the nature of representative democracy has also been the subject of scrutiny by scholars trying to understand why modern democracy appears so disappointing. The present

research intends to deepen this analysis of Paine's humanist project, as it is embodied in his traditional civic republicanism and his belief in the social progress, and his attachment to individual freedom. In so doing, I shall attempt to clarify the major issues that Paine has addressed from a performance perspective. The argument in this research work is to identify the broader disagreements and attempt to address them. Little work has hitherto been undertaken to deal with Paine's involvement in the defense of the ideal of man and little research has been devoted to the examination of his political and philosophical thought, particularly in association with Frantz Fanon. The two revolutionary thinkers have already received the attention of a huge number of scholars, who investigated their respective vision of man and theories of Revolution. However, to my best knowledge, these two aspects of their writings have not been looked at from a comparative and performance perspectives.

Like Paine, most of Fanon's critics have fallen short by failing to consider how his ideas came into being. Some critics present him as an apostle of violence, neglecting his intellectual and humanist dimensions. They argue that Fanon regards violence as a replacement for political action because of his boldly refusal to condemn it explicitly. The most representative critiques in this respect are Michael Sonleitner's *Of Logic and Liberation: Frantz Fanon on Terrorism* (1986), Marie Perinbam's *Holy Violence: Revolutionary Thought of Frantz Fanon* (1982), Sohail Khalid's *Prophets of Violence, Prophets of Peace, and Understanding the roots of contemporary Political Violence* (2005). In addition to the dismissal of which Fanon as an advocate of violence, he has also been rejected by political thinkers such as Hannah Arendt for his obsession with and defense of violence. Such thinkers have not noticed that Fanon wrestled with two poles of this contradiction throughout his

life. In other words, revolutionary violence in Fanon should not be looked at only from the classic Hegelian perspective of the master and slave dialectic but also from the now forgotten erotic view that Hegel developed in his later writings. Critics like Hannah Arendt have not realized that Fanon is also interested in love and not simply in violence. Violence in the form of revolutionary war can also bring out the best in humans not only the worst as they conceive it. Arendt assumes only that Fanon is much more doubtful about violence than his admirers. She points out that violence does not repeat some natural cycle but brings into being something new, even though what this type of political action brings into being is most probably only a more violent world. Consequently, she finds that Fanon is politically irresponsible for advocating violence as part of national liberation (Coks, 2002:63).

Christopher Lee in his *Frantz Fanon: Toward a Revolutionary Humanism* (2015), however, suggests that Fanon uses violence in an instrumental manner. His theory of violence remains more descriptive than prescriptive. Lee writes that “the nuance is sadly missed by both Fanon’s liberal critics and his overenthusiastic supporters, black and white alike”. The reviewer adds that “philosophers like Sartre and Walter Benjamin have produced more intensive work on violence; it does indicate some prejudice that their names do not provoke a spontaneous association with violence while that of Fanon’s does”. Lee argues that “Fanon distinguished between the illegitimacy of the violence of the oppressor and the legitimacy of the violence of the oppressed” (Lee. 2015:136).

However, as I would argue in this research that revolutionary violence for Fanon has not to be looked from the Hegelian perspective of the master-slave dialectic but also from an erotic and aesthetic point of view. Critics have so far taken either the side of the master or the colored “slave” in their life and death struggle for

freedom but have not looked at the human fellowship that emerge from the mutual recognition that ensues.

What is more significant for the purpose of this research is to establish a link between the Enlightenment project and what is supposed to assure human emancipation, turned out to be a source of oppression. For Fanon, the very act of writing became an effective tool of liberation that is a performative act. The ethical and political aspects of Fanon's texts appear through his critique of colonialism, imperialism, and oppression of all kinds. His performance of the humanist values lie in the nature of his struggle for national liberation, his prediction of the effects of decolonization on the social environment and his allegiance to what Antonio Gramsci calls the "simple people" by his call for man's emancipation through a political struggle against poverty, illiteracy and a parasitical bourgeoisie. Some of these ideas are developed in David Macey's work *Fanon: A Life* (2000), which is about the mind and the passion of Fanon as a twentieth century revolutionary man. The same ideas are developed by Lewis R. Gordon (1995), Ato Sekyi-Otu (1996), and Nigel Gibson (2003). In this respect, the present thesis pursues the same critical approach in making a bid for the liberation of Fanon, from the prison house of "an advocate of violence" in which his critics have put him. The strategy consists in re-directing the attention towards his "ethical" concerns by looking at the way with which the transition from revolutionary political violence to a non-violent ethos appears in his texts. To do justice to his writings, one needs to consider his ideas by using an eclectic and dialogic perspective in order to realize that Fanon describes violence while prescribing human fellowship and love as a panacea for it.

It appears from the critical reception of Paine's and Fanon's texts that the two authors have been regarded as key figures of Revolutions, but their performance and celebration of humanist values and their emergent theories of man and revolution have not been fully examined. Beyond the criticism of this critic, this comparative study can be seen as corrective of the revolutionary poetics that failed to bring about the sorts of changes sought by Paine and Fanon. The textual analysis of their texts show that the critics' attacks against Paine and Fanon are not always justified since they miss the real "societal project" the two intellectuals sought to achieve as a contribution to and a defense of mankind. The exploration of the political and ideological contexts that gave meaning to their humanist projects is closely linked to their times of crises and revolutions. Paine and Fanon share the view concerning the necessity for the oppressed to renounce all compromise with their oppressors and to organize themselves to get rid of colonial injustice and repression. Their suggested consensus of a society without repression, domination, and misery has been almost completely overlooked in the existing literature on both thinkers. In their challenge as 'pedagogues of the oppressed', to paraphrase Paolo Freire, Paine's and Fanon's lives are to be found in dissent against the status quo at a time when struggle on behalf of the unrepresented and disadvantaged groups is unfairly weighted against them. This research addresses both aspects and attempts to draw parallels between Paine and Fanon by demonstrating that the important shifts in their thinking call into question the claim that they advocate violence for the sake of violence. Misunderstanding these aspects means distorting the meaning of their works. My intention, therefore, is to revisit and reinterpret their writings from another perspective; their struggles for fellowship and human were in taking their sides for the master or the "colonial slave of the performed Hegelian dialectic, which have been

swept aside by many critics. To address such questions, I suggest exploring the possibility to combine their works with an examination of their respective political standpoints, beginning with their comparable philosophical and political thoughts, their humanist dimension, and globalist values.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The objective of this study is not merely a case of comparing and contrasting two thinkers, but it is about claiming the right to pose such questions as: What did Paine and Fanon achieve in their times? What may one know and learn about their ideals? Why Paine's and Fanon's thoughts matter at present? Such questions today cannot be avoided as they are imposed by the greatest events in recent history, characterized by wars, social upheavals and human exploitation. By answering these questions, I intend to explore the humanist legacies of the two authors, which might help today's people understand the importance of ethics in every aspect of our daily lives. Such ethics helps to challenge the fatalism and the drift to enslavement and subordination in all its forms. The premise of this argument is on the contention that Paine and Fanon cannot be confined to their description of violence at the expense of the prescription of human love as a "road taken" for the realization of the human project of happiness. Against this backdrop, this study makes an argument that both of them were engaged in continuous struggle against power politics and hegemony. Their texts provide a pointer into the factors that led Paine and Fanon to what Tin Dant calls a "mode of engagement that can be described as praxis knowledge action" (Dant, 2003:160) by using the complex of psychological-political contextual nexus to shed light on the similarities that led these two men to their choices. Though they took different paths, they explored the idea of man from the social liberal vision for Paine and a socialist position for Fanon. Though ideologically different, both of them stood closely with the oppressed. Through a

framework of convergences that emerge from hitherto unexamined and unexpected affinities between Paine's and Fanon's writings, the task is to give shape to the creative expression of these agents of ethical change. Their commitment to social transformation emerges as a pertinent common factor just as important as the vast similarities of the demands of their political contexts.

This study of Paine and Fanon can be considered not only as a work of two history makers and political figures, but also that of two humanist free thinkers with all their strengths and weaknesses. Both dreamed of freedom, justice, love, and peace; their life struggle aimed to make their dreams come true and to transform the world into a better place through their commitment to fellowship and human love. Both rose above their personal perspectives to leave a positive legacy for the "global village" as their struggle evolved and their personalities reverse into powerful beacons of humanity in general and their communities in particular. As creative visionaries who chose to become involved in social and political movements, their life stories of revolutionaries who dared to challenge oppressive and exploitative traditions and systems hoping to create peaceful and just societies have become a source of inspiration for many generations.

Paine's and Fanon's writings have been subject to multiple and problematic interpretations, ultimately angled from the political line of those who claimed or disclaimed them. Questions of their contribution to the construction of a "better and peaceful world" and their global visions of man remain unaddressed. This can be partly explained by the fact that both intellectuals were considered as theorists of armed revolution and advocates of violence. Revolution, violence and counter violence have been predominant within the literary scholarship devoted to Paine and Fanon. There is a whole area of their works which has not been considered by the interpretations hitherto discussed, but which is at the very centre of their thought.

This is the whole problematic elaborated around the concept of humanist “revolution” and the relationship established with their erotic and aesthetic visions of man. This aspect of their thought may open up a whole new terrain for academic research.

The reading of Paine and Fanon together has been neglected by critics in their one-sided interpretation of the Hegelian dialectic of the master and slave that the two authors put on the stage. Paine is often cited in discussions of the concept of revolution, Fanon in discussions related to psychology and psychiatry. But these studies, though insightful, have focused on specific topics; they are contextually confined and therefore do not necessarily raise the question of where Paine’s and Fanon’s works stand in relation to concepts of revolution and man. These critics have overlooked their complexity of political thought about revolution and man. Their one-sided view of their works has focused on single aspects such as violence in context where violence, whether gratuitous or revolutionary, was dismissed as terror. Here I refer to the context of the French Revolution at the time of “terror” and the context of the Cold War and after.

These questions, must however, be addressed by a full length study devoted to an analysis of Paine’s and Fanon’s humanist ideas which can neither be reduced to the dimension of traditional revolution nor limited to the advocacy and glorification of violence. As symbols of dedication and commitment that made tremendous sacrifices for their dreams and ideals, how their personalities were intertwined with the political forces of their time where the dynamics of peaceful and violent struggles for justice and equality hand in hand with sympathy to sufferings of all the oppressed people. To address these issues, to understand the similarities between Paine’s and Fanon’s personalities, their philosophies, and to critically appreciate the dynamics of their complex thoughts, this study aims to show the importance of people’s day-to-

day life experiences over abstract concepts. The examination of the subtleties of Paine's and Fanon's revolutionary vision may help the reader take distance from focusing on the often cited "call to arms" for which Paine and Fanon have become famous. Rather, my focus will be on the synthesis of Paine's and Fanon's passionate strains, their revolutionary values of social transformation indissolubly linked to the principles of cultural liberation and emancipation. The focus will be put on their intellectual powers and political praxis within the American and Algerian revolutions, their formulations of the outlines of Pan-continentalism, and their support of the various liberation movements against European colonial systems to reach an advanced stage of progress for the whole humanity.

The Objectives and Importance of the Study

My approach to the comparison of Paine and Fanon is built on four methodological parameters, which together reflect my view of how to meet the challenge posed by their writings without losing sight of the complex range of conditions that motivated their production. First, I strongly emphasize Paine's participation to the American Revolution waged in the name of Enlightenment ideals, the most of which is human emancipation that led to Fanon's involvement in the Algerian war for liberation. Paine's and Fanon's participation in the two wars of independence make their discourses lose its declarative dimension for the benefit of the performative act. This brings us to my second methodological point. The two authors' performance of the Enlightenment values has rehabilitated these values by their refusal to barter them for materialist or ideological interests. The two authors have gone into the heart of the power apparatuses, but did not forget the ideals that propelled them into politics. By emphasizing performative discourse and not only

ideology, Paine and Fanon appear as iconoclastic in the rank of the intellectuals of their times.

Paine's thoughts ran counter to some ideas of the Enlightenment philosophers by challenging established philosophical norms concerning the elevation of specialized knowledge above ordinary perception and experience. For his part, Fanon denounces the flagrant "violation" of the Enlightenment values by Europe itself. He invigorates a revisionary process by suggesting a community-based on liberty, justice, and ethics by clashing over the meaning of man. In his revision of the Enlightenment, he clashed with the Western champions of this western idea. In proposing a reinvigorated version of that project, he relied on the experience that he gained through the performance of the Enlightenment ideas during the Algerian Revolution.

The third element of the methodology is related to the notion of a national political arena. The analysis approaches Paine and Fanon as political actors engaged in what they understood as a broader "public sphere," by examining their works first of all as argumentative contributions to real political dialogues. The task is to emphasize manifold publics, social contestation, and rational forms of discourse that are a powerful guiding force for Paine and Fanon. It is productive to read their texts as interventions in a "public sphere" where they presented themselves in multiple ways: as writers, as militant activists, as citizens, and as universal moral thinkers. It is only by interpreting them as participants or performers in political life and thereby taking into account a discursive arena much larger than the intellectual community to which they ideologically belong that we can make sense of their engagement. The importance of analyzing the performative rhetoric that they used to make their case opened up, promoted new ways of re-thinking revolution the idea of

man. A methodology focused on close reading of their texts with special attention to the speech acts and discursive strategies, which will hopefully reveal them as much more interested in fostering fellowship and the emancipation of man than gratuitous violence.

This research may also be helpful to the development of debates concerning an inspirational model of political and intellectual engagement about freedom. Paine's and Fanon's passion as writers, political philosophers, freedom fighters, anti-colonialists, and liberation organizers may be best appropriated for the discussion of contemporary political and cultural issues. A study and reevaluation of the two authors' lives and works can provide readers with a particular set of lessons about how history, legacy, and politics overlap and intersect. This research, therefore, seeks to bring together the integration of their thoughts, which marked them out as intellectuals of unusual passion and intrepidity. The task is to suggest that what makes and defines the role of the intellectual is not simply mastery of a particular type of knowledge. But also performance or praxis of that knowledge played on the stage of the two universally known revolutions.

The resulting rapprochement between Paine and Fanon might expectedly provide a fresh perspective on the political potential of their thought. It also offers readers a significantly new understanding of the processes of social transformation faced by many societies as they struggle with the aftermath of empire. It does so by engaging readers with respect to their respective communities and their concrete ethics of relationship, providing them with a valuable new way of conceptualizing practices of postcolonial sociability. Though coming from distinct social worlds, different periods and following different traditions, the aim is to show that Paine and Fanon converge on a similar critique of colonialism and elaborated theoretical

positions, advocating the necessity to end violence and to free people from the tyranny of colonialism. They popularized their visions in pamphlets, articles, and books as observers-participants whose ideas and commitment earned them worldwide respect and admiration and left public marks on the world. In this study, emphasis will be put on reading their works to show how multifaceted their critical resistance was, and draw perspectives on what brings them together as well as what sets them apart in their performance of the Enlightenment ideas of man and revolution.

Methodological Outline

The thesis is divided into three parts, each with two chapters. The first chapter is devoted to the question of the theories and key concepts that will be deployed in the analysis of the two authors' works. It sets out the theoretical parameters for the other parts. The connecting thread is based on an eclectic and dialogic approach including a series of concepts such as "Habitus", "Deconstruction", "Liminality", "Performance", "Communicative Action", and "Public Sphere", which are set to work in order to test out their critical potential in the examination of Paine's and Fanon's texts. The second chapter probes into the context of colonization and revolution in America and Algeria. It sets as the background for the analysis of Paine's writings by reference to Britain's imperial power over its American colonies, and to French Colonialism in Algeria often considered as in the context of the "civilization mission", which came to resemble that of an "autocratic guardian" rather than a "mother country." Britain used every possible pretext to expand its territorial interests and dominance in North America from 1620s to 1764. The same process of colonization can be observed in France's principal preoccupation with obtaining land and resources through force in Algeria. The French colonial government used a variety of

excuses to rob Algerians of their lands and to degrade them to a state of dehumanization. Parallels between the British and French acquisition or abandonment of colonial holdings offer an account that ties together the rise and the fall of territorial expansion with the French and British penchant for long-term occupation. Moreover, French and British exploitation and repression of their colonies fuelled rebellion and set the stage for wars for independence. The following chapter draws on the two authors' life historiography, which helps shape their political ideologies. The aim is to show the crucial role that lived experience and world-shaping events played in what Paine wrote in his *The Age of Reason* and Fanon in *Towards the African Revolution* in dialogue with other texts.

Part Two turns around two major analyses, drawing on Paine's and Fanon's texts in their broader dialogic context. It focuses on how Paine and Fanon came to fight for the decolonization of their adopted countries. Paine's *American Crisis Papers* and Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism* will be looked as ideological sites wherein the two authors is about the "deconstructivist" and practical usage of language throughout the conflict, its adoption, its function, and impact is set in opposition to the normative British and French colonial rules. An important component of Paine's and Fanon's rhetoric strategies is that they do not only emphasize the struggle and suffering of the American and Algerian peoples but their ontological metamorphosis as human beings in war time contexts. Paine and Fanon rise to the artistic standards of Leo Tolstoy in their showing how the challenged revolution brings out the best in mankind.

Part Three revisits Paine's and Fanon's texts through the idea of "Performance" and reflects in the fifth chapter on the meaning of "Liminal" space in Paine's *Rights of Man* and Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* with which they engage

with the philosophical thoughts of their times. The final and sixth chapter takes its lines from a number of references to critical discourses to show how Paine and Fanon used what they self-consciously deemed “ethical” arguments to reject even those acts of violence committed for the sake of highly desirable ends. Paine records eloquently the war events, stresses the impact of colonization on the American society, and calls for the end of oppression. In his *Common Sense*, he suggests through ‘excitable and persuasive’ ethical statements, that the “United States”, should opt for economic integration and political combination of larger geographical areas; it is an idealistic faith in the potential for a universal expansion of human identification to be achieved with social equality.

As for Fanon’s discourse in his *The Wretched of the Earth*, it denounces instrumental violence”; it is a social tragic drama staging the suffering of victims of colonial oppression. Meaningful action, he maintains, needs not only involve violence; it could, rather, be a matter of “bearing witness” to violent assaults on human dignity. Through their use of language, Paine and Fanon create a new psychology of persuasion that would define their newly emergent public sphere as well as new form of rhetoric which they handled against the opponents of human emancipation in a context of persuasion. The two authors defend the principle of the primacy of citizenship over ethnic, religious or racial references. As committed intellectuals and political activists, Paine and Fanon made use of the mass media which have widened the scope of public spheres and offered other spaces for participation, debate and information. They deployed their thought and intellectual potential to defend the ideals of liberty and equality and participated to develop the dissemination of progressive ideas and devised their discourses to criticize the colonial oppression.

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Part One:
**Theoretical Framework and Historical
Background**

I find myself suddenly in a world in which things do evil; a world in which I am summoned into battle... I find myself suddenly in the world and I recognize that I have one right alone: That of demanding human behavior from the other... I am not a prisoner of history. I should not seek there for the meaning of my destiny.

(Frantz Fanon)

Real intellectuals have neither offices to protect, nor territory to consolidate and guard; self-irony is therefore more frequent than pomposity, directness more than hemming and hawing. But there is no dodging the inescapable reality that such representations by intellectuals will neither make them friends in high places nor win them official honors. It is a lonely condition, yes, but it is always a better one than a gregarious tolerance for the way things are.

(Edward Said)

Introduction

History shows that every epoch has its men and women of inspiration, but each of them speaks about his times. One of Fanon's leitmotifs is that every human problem must be considered from the standpoint of time, "I belong", he wrote, "irreducibly to my time. And it is for my own time that I should live" (Fanon, 1967:15). However, can this statement be illustrated by Paine's and Fanon's works? Can the elements of the context in which their experiences occurred be linked to their writings? If so, what kind of relationship can be established between their works and their times? As committed participant observers of revolution, how did they articulate the causes they defended? In which category of intellectuals do they fall? These questions are addressed in this part, within its two chapters by establishing a conscience between Paine's and Fanon's lives and writings and the theoretical approaches, which will be used conceptual templates for the analysis and interpretation of their selected texts. It will pose the question, how the analyses of the meta-discourses and concepts provided by the theories of "dialogic action and reflection" can help examine the anti-colonial and emancipator thoughts of Paine and Fanon. My eclectic approach is inspired by a diversity of approaches including close readings, thematic criticism, cultural history, discourse analysis, and sociological and psychoanalytical theories. Most importantly, it relies on Historicism, Cultural

Materialism, Speech Act Theory and a Revisited- Postcolonial Theory. These theories will be reformulated in such a way to make them pertinent to the analysis of Paine's and Fanon's writings.

What I also attempt is to place their texts in the historical contexts putting emphasis on the interrelated nature of British and French imperial tradition, their mercantilist impositions, and their expansionist policies. More specifically, it focuses on the interplay of Paine's and Fanon's texts with the contexts of crisis and revolution that resulted from British and French colonialism. Paine wrote his texts at the end of the 18th century tumultuous period that cannot be detached from historical concerns and socio-political issues of Britain in America and France's history, which marked social disorder and political instability. Britain at that time was a democracy in the full sense of the word. Though it made a revolution in 1688, its social structure continued to be very hierarchical. Only very brave men like Paine could outspokenly reject the established order, given the risk of harsh penalties. That hierarchy was also geographical, with the Third Colonies in America regarded as sources of raw materials, revenues, and markets for Britain. Overtime, with the march of history, the American colonies developed a sense of identity separate from that of the mother country, which made them feel very strongly their subject hood. In colonial America, the Thirteen Colonies struggled to govern themselves to end the British rule. Paine's discourse mapped out a system of moderation and governance that, like republicanism at large, granted power not to a monarch but to American people.

The vocabulary of *Common Sense* and the *Crisis Papers* calls for a new nation building and socio-political stabilization by separation from Britain. The task is to trace a historical line that connects eighteenth century discourse emphasis on rhetorical strategies of liberation through Paine's interrogations of man's genius and

mobilization of his honest and impartial discourse in the fight against political and social injustice.

A comparable political instability and social oppression prevailed between the 1940s and the 1960s in Europe and Africa when Fanon wrote his texts. It was a period of extreme economic hardships, which led to violent Communist-directed strike waves while left-leaning intellectuals focused their attention on the politics and morality of both workers' violence and the state repression that took up the banner of "republican legality." At the same time, the Cold War started to take form and a weakened France, reliant on the Marshall Plan, for its recovery, confronted a world dominated by the two superpowers. The world also witnessed the "revolutionary violence" in the Soviet context, from the Stalinist USSR's execution of "disloyal" political dissidents to the concentration camps, most notably, Fanon's texts, mainly his *The Wretched of the Earth* and *A Dying Colonialism*, reflect Cold War Manichaeian divisions, the volcanic preexisting antagonisms following the World War II, the Vichy regime, the war in Indochina, and Algeria's long war for independence from France. His texts provide a critical perspective on these underlying events with focus on forces of oppression and coercive domination that operate in the contemporary world. They deal with universal moral principles, thorny issues, and reflect colonial oppression, which emerge as a painful experience. His works speak in different voices to a variety of readers. Though inspired by life and times of the author, Fanon's texts revive or rehabilitate the Enlightenment ideas that were sacrificed at the altar of colonial domination and imperial hegemony. They resonate far beyond those places as they sound as echoes of periods which were characterized by the emergence of new discourses and struggles for liberation from the hegemony of the West which aimed at colonizing the minds and bodies of others.

Chapter One: Theoretical Outline

Section One: The Selected Theories

On reading Paine's and Fanon's texts, it becomes very obvious that they cannot be confined in a fixed ideology or theory. Throughout their life, the two authors refuted what they saw as the dominant or hegemonic discourses of the day and sought to unmask them. Paine rebelled against the violence into America's transformation into a medieval demesne whilst Fanon targeted the Manichean discourse of colonialism which enslaved the Third World. I would argue that their ideas and actions cannot be limited to a definite historical period because they are inscribed within the continuity of the Enlightenment project. Both went beyond the dominant and reactionary systems of thought of their time that suspended the advance of the emancipation of man. Thus, to confine these free thinkers to one theory is to do them a disservice. Hence, without relying too heavily on abstract theories, a dialogic and eclectic approach can provide an appropriate conceptual framework to reflect upon and resolve the major issues in their texts. A note on methodology is in order and the following sections offer a brief summary of relevant theoretical concepts, rather than offering a sustained analysis of any one theory itself.

This chapter is organized around a multifaceted approach, which focuses on a synthesis of the two men's personal, professional experiences, their visions of man as they are displayed in the selected works. It also includes the two thinkers' principles of humanist and moral philosophy with its highlights as a re-enactment of the philosophies of the Enlightenment. As humanists, their intellectual interests are very broad. Their vision is to assist oppressed people and contribute to their personal progress through their historical and philosophical nourishment. The task is first to study Paine's and Fanon's thoughts in their historical contexts and address the

theoretical foundations of this debate, namely Historicism and New Historicism, Critical Social, Speech Act, and Postcolonial theories. The adequacy of these theories resides in their eclectic and dialogic aspects and in the fact that they view a text from the same angle, not as autonomous creative entity that stands by itself, but as socially, culturally, and historically determined and determining. The historicist approach, for instance, proclaims that in order to read a texts' interpretation of its times, a contextual work and a genetic reading of symptomatic formations are needed. This approach to the didactic of context and text adheres to a critical tradition that centres on the question of interaction between given historical situations and the texts which result from them. It foregrounds the way texts capture the imagination of their times and recuperate the spirit of the times of their production. All these considerations imply an intimately shared materiality between text and politics. Along the same line, the thesis subject takes its theoretical bearings from New Historicism to examine the connection between texts and their political, cultural, and historical environments not only in relation to the dominant issues of their day but to those of our contemporary period. Its point of departure begins with Historicism that is related to the view that historical events can properly be understood only in the immediate context of their occurrence, rather than as instances of some kind of universal abstract theory. As a critical movement, historicism insists on the importance of a historical context to the interpretation of texts of all kinds (Hamilton, 1996:02).

1-Historicist and New Historicist Theories

From its beginning with its precursors such as Nietzsche, Marx, Hegel, and Freud to its modern form with its promoters such as Michel Foucault, Stephen Greenblatt, Jacques Derrida, Paulo Freire, Pierre Bourdieu, among many others, historicism pursues the reflexive implications of skepticism. Its adherents reject the tradition, which separates writing from the political power of its production. They also reject any interpretation which does not acknowledge that history is 'relativised' by being that of the present. The theorists featuring in the historicist-materialist fashion are also as keen to consider and define human beings as historical creatures. They focus on the primacy of the material circumstances of humans' lives and ideas and the elucidations of the ways of understanding the world. Andrew Milner and Jeff Browitt observe that the stress on the specificity of human historical context echoes the more generally romantic preoccupation with human individuality. These contexts were often seen as distinctively "national". Historicism often seemed readily compatible with cultural nationalism (Milner and Browitt, 2002:22).

Historicism takes its rise from the convergence of literary interpretation and historical explanation required by the particular modes of expression of different nations and times. The historicist theory helps situate Paine's texts in the political context of the 18th century radical tradition of thinking. It also situates Fanon's texts in the political climate of the 1950s and early 1960s, which was characterized by the countless forms of violence used by the French military and police such as torture, collective repression, mass deportation, summary executions, and attempted insurrection. Meanwhile, the Algerian freedom waged a guerilla warfare. The situation worsened by the hard-line civilian defenders of French control of Algeria, who used bombings, assassinations, and kidnappings. These crucial events forced leading post

World War II intellectuals on the French Left such as Maurice Merleau Ponty and Jean-Paul Sartre to articulate some justifications for political violence. The use of violence in politics became, however, the object of increasing unease and contestation, particularly as the exigencies of the liberation faded, Cold War fears grew, and new forms of “terror” labor militancy, the Soviet gulag, torture and terrorism in the Algerian War came to the fore of political debate (Kudy, 2011:18).

However, new historicism disavows the old historicism’s autonomous view of history and declares that history is one of the many discourses, or ways of seeing and thinking about the world. Critics of cultural poetics claim that all texts can be read as social documents that reflect and respond to their historical situation. Any interpretation of a text would be incomplete if we do not consider the text’s relationship to the discourses that helped fashion it and to which the text is a response. The same interpretation illustrates “the intricacy and unavoidability of exchanges between culture and power”, states Harold Aram Veesser (1989: ix).

The new historicist perspective will be used to show that Paine’s and Fanon’s visions were shaped by the revolutions they experienced and to which they contributed with their pens and actions. Though they lived in different times, their quest went almost similar paths. More significantly, “New historicism renegotiates these relationships between texts and other signifying practices, going so far, it can make valid claim to have established new ways of studying history and how history and culture define each other” (Ibid). Veesser reinforces his arguments with references to essays by the advocates of new historicist approach, namely S. Greenblatt, L.A. Montrose, C. Gallagher, and T. Brook, among many others, who conceive a text as a place where the author’s ideas, social institutions and practices are negotiated. The above theories will be used to address and interpret Paine’s and

Fanon's works as pointing towards politics of emancipation with possibility for radical social change. The task is to study their thoughts reflected in their texts about oppressive and repressive domination.

The history of the post World War II period, situated between the Liberation of Paris and the end of the Algerian War in 1962, provides background information to understand Fanon's texts and his political thoughts. The aftermath of the war was marked by persistent domestic political violence of various kinds. A climate of unrest was fuelled by organizations of former resisters and clubs of concentration camp survivors, communist labor organizers and neo-Pétainist politicians, soldiers returned from Algeria and bombers defending "l'Algérie française". It was also a period of heated intellectual debates about violent acts between governments and their own citizens, such as torture, political executions, police repression, bombings, revolts, and insurrections (Le Sueur, 2001:3).

I draw on the participation of Fanon in the war and his contribution to the discourses of his time as a fierce defender of the liberty who, in the light of bitter experience, had disavowed the idea that any form of politically motivated oppression could be considered legitimate. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, he builds his "illocutionary" statements in opposition to French terror exclusively by reference to the extreme suffering of Algerian victims. Fanon's interpellation of the European "consciousness" appears in an ethical imperative to testify that such suffering is against any political reason that could legitimate the French colonial violence.

The new historicist approach will also be applied to the analysis of Paine to show how questions of politics and informs his texts. Renegotiations start by his political choice, which is defined by a double contrast, hidden in the dual meaning of the word "liberty", the anti-thesis of Church and monarchical authority. His *Common*

Sense, Rights of Man, and The Age of Reason reflect the author's uncompromising defense of every man's right to choose his life, rejecting blind subservience to any arbitrary tradition. They are resolutely opposed to any ambitioned determinism which resulted from materialist Enlightenment.

2- Postcolonial Theory Revisited

The importance of Postcolonial Theory in the study of Paine and Fanon lies in the way the two authors address themselves to and challenge the British and French Empires discourse. The key themes of their texts connect, across historical and geographical diversity, the existence and experience of those whose everyday life were affected by colonialism and its aftermath. Though they analyze the phenomena at different chronological moments and in different geographical locales, both deal with and 'write back' to a history of overseas expansion. More significantly, Paine and Fanon denounce through their texts the various colonialist formations such as political, ideological, cultural, and social factors, which contributed to the shaping and reinforcement of the British and French colonial systems, that progressively imposed a unity on a heterogeneous range of colonial 'possessions'.

These included such diverse oppressive measures such as the Code Noir (1685), the Third Republic doctrine of assimilation, the colonial education system, promoted by Jules Ferry and applied to French colonial societies. In relation to this, J.F.C Young writes: "The imposition of legislative, administrative and ideological apparatus such as these was to police the links between France and its colonies, as well as to consolidate the internal structures of the colonies themselves" (Young, 2001:276). The author also points out that despite efforts to fragment anti-colonial movements, these also operated across different colonies, forming radically alternative globalised structures.

What also links Paine's and Fanon's texts to Postcolonial Theory, is their inherent discursive strategies, which reveal a counter discourse to the "unidirectional" and "monologic" colonial history. The two authors subvert the colonial discourse by suggesting the possibility of plural colonial histories. Their denunciations of colonial institutions and ideologies and their challenge of theoretical status quo make their writings post-colonial. Their writings reassert the various elements, which are eroded and destroyed by imperial expansionism. Paine can be placed in colonial America as a militant, anti-colonial and his *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man* can be resituated in a postcolonial framework as the author developed a critical and constructive spirit in three domains, namely: the political and social world of public action, the realm of diversity, and the intimate life of affection and love. These principles form the intellectually militant plane preoccupying him in all his activities. His attitude is not dogmatic but dialogical as he seeks to keep the debate open with simple and definite answers, and to shake off an initial certainty and lead toward more enlightened convictions. Equality is the universal value that dominates the public space and provides the foundation for justice to be exercised. Throughout their life, Paine and Fanon would grant considerable weight to this driving force in human action.

Closely aligned with the process of resistance to domination, the postcolonial discursive framework developed by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin provides insights with which postcolonial writers challenge the imperial structures on the process of knowledge production and validation through language. They theorize the implication of language in establishing and reproducing dominant discourses and epistemologies. While raising questions about its practice, these theorists stress the capacity of language to subvert the dominant thinking in re-inscribing the colonial and

colonizing relations. Language becomes a tool for expressing the resistant practices against oppression and dominance (Ashcroft. Griffiths. Tiffin, 2004:30, 58).

However, it is important to point out that Paine and Fanon go beyond the limits of postcolonial theory; they did not content themselves with identifying the problem of colonialism as such. They did not limit their writings to a “writing back” to the Empire; they also suggest different ways of ending it. More importantly, they propose theories and philosophical thoughts, which “deconstruct” the philosophical thought of colonialism and domination. Their critique of the different hegemonies by speaking powerfully from their hearts, their reversal of the political, religious, and cultural foundations of colonialism and imperialism by addressing their public directly connect their communicative ideas to Critical Social Theory suggested by one of the Frankfurt school thinkers, Jürgen Habermas.

3- Critical Social and Speech Act Theories

The critical theory tradition, which begins with Karl Marx, is complex and difficult to approach as a whole. Therefore, I shall largely limit my study to Jürgen Habermas’s Critical Social Theory, which is itself based partly on a Speech Act Theory. I will extend it to incorporate some ideas and concepts of French theorists, mainly Pierre Bourdieu and Jacques Derrida, who are not members of the Frankfurt School. The reason for using Critical Social Theory is to suggest that some concepts, which were developed by Habermas, Derrida, and Bourdieu in relation to their critique of society and culture, can be applied to the analysis of the works of Paine and Fanon. Critical theory will be used for the analysis of Paine’s and Fanon’s texts, which suggests a series of moves of thinking otherwise. Their critique of the established order and conventions aim to bring about change in society. The link between Critical Theory and their texts lies in the two writers’ “illocutionary acts”,

which aspire to an emancipation of their societies. Like critical social theorists who challenge those who treat the form of life in modernity as fundamentally given and unchangeable in its trajectory, Paine's and Fanon's "directives" question the foundations of knowledge. Joan Alway in her analysis of the works of Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse, and Habermas suggest that critical social theorists do not accept domination of a single form of calculative rationality that produces reliable knowledge; they rather provide different modes of rationality when thinking about the problems of human society. Through self-reflection, they interrogate how needs and desires are related to those of the rest of the society of the modern world (Alway, 1995:102).

Part of the Frankfurt School's Critical theory and discourse elaborated by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer is known for their critique of the Enlightenment. Whether in his *Negative Dialectics* (1973) or his co-authored work entitled the *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1979), Theodor Adorno and other members of the German Institute for Social Research criticize the Enlightenment, claiming that it had resulted in new forms of "unreason and unfreedom". The two theorists support their argument with the failure of socialist revolution in Russia, which led to the dire consequences of a political transformation initiated by the Nazis, which was followed the dramatic events resulting from the horrors of the World War II such as the gas chambers and the atomic bomb. Tin Dant also refers to the French critical theorists, who responded to the continuing failure of socialist movements in post-war Europe to achieve transformation by more gradual political means through a series of political moves that culminated in the events of 1968. For these thinkers, the Enlightenment was taught to be a project of emancipation, but it gave rise to domination, subjugation and oppression (Dant, 2003:158).

As a graduate assistant of Adorno, Habermas constructs his theses on the work of his teacher but what distinguishes him from the other members of the Frankfurt School is that he did not reject Enlightenment though he agrees with its pitfalls and accepts the dark sides of modernity (Ibid. P.115). He characterizes and explains the developments as a kind of “derailment” of the Enlightenment principles rather than defects in the Enlightenment itself. Hence, instead of rejecting it totally, Habermas opts for looking at the way it had been deviated. He makes a strong plea for returning to emancipation concerns of the project of the Enlightenment and suggested what can be called a “revisionary project of the Enlightenment”, which is the cornerstone on which Fanon’s texts rest.

Habermas develops a “transcendental argument for universal standards of distinguishing true and false knowledge that are embedded in the very form of language in our speech community” (Habermas, 1984:65-68). For him, the traditional form of critical theory like Marxism was inadequate because it depended on standards of knowledge and reason that are historically emerging and therefore, could not be applied to all societies under all conditions (Dant, 2003:165). His revisionary project offers an idea of rationality that is broader than what had been suggested by the philosophers of the Enlightenment by taking into consideration the defects of their theories. He appropriates, for instance the concept of rationality and gave it a new twist. If the Enlightenment is understood to have provided “instrumental rationality”, Habermas supplants it with “communicative rationality”, the one that is available in everyday language. While the German theorist accepts the importance of “techno-rationality”, he endeavors to retrieve the prestige of “non-techno-scientific context, action, with more focus on the social and political ones, which had been neglected by the Enlightenment philosophers” (Habermas, 1984:102-4).

Habermas seeks to find a middle part situation between Historicism, Relativism and Transcendental Absolutism; he accepts scientific knowledge (instrumental reason) to which he adds the importance of analyzing language of communication, which is based on Speech Act Theory, as part of the ordinary aspect of human existence. Through language and communication, the German theorist constructs his Speech Act Theory by de-emphasizing pure reason and claiming that an autonomous person is free from the charges of solipsism. He maintains that a person exists with relation to others (Ibid.P.107). In other terms, an autonomous person engages with other human beings and does so through language, implying therefore, that communication involves the other persons while Descartes stresses the subject and object (he/she cognizes). He differs from other philosophers of his time by his contrast in hypothetical manner the two autonomous individuals.

What is important for Habermas's individualism, however, should not be posited in isolation from other human beings. Individual should participate in language and communication which are socially and culturally constituted; they are against religious orthodoxy, God centeredness, and state authority. Individuals engage in dialogue against positivism, scientism, Habermas argues, knowledge does not arise out of neutral ground; the beginning of knowledge is always associated with human interests and these human interests are anchored in socio-cultural forms of life; this social matrix contributes to knowledge production. The different socio-backgrounds are not fixed; they are not homogenous; they differ from one place to another and from one culture to another. The claim for truth in an objective and scientific way remains insufficient without the social rootedness of knowledge, which is made possible and negotiated through speech and action. Tin Dant writes that for Habermas "individual learning is stored in cultural traditions; the process of storage

does not itself change the normative structures of a society. [They are] principles of organization for not losing one's identity" (P.111). Habermas's reformulation of the Enlightenment theses is based on "ideal speech situation"; "cooperative search for truth"; "argumentation and consensus formation", which take place through role playing between members of a social group whose actions are accepted according to accepted norms. On these principles, Habermas anchors his vision of emancipation to create a better world (P.112). The relevance of Habermas's theory to the study of Paine's and Fanon's texts will be illustrated through his two main concepts, which will be developed in the following section.

4- Performance and Social Drama Theory

The act of performing culture, according to Victor Turner, provides men with a set of paradigms, which allow for periodical reclassifications of reality and redefinition man's relationship to society, nature, and culture. But they are more than mere cognitive classifications, since they incite men to action as well as thought (Turner, 1991:109). The idea of performing a culture can be applied to the way Paine and Fanon stage situations of crisis caused by colonial domination. They have undertaken a productive revision of the philosophical, political, and religious ideas in the light of shortcomings and inconsistencies identified in them. Their approaches are based on their use of socio-political events to reinforce the structural condition. They offer responses to dramatic crisis, reinforcing and contesting normality, which hold greater explanatory power. The dissolution of the fixed categories enables Paine and Fanon to re-create their new visions of man and rethink Revolution. For example, Turner's theory comes alive in the social drama based on Paine's affective experience of the American war for liberation unfolding around factual events he has been part of. Similarly, in *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon provides different types of

illocutions as meta-social commentary on power by conducting a psychiatric analysis that mirrors the tragic reality of the colonized black man and expresses the social expectations and longing for an ideal community. For him, the breach is cultural given the conditions under which racism emerges, grows, and spreads. His “expressive illocution” is based on the circumstances which are taken from his own feelings, attitude, and experience of racism in Martinique, France, and Algeria. The latter sets train to his performance of the Enlightenment ideas, carried out against this racist background. He performs the crisis, which was occasioned by markers of cultural and social difference, which had to be suppressed.

Victor Turner’s theory is based on the concepts of “performance” and “liminality”, two interrelated words and their meaning remains complex as it is inferred from the context in which they are used. These concepts will be related to the ways in which Paine and Fanon can be situated while situating their works, thoughts, and actions between the “fixed”, finished, and predictable structure and what he calls anti-structure. Their extensive journey through spaces where the political and socio-cultural order is re-constituted will be the focus of my interest. But before proceeding to the analysis of their unsettled and unsettling movements, it might be useful to define briefly these two theoretical concepts with reference to the explanations provided in Victor Turner’s *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure* (1991) and his essay entitled, “Frame, Flow and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality”, part of his *Performance in Postmodern Culture* (1977). The source of this essay drives from *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 6/4 December (1979).

“Performing culture” is linked to reconfigurations either at a higher status level or in an altered state of consciousness of the social being. Paine and Fanon produced their works in times of radical philosophical, political, social, and cultural

changes; some of these changes shape the repertoire of their ideologies in urging people against oppression. Their texts have very frequently a satirical, lampooning, and comedic quality. Furthermore, they tend to stress the basic equality of all, even if this involves a status reversal and the setting up of hierarchies of roles, occupied by those who are normally underlings, which caricature the normative indicative hierarchy's power, wealth, and authority. Quite often, however, public ritual dramatizes secular, political, and legal status relationships. That is why public liminality has often been regarded as "dangerous" by whatever powers that - be who represent and preside over established structure. Public liminality can never be tranquilly regarded as a safety valve, mere catharsis, "letting off steam." Rather, it is *communitas* weighing structure, sometimes finding it wanting, and proposing in however extravagant a form new paradigms and models which invert or subvert the old. "Liminal rites indicate antecedent social structures and form thresholds between significant states and statuses of those structures" (Turner, 1991:119).

Responsive to social and even societal change, Paine's *Common Sense* sets the stage for ruptures to provide justice for the poor 'to restore the ancient commons and redress other grievances'. The author's stay in Lewes, which had the reputation of being a turbulent town, strongly anticlerical and hostile to aristocracy and the Crown help explain Paine's rigidity against a structure accepted by all. Fanon describes a perverted ritual wherein *Black Skin, White Masks*, the initiates or persons undergoing the ritual, (black people and colonized), who are first stripped of the social status that they possessed before colonialism and racism; they are inducted into the liminal period of transition through the discovery of their positions as inferior and oppressed people, and finally given their new status through a possibility of being re-incorporated into society by the end of racism. In "Liminality and

Communitas,” Turner situates “liminal individuals” as entities, who are socially and structurally ambiguous because they are situated outside the imposition assigned by law, custom, convention, and ceremony (Turner, 1979:119).

Turner points out that liminality in ritual societies is “institutionalized and preordained,” while modern communitas movements such as the hippies are “spontaneously generated in a situation of radical structural change”; “it is the analysis of culture into factors and their free recombination in any and every possible pattern, however weird, that is most characteristic of liminality” (Turner,1979: 22).

For Turner, liminality is one of the three cultural expressions of communitas; it is one of the most apparent expressions of anti-structure in society. Yet, even as it is the antithesis of structure, dissolving it and being perceived as dangerous by those in charge of its maintaining, it is also the source of organization. Just as chaos is the source of order, liminality represents the unlimited possibilities from which social formation emerges. While in the liminal state, human beings are stripped of anything that might differentiate them from their fellow human beings, they are in between the social organization, temporarily fallen through the fractures, and it is in these cracks, in the interstices of social construction, that they are most aware of themselves; they generate and store a plurality of alternative models for living. The Performance of social drama, according to Victor Turner, sets a society as a set of interactive processes that are punctuated by situations of conflict. It starts with a breach, it continues with a crisis, which is followed by redress and ends with reintegration. All of the four features focus on how conflicts run their course. The situations interact over time and they are performed by interacting with the next situation. In the course of the performance, liminality, according to Victor Turner, can be situated as being between successive participations in social milieu (Ibid. P.25).

Section Two: Key Theoretical Concepts

Bringing into focus a number of theoretical concepts that are interdisciplinary in their nature is meant to understand only how Paine's and Fanon's ideas emerged; how they engage in dialogue to challenge the ethico-political and cultural tensions of their times, and how they shape their own theoretical concepts in relation to the global justice, equality, liberation, and emancipation of man are among issues that this research addresses.

1- The Concept of the Public Intellectual Awakener

The concept of the intellectual and his role "as a consciousness awakener" will be developed to outline the similarities that emerge from the hitherto unsuspected and unexpected convergence noted in the writings of Paine and Fanon. It seems useful to consider the more obvious theorization of the cognate concept, which might be applied to the selected works of the two authors, two longstanding opponents of colonialism whose engagement with historical forces is inseparable from their theoretical developments. It is not easy to give a full account of something as large and complex as the notion of an "intellectual awakener". Scholars have not agreed on one definition of what a committed intellectual is or should be. To limit the scope of the discussion, therefore, I shall use Antonio Gramsci's and Fanon's definitions, which are close to each other.

The overarching logic of colonial discourse was to "construe" the colonized as a mass of people of degenerate types. Yet, the hegemony of such discourse needs counter-hegemonic practices, which according to the Italian revolutionary theorist, Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), were produced as a response from conscious agents. For him, the intellectuals are the dominant group's "deputies" exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government. He distinguishes, however,

between two kinds of intellectuals. On the one hand, there is the category of “organic intellectuals”, by which he means the type of intellectuals that each major social class creates for itself so as to give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function. On the other hand, we find what he refers to as traditional intellectuals”, already in existence, who represent the historical community, including the clergy, administrators, theorists, and philosophers. They form a kind of autonomy from the dominant social classes, but their autonomy is illusory. The problem for him was the creation of a layer of organic working-class intellectuals capable of leading their class in battle for counter-hegemony. The concept of “organic intellectual” accords with the way Paine and Fanon mounted a stunning indictment of colonialism of man over man and invested their hopes in the possibility for the oppressed to gain their freedom. The role of the intellectual, in this regard, is understood as that of cultural leader, moving ahead of the wider society, much like the revolutionary vanguard in the Leninist view of politics, Fanon writes that the intellectual: “turns himself into an awakener of the people; hence comes a fighting literature, a revolutionary literature, and a national literature” (1990:223). As individuals who are led by such historical convulsions and revolutions to put new questions, their avant-garde works , in the words of Andrew Milner and Jeff Browitt, in opposition to the dominant “Bourgeois culture” as an essentially “adversarial” force, , aspiring to a positively “redemptive” social function (2002:37,180-181).

Following Gramsci’s pioneering vision and his social analysis of the intellectual who fulfills a particular set of functions in the society, his vision of the function of the intellectual will be applied to Paine and Fanon. As journalists, and as consciously reflective of social analysts, their purpose was to build not just a social movement but an entire cultural formation associated with it. As an organic

intellectual himself, Gramsci was put on trial for treason by the Italian fascist regime in 1926 and was condemned to twenty years imprisonment. He would die in prison in 1937 after finishing his celebrated *Prison Notebooks* (1926-1937) that immortalized him as a towering figure of Western thought. Among the great Marxist theorists of the twentieth century, Gramsci is unique in the attention he pays to the role of intellectuals in elaborating popular consciousness, and connecting it to vistas of national and global history. In the essay "Problems of History and Culture", included in his prison diaries, Gramsci wrote: "All men are intellectuals, but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals" (Gramsci, 1999:131). In this research, I would argue that both Paine's and Fanon's condemnation of oppression is not merely an irrelevant exercise by two traditional intellectuals. Their intellectual brilliance and bravery in denouncing structures of oppression stemmed from their real material and organic experiences in their respective adoptive societies.

Though Fanon never made any public pronouncement about having read Gramsci, strangely, he performs the same role that the Italian theorist assigns to the organic intellectual in his confrontation with power politics. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon adopts a strikingly similar analysis of social and political situations, created by the colonial economic, political and military relations. Fanon sets out, however, from a society divided into two; colonizer and the colonized. There is no singular civil society but a dominant tier connected to the colonial administration via traditional chiefs and dictatorial rule. The role of the intellectual is to educate people and help them to get a national consciousness. The intellectual for Fanon holds a responsible position in under developed countries, not by making empty political speeches. They participate in the anti-colonial struggle against power structures and hegemony within the colonized society not contenting themselves with delving into

the past of their people in order to find coherent elements which counteract the attempts of colonialism to falsify their history and denigrate their culture. For him, intellectuals work and fight with the same rhythm as their people to construct the future by: “turning into awakeners of the people; hence comes a fighting literature, a revolutionary literature, and a national literature (Fanon.1990: 223). They should be effective in giving back agency to the oppressed. In his words, intellectuals should: “know that in the end, everything depends on the education of the masses” because He insists that “if we stagnate, it is their responsibility; if we go forward, it is due to them too” (Ibid. 159).

Fanon lists the political and social tasks of African intellectuals towards the masses and to the nation in the chapters of his *The Wretched of the Earth* namely, “Concerning Violence”, “Spontaneity: Its Strength and Weaknesses”, and “The Pitfalls of National Consciousness”. He insists on the role of the intellectual as an “educator of the oppressed”, whose job is to warn people against opportunism which could manifest itself when the truthfulness of the situation or analysis is not understood in all its consequences. His responsibility is to teach new ideas that discredit established conventions that require transformation for a new nation building. It is his role to question the ideological established order as to redefine the historical mission of the nation as one of the means of overcoming domination at the national and international levels. The intellectual informs people about false application of concepts and their relevance to a particular national situation taking part in the making of progressive national organizations; he seeks to express the will of the nation and serves the collective rather than individual interests. The intellectual’s role is to inform his countrymen about the danger of regionalism and ethnic chauvinism which compromise the national project. With an absolute awareness between

principle and compromise, the intellectual brings Enlightenment to people by informing them.

Of capital importance for this research is the relationship between the role of the “organic intellectual” and the concept of “hegemony and counter hegemony”. Reference to such a concept is a nodal point of Gramsci’s political theorization. Gramsci re-appropriated the Leninist concept of hegemony, and endowed it with new functions and a much wider scope. As a concept, it first appeared in his *Notes on the Southern Question* (1926) which he developed in his *Prison Notebooks* as a strategy for the proletariat to think of the practices of the ruling classes in general. The same concept is reworked in his *Notebook 13* to become the key text for an understanding of the Gramscian conception of hegemony (Gramsci, cited in Kegan, 1979:181).

This theory, as reconfigured by Gramsci, posits that a group’s control is legitimized through social and cultural apparatuses to build consensus, rather than by applying directly cohesive methods. Hegemony is a process of normalization, one subtly penetrating a particular ideology through all levels of society until the dominant group’s discourses inform what stands for “common sense” for the whole society. Exploitative relationships are maintained by harnessing the power of culture so the oppressed will remain subordinate when they move to be incorporated into the ascending power structure. The subordinate class’s subjugation is obvious to themselves, but by accepting the ruling bloc as natural and unchangeable, they consent to the maintenance and perpetuation of repressive divisions (Gramsci, 1999:398, cited in Macey, 2000:176).

Gramsci’s concept of hegemony can be related to Paine’s and Fanon’s critique of any kind of oppression, including all the varieties of ideological control channeled through the institutional discourses of monarchy, colonialism, and

imperialism. Though they did not use the term “hegemony” in their texts, both soundly denounce such apparatuses of power to situate their works as oppositional texts intended to make the reader aware that hegemony can be transcended. An underlying theme of *Common Sense* and *The Wretched of the Earth* is that colonialism represented a relationship of domination and subordination, the oppression of one group by another or the establishment of a feudal political and social system. The same holds true for Paine who rejected the established order and considered reason as the primary source for authority. In his renowned pamphlet, *Common Sense*, Paine with his vocabulary of love and fellowship “prepared minds for [the] independence” of America and set it as a “pillar for his moral and religious life; his thinking and deist arguments find intellectual roots in the traditions of David Hume, Spinoza and Voltaire” (Chumbley, 2009:11).

Paine’s and Fanon’s role as intellectuals cannot be limited only to the ones set by Gramsci; they go beyond that because unlike the Gramscian types of intellectuals, for Paine and Fanon, loyalty is not accorded to parties, but to principles. Their patterns of behavior are regulated by morals rather than power politics. Usually, political commitment goes by affiliation with a party, which demands fidelity and obedience to it. Paine was not a partyman and Fanon served a movement for liberation. Their ideas adhere much more to values in which they believe, not to the apparatuses of state or political parties. Both defended what seems right. They did not serve any interests other than those of minority groups that are oppressed, silenced, in revolt or on the fringe of recognized institutions. They strangely resemble Nietzschean intellectuals in their mistrust of all the systems and their avoiding of these systems liable to forfeit their integrity (Nietzsche [1889], in Ferrer, 2013:3). As free and engaged thinkers, Paine and Fanon were faithful, not to individuals, but to

values. They always proclaimed the same ideals and did not prefer abstract concepts to living people. Therefore, as two intellectuals closely linked to their time, they stand, in Edward Said's words, "herded along by the mass politics of representations embodied by the information [...] they always stand "between homeliness and alignment" (Said, 1996:21, 22).

2- "Appropriation" and "Abrogation"

As organic, non partisan intellectuals, Paine and Fanon are involved in what postcolonial theorists call appropriation and abrogation. These two concepts are very helpful for the analysis of how the two authors take up the humanist project of the Enlightenment and perform its concepts and ideals. Paine, for example, distances himself from some of Enlightenment philosophers such as John Locke. He appropriates and abrogates some ideas about the Glorious Revolution (1688). For his part, Fanon seizes and appropriates the Western vision of humanism to which Paine is fully committed then, abrogates the colonial dehumanizing process and practices. His appropriation and reconstitution of humanism is displayed in the process by which the vision of the European humanism is taken to "bear the burden" of his own experience as a Black man and that of the oppressed, which he abrogates for its "fixed" meaning (Ashcroft, 2004:37-38).

Fanon identifies a gap in its use, which served to create and justify racism and oppression; he rejects the normative Western imperialist vision and the anti-humanist position, which consist of a denial of humanity for the colonized people in the name of civilization, imperialism and humanism. He denounces the horrors that have been committed in the name of humanism in *Black Skin, White Masks* and in *The Wretched of the Earth* where he proposes a "new start" as a way of "decolonizing" the concept of humanism through the reversal of its main assumptions. Fanon's

humanist vision is predicated on a repudiation of the degraded European form of humanism. It is important to point out that his ideals and commitment to the cause of mankind had already been expressed by Paine, whose fundamental humanist standpoint is undeniable. Paine's *Right of Man*, *Common Sense*, and *The Age of Reason* make him an advocate of the democratic spirit of individual rights, religious liberty and social justice, which is summarized in what follows: "My country is the world and my religion is to do good (Foner, 1984:644). The significance of Man, his place and his longing for freedom cannot be underestimated in the thought of the two thinkers. The crucial relationship between their humanist projects remains far from being sufficiently articulated. No matter their differences as to the conception of man, both adhere to the Enlightenment project of human emancipation. It is understood that Fanon's project is far larger than that of Paine restricted to the West at the expense of the colonial such as the Indians. The appropriation and abrogation impulses in Paine's and Fanon's thought comes to sight particularly and strongly in their deconstruction of the description of the colonial habitus.

3- "Deconstruction" and "Habitus"

What makes Jacques Derrida's and Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of "Deconstruction" and "Habitus" important to the analysis Paine and Fanon is their main relation to political, cultural, social, and psychological dimensions of reality. The conception of "habitus" as a "process" to be developed in our comparison claims to identify and conceptually bring together crucial cultural mechanisms, which Paine and Fanon used in their texts to question the interconnected political colonial and established religious systems, which systematically studied hinder human's emancipation. The notion of "habitus" will be approached from the perspective of "deconstruction" to illustrate the way Paine and Fanon debunk the ways of thinking

and political activity of their times. In *The Age of Reason*, Paine, for example, calls into question the Revelations and demystifies all the old religious myths. By appealing to religion that is the Bible, he simultaneously draws the attention of his readers, who otherwise would listen to him and manage to convince them to change their way of thinking about relation to Britain by comparing the Empire to the time of the Judges. Similarly, in describing the new habitus acquired by the colonized during their struggle for independence, Fanon shows the birth of a new man in the ex-colony, a new man firmly not as different as the one described by the colonizer. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon denounces the contribution of the established Catholic Church in reinforcing racism. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, the author claims that the established Catholic Church works hand in hand with colonialism and participates in colonial domination.

Before presenting how “habitus” as a “process” works, along with “deconstructivist” then “re-constructivist” project of Paine and Fanon, it might be useful to summarize the forms in which habitus appears in the social world, its structures and its effects in relation to my analysis. The questions that emerge from the confrontation between Bourdieu’s “Habitus” and Derrida’s “Deconstruction” is important to show the way Paine and Fanon engage in a critical dialogue with the philosophers of their times. They are also useful to establish the “liminal” interface where each author effectively situates his own thought.

The concept of “Deconstruction”, as its appellation suggests, suspends all that is taken for granted about language, experience and the ‘normal’ possibilities of human communication. It is developed in the texts of Jacques Derrida, which challenge categorization and any of the clear-cut boundaries that define modern academic discourse. This concept is defined by Christopher Norris as follows:

Deconstruction can be seen in part as a vigilant reaction against this tendency in structuralist thought to tame and domesticate its own best insights. Some of Jacques Derrida's most powerful essays are devoted to the task of dismantling a concept of 'structure' that serves to immobilize the play of meaning in a text and reduce it to a manageable compass (Norris, 2002:2).

The principle of Deconstruction starts out by rigorously subverting the assumed correspondence between mind, meaning and the concept of method which claims to unite them. It is part of 'philosophy' in so far as it raises certain familiar issues about thought, language, identity and other longstanding themes of philosophical debate. Moreover, it is a form of critical dialogue with previous texts, it disrupts the conventional system of thought by differing meaning (Ibid.18)

Paine's "deconstructivist" project is displayed by his straightforward writing style, which was so effective that it worried political and religious leaders both in Britain, America, and France. They deeply feared that people, by reading Paine's articles and books, would stop attending churches and ignore the Bible and might also stop giving money to their local churches. In other words, the religious habitus that guided people's thinking and behavior could be disturbed, and could lead to the perturbation of social peace. Their thinking and apprehension were that people who challenged traditional religious habitus might also question them and demand changes. This is why clergymen and politicians alike worked to obliterate Paine's revolutionary and iconoclastic memory both in the three countries.

The notion of "habitus" is reflected in individual and collective ways. It can be visible in concrete social systems like family, political organization, religious and other social behaviors. The conception of "habitus", which is of interest to my analysis establishes the link between "individuals" and "society." It is reinforced by various social systems such as the church, school, and political authorities. It is in large part a mediated process between the social representations in various discourses and

everyday practices, which forms the symbolic systems occurring in individual minds. Bourdieu defines it as: “a structuring structure that organizes practices and perceptions of practices” (1977:72). The French theorist suggests that every group, tribe, society is determined by a cultural unconscious, or *habitus*, with both notions being “conceived in social stratification, that is within a hegemonic system characterized by forms and practices of domination, subalternization and resistance” (Ibid). For Bourdieu, a structural approach must acknowledge the complex cultural configurations of class within the inequalities of economic and social capital in which the meta-systems of domination are manifested and socially reproduced through symbolic interaction. The practices produced by the habitus, adds Bourdieu, lead to the strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with the unforeseen and unexpected situations. The same structures of power interact and configure social action by producing agents and reproducing within the trajectories, possibilities and constraints of individual and class positioning in historically situated social contexts. Strengthening the critical reflexivity of actors is necessary. The thought, behavior, and pattern of the latter are over-determined by the conceptualization of dominant social norms, social practices, hierarchical structures and their implications for the discursive constructions of identities and social action (Ibid. P. 76)

The concept of ‘Political habitus’ can be applied to the British and French colonial politics of domination, which shapes dominant images and practices of the colonized after it established strong hierarchies that reproduce the same images and practices. Paine’s and Fanon’s anti-colonial thinking theorize the colonial encounter using anti-colonial critical discourse of resistance to interrogate the colonial representations. They focus on all formulations that might achieve liberation. As an illustration, Paine writes in his *Common Sense* that the British monarchy has

impacted the political, economic, and social behavior of the American colonists, which led to the possibility of struggle for liberation through the creation of new methods, which appear in their everyday life of resistance.

Similarly, in his essay "Algeria unveiled", Fanon deconstructs the French "political habitus" of the colonial gaze and denounces the French colonial authorities, showing how the revolution deconstructs this habitus and showing how Algerian woman veil and unveil themselves in circumstances demand. Unveiling becomes a progressive step for the colonized, through the trials of the independence struggle. Fanon challenges the established political, social, economic, and religious habituses and practices by unmasking how they work in favor of the mother country and the father land which had reduced them to perfect tutelage. Veiling, thus as a habitus that is a pattern of behavior and of dressing imposed by the colonial gaze loses its implication of being a sign of backwardness. Studying Paine's and Fanon's experience of colonial exclusion is translated into their texts by a permanent subversion of what Michael Syrotinski calls "the authenticity" of various thoughts (Syrotinski, 2007:54). The concept of "Political Habitus" will be used as a critical and a deconstructive tool, which operates as a re-inscription and a transformation of the narrowest understanding of Paine's and Fanon's texts, which are all too often associated with the celebration of violence as it has been pointed out by their critics.

Without being a well-educated scholar, Paine captures his readers' attention with his iconoclastic ideas. His straightforward attacks on the unquestioned acceptance of all traditional established institutions such as monarchy, aristocracy and the Christian religion got him in to troubles in England, America, and France. His texts illustrate his rejection of traditional "fixed" thoughts that is the traditional habitus while they illustrate the author's appeals to prescription and historical experience as

means to recreate the world and make it anew. Paine's *Common Sense* displays its author's scorn for the British constitution, America's colonial dependence on Britain, and all aspects of the old *régime* in France. His experience of the political oppression and economic grievances of the common people urges him to think that popular action could create simpler, less costly and less corrupt, republican and democratic institutions. More importantly, however, in *Rights of Man*, Paine claims that government is invariably evil and he maintains that if men are imperfect because they succumb to their passions for luxuries. Paine offers an alternative to the problems facing the world, in suggesting radically different ways of addressing these difficulties, and in encouraging common men to believe they could free themselves from the shackles of the strong established political and religious conventions. In *The Age of Reason*, he states that human reason and the works of nature provided larger evidence of existence of God than did the revelations of the Bible. He also insisted that Deists are not atheists because they are as moral as the best Christians.

In the same essay, Paine calls into question and debunks the established political and religious orders of the "bloody monarchy" and the religious establishment. In other words, he deploys religious exegesis by interpreting the Biblical period of the judges. In the light of the British contemporary context, for him, the corrupt period of the Judges is similar to the corrupt monarchical system. Paine represents a disturbing link between revolutionary France, republican radicalism, and religious dissent. As an outcome of the French Reign of Terror, the author foregrounds the logical and inevitable result of infidelity, and the connections between Christianity and societal stability, and between republican political ideology and revolutionary Deism. Paine's efforts in calling into question the established religion, morality and stable governments have made him the public enemy number

one. His British adversaries accused him of betraying his native land by reducing his iconoclastic position to a tactic to further the interests of Britain's enemy, France (Dickinson, 2002:33).

If Paine maintains that radical change for liberation is imperative and crucially indispensable to the process of human emancipation; this iconoclastic reasoning appears consistently throughout Fanon's texts wherein the author appeals to what Judith Butler calls an "excitable speech"; it is rather an interpellation of the colonial habitus to the colonizer to make him realize that the colonized is also a human being that the colonial practices have reduced to animality. Fanon's "commissive" and "expressive illocution start in *Black Skin, White Masks*, when the author concentrates on an "assertive" speech pointing out the weaknesses of the Western thought to end the problem of racial difference while he stresses the role played by the Catholic Church in reinforcing it. In his *The Wretched of the Earth*, he bases his arguments on the flaws of the French institutions and their inability to end their oppression. Like Paine, Fanon refuses simple modification in the issue of colonization. He advocates the end of the colonial system in a radical way. It will be argued that Fanon deconstructed Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" by recuperating worlds of references which contribute to the (re)construction of identity and the comprehension of the heterogeneous make-up of reality within a revolutionary process. The point to be made is that Fanon's "deconstructivist" process helps understand, in a radical transformative way, the destructive power of the colonial and religious domination and subordination. For Fanon, exploitation and tyranny leads to rebellion while alienation forces the colonized people to yearn for liberation.

Paine and Fanon have contributed, in Bourdieu's terms, to deconstruct the "political and religious habitus" since the colonial oppression and its impact on the

oppressed led to a profound transformation of the colonial America's and Algeria's way of thinking and acting. Paine and Fanon wrote in different ages, but the political revolutions they experienced make them "liminal figures" by performing their lived realities as a social drama.

4-The Notion of "Liminality"

The term "Liminal" derives from the Latin word *limin*, which means "threshold". As a concept, it was introduced by the Belgian anthropologist, Arnold Van Gennep in his *The Rites of Passage* (1909) and defines it as linking to or being in a threshold, or an in-between or intermediate state or phase. However, it is Victor Turner, who expanded the use of "liminality" in his early fieldwork in African villages in the 1950s. Turner formulated his theory through his different works by the end of the 1960s, and it continued to be a central theme in his work until his death in 1983. From the two anthropologists' point of view, liminality exists outside of social structures and hierarchies and is a property of any movement away from what is called a "fixed" "structure" and "anti-structure". Liminality becomes the state and the phase between all fixed points of classification; it is an experience of an "in betweenness" and represents a place that is "ambiguous, neither here nor there" (Turner, 1991:95).

For the purpose of my study, the use of liminality might be of interest in exploring the spaces of ambiguity and transition of Paine and Fanon. It can provide new insights with regard to their engagements, their thoughts, and their concepts of revolutionary vision of Man. In the course of the third chapter, the two authors will be studied as "liminal figures" by examining how the space for both Paine and Fanon is often like their real and lived worlds. They entered into exited from this "liminal" space all along their lives. If one thinks of a liminal space for Paine, it is a juncture

between English, American, and French world within their different cultures and ideologies. We might be compelled to think about culture and interpersonal interactions in different ways of these worlds. The same holds true for Fanon, who lived in Martinique, France, and Algeria. When he came to Algeria, he was indeed a marginal because of the Algerian culture and language. He could not communicate with his patients either culturally (that is, cultural differences prevented direct communication and understanding) or linguistically. As he became more familiar with both the Algerian culture and language, he moved into a liminal position. He became part of the Algerian society to which he dedicated his life. As a liminal character, it was not possible for him to remain static within the colonial social structure. He imposed his will on the world around him to change the established order and became a threat to the "structure". In relation to Fanon, liminality provided his freedom of movement, but its turn over side made him live an instable life. Being between Algerian culture that he did not understand and his Antillean culture from which he was uprooted means he did belong nowhere and everywhere.

More importantly, Victor Turner's conception of "liminality" as a place that is "ambiguous, neither here or there" provides an entry point to look at the way Paine in his *Rights of Man* and *The Age of Reason* create new opportunities to examine, critique, and challenge the assumptions inherent in eighteenth century Enlightenment. One might use this framework to create a place in which Fanon lived and performed differing cultures, ideals, and values by putting himself in the position of a participant- observer of the Algerian revolution, which on the whole is predicated on the Enlightenment ideals. As a black man, he also performs the role of the adulteration of the Enlightenment project by singling out the perverted effects of white racism. In *Black Skin, White Masks* and in *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon sets the

Antilles and Algeria as meeting grounds for dramatic cultural clashes where the black man and the colonized exist outside of their normal social and cultural structures. Thus, his lived experience of racism and domination provide a particularly powerful place of liminality where one might discover alternative ways to build relationships and communities.

Liminality as described by Turner involves a “blurring and crossing of thresholds and boundaries; the breakdown of historically fixed categories; the exposure of ambiguities; the fluidity and hybridity of identities; play and absurdity; and uncertainty” (Turner, 1991:113). Paine’s liminality can be situated in his critique of existing social and political systems and the religious establishments, which he used to illuminate injustices to transform society. The concept can also be deployed in the analysis of Fanon’s role as a psychiatrist interested in the disalienation of the colonized. The last chapter of *The Wretched of the Earth* is completely devoted to the disalienation of colonial patients, who had found themselves in a permanent liminality because of the unjust colonial conditions and injuries of the war. Paine and Fanon use their texts primarily as a means of building a relationship to one’s self and others to form new identities. Liminality is defined as an arena of recombinant indeterminacy, chaos, a store house of possibility. It is unpacking, elaborating on the liminen’s diverse manifestations and implications of the diverse. The individual becomes the object of their awareness (Turner, 1991:115).

The concept of “liminality” will be then, used in relation to Paine and Fanon in analysis of the transition from their performance of the conceptual features of Enlightenment to their innovatory theories of recognition and agency. Reference will be made to the process of fragmentation, which takes the center of the stage in their texts. An attempt will be made to reveal how social reality and moments of conflict

are performed in an artistic way where role-playing in (their dialogues with other intellectuals of their time), covers the breakdowns between official perspectives and countless counter stories revealing fragmentation. In addition, they are reflexive about the cause and motive of action damaging to the social fabric. In their performance processes, Paine and Fanon reveal oppositions. Their performative speech situations, as it will be examined in the third part of this thesis, provokes and persuades in ways that appeal to the reader's frame of mind. Their re-shaping of the established conventions illustrates not only their critical resistance, but provides counter-frames to bear on dominant ones. Apart from being luminal figures, Paine and Fanon are skilled communicators of the ideas of Enlightenment. Their communication, as I would argue, is fundamentally concerned with the necessity for action and agency.

5-The Concept of “Communicative Action”

Habermas's notion of communicative action, as noted previously, is based partly on Speech Act Theory; it claims that human being's ability to speak and act allows him to transcend subjectivity to move and claim objectivity. The claim to truth, give social rootedness of language, which is made possible and negotiable. Speech and action are not merely subjective, mechanical things; they do not aim to provide information but meaning, and process through inter-subjectivity (Habermas, 1984:18). Habermas lists three interests at the core or crux of language. The first is based on “natural interests”, which prove that nature is the material base of life. It can be transformed into objects and artifacts in many ways. Human beings have the ability to do so and hence there is a deep seated technical interest in nature. Knowledge is produced objectively and has a purpose; interests drive knowledge, human beings are interested in the manipulation and control of nature; this occurs

primarily because it is based on means and ends. Even spontaneous speech and action is caught in technical interests and are refined by abstracting life learning and isolating from empirical contexts; making the precise and predictable for inter-subjectivity, reliability; and systematizing the progress of knowledge communicatively at fitting them into theoretical system (Ibid.P.25).

The second is “practical interest” or Practical philosophy, which is concerned with the nature of human practice and ways to improve it, as distinguished from the attempt of theoretical philosophy to help us understand the nature of the world and of our knowledge about it. The theorist stresses that practical interests are based on the reliability of inter-subjective communication. It is important to point out that Habermas does not reject the techno-scientific notion of knowledge; he completes it with the social and hermeneutic aspect of knowledge which should not be abandoned like the earlier philosophers of Enlightenment did (P.151). Finally, Habermas claims that “social interest” is related to people’s actions, adds Habermas; they are not only self-generated; they have also an emancipator role to play. Controlled interest of natural sciences and the meaning interest of cultural sciences are important.

Habermas’s concept of communicative Action will be developed with Judith Butler’s idea of: “A Politics of the Performative” as an “Excitable Speech”. Her theory is based on Austin’s questions in relation to the way doing things *with* words, arguing that words are instrumentalized in getting things done. Austin divides speech act into illocutionary and perlocutionary acts of speech, between actions that are performed by virtue of words, and those that are performed as a consequence of words (Butler.1979:44). Habermas’ and Butler’s notions will be the concern of the third part, which revalues the relationship between Paine’s and Fanon’s communicative practice, which is oriented to achieving, sustaining, and renewing the social

consensus. The focus will be put on the ways the two authors perform a kind of “resignification as a strategy of opposition” by constructing “persuasive and interpellative” discourses as substitution for their experienced traumatic events. The aim is to bring together the two authors’ “free floating” thoughts; their presuppositions, which interact with their respective social contexts. The two authors rehearse in a pedagogical mode the injuries, which they deliver through their speech. Paine’s arguments of the loss of freedom in his *Rights of Man* and *Common Sense* will be compared to the loss of meaning as a dominating theme in Fanon’s *Black Skin, White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth*. To understand these “pedagogues of the oppressed”, their moral judgments, one has to attend to their communication modes and modality. Their defiance mounted for their autonomous will of individuals stands for their beliefs in the possibility of bringing positive change to humanity and their restless struggle to bring about a new habitus in matters of thinking and behaving. I would argue that their experiences of war with its destruction of the ethical and social order remain a proving ground not only for themselves, but also for their new vision of the world. Their optimism for the birth of a new social and political order is undeniable. In this particular aspect of their thought, they are the Candide figures of their days.

The spreading of knowledge and the removal of ignorance, therefore, became the principle objectives of Paine. As a supporter of working-class, he insisted that social and political ethics are necessary for the improvement in society through the acquisition of knowledge by working people. In *Towards the African Revolution*, *A Dying Colonialism*, and *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon maintains the same claims that struggle against colonialism is ethically motivated as an emancipation for mankind. The struggle is not presented as a gratuitous Hegelian battle for life and

death but for the mutual recognition of both the colonizer and colonized as human beings. His “directive” illocution advocates an articulate consciousness that can lead to the transcendence of colonial dehumanization.

6-The Concept of Public Sphere

The concept of “Public Sphere” will be used as a guiding paradigm for the analysis of radical culture and experience of Paine and Fanon. Jürgen Habermas introduced this complex notion in his *On Society and Politics. A Reader* (1989) and defines it as “an open space outside the influence of the state, the court, and the domestic world of the family; it is the place for all citizens where the public opinion is debated”. The participants adopt rational and critical discourses to formulate their social, political, and cultural opinions about general interests (Habermas, 1989:231). It was intended to engage in moral debates with critical intent to make political decisions susceptible to revision far from the coercive power of the state.

These private spaces also aimed to provide common good to persons who are excluded from public power because they hold no office and “public” no longer refers to be representative court. Competence regulated activity of the participants against the public power itself. Their activities were supported by critically weeklies and the political daily press (Ibid.P.235). The concept of public sphere is fully developed in Habermas’s *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (1991). The author discusses its origins and its various uses. During the 18th century, it was used by the emergent bourgeois classes to relocate the power from the state and the court, which contributed to the emergence of democratic decision making. Habermas maintains that the public sphere appeared with the ‘world of letters’ as an ‘apolitical form’ of discourse, which started in the tavern and coffee house as critical sites that enabled the transformation to a ‘public sphere in the political realm’ (P.15-17). It extended later to include social

organizations that acted in relation to the political public sphere through mediation of political parties or directly in the interplay with public administration and state (Habermas, 1991:21).

Habermas's concept, though limited to the European context of bourgeois class and the way the popular public sphere in the British context emerged, my objective is to relate this concept to Paine's and Fanon's commitments to democratic principles, cemented by their careers in the media, which allowed them to get in touch with politics. I suggest that the English tavern and coffee house gained much celebrity as transformative political spaces and Paine's contacts in White Hart Evening Club where 'private people putting reason to use' is situated beyond the confines of the bourgeoisie. It is true that Paine's experience with the public sphere of London Royal Society played an important role in shaping his ideas. The ideas of Paine are sharpened by the discourse of artisans, which cannot be understood as simply 'derivative of the bourgeois public sphere'. There were other important sites as prisons and taverns, which also served another purpose: they provide an index of the types of space in which radical politics happened (Parolin, 2010:12).

Moreover, the flexibility of the concept of "public sphere" can be used for inquiry in any time and can be applied to almost any place; it can be then linked to the intellectual culture of the 1950s Black radicals, which was a springboard to explore the experience of Fanon's radical stance within the Algerian society. Paine and Fanon were inspired by the peasants and workers social movements.

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Chapter Two: Historical Background. British and French Imperial Domination: From Re-conquest to the Fall of their Empires

This chapter turns around five points: first, I shall attempt to examine how the rise of the first and second British and French empires in America and Africa help explain their efforts to use imperial structures to engender subordinated societies. Second, I shall explain how the same structures led to an escalation of war that made the building of empire expensive and unsteady. Third, some aspects of the British and French complex interweaving of cultural, political, and military tactics used in the American and Algerian revolutions will be compared. Fourth, I shall study the factors accounting for the colonial acts of cruelty that made violence escalate into full-blown warfare. Finally, I intend to establish a relationship between the two revolutions as they are reflected in Paine's and Fanon's texts.

The causes of the American Revolutionary War and the Algerian Revolution are different in terms of space and time, though the motives of colonization are comparable in many aspects. The differences between the nature and the motives of colonization are: colonial America was a gathering of English colonies created as a result of religious and political persecution as well as economic opportunities. What links the two revolutions, in my view, is the fact that they were launched in the name of Enlightenment ideals, cheapened, and adulterated by Britain's and France's colonial exploitation on the behalf of capitalist interests. In addition, the impact of British and French imperial policies respectively in America and Algeria resulted in movements of liberation that sprang from colonial policies based on discrimination and exploitation. In the two countries, oppression and domination are exerted through fiscal pressing by the colonial powers over the populations and caused profound social discontent. In both countries too, resentment against the imperial

system was both widespread and well-founded. Such feeling, with regards to the American and Algerian people, created conflicts, which were not just about war as military operation; it was rather battles over ideas, beliefs and perceptions. Britain's hold over of America started with its imperial, political, economic and social interests in the 17th and 18th centuries, which invites to a comparison with France's multitude of ongoing military, cultural, and economic thrusts into Algeria. Britain's and France's foreign adventures and the past of the two "imperial nations" help understand the dynamics of empire and the socio-political processes of British and French establishment of their colonial systems over vast world territories, which are denounced by Paine and Fanon in their texts.

Yet, the information provided is by no means coverage of the American and Algerian Revolutions on which volumes have been written by historians and scholars. The task is rather to deal first, with the British and French re-conquest of America and Algeria. Second, parallels will be made between two revolutions conceived by an elite, most of whom intellectuals who constituted the army in America (Minutemen) and (National Liberation Front) in Algeria. More significantly, I intend to see how, as intellectuals awakeners, Paine and Fanon did not serve any power or authority except that of their adopted people. The same people, when submitted to oppression, always rebels sooner or later to recover their dignity and freedom.

Section One: British and French Rivalries over Territorial Domination

Britain's conflicting relations and rivalry with her neighbor France go far back to the Middle Ages because of political and religious reasons. In *The Rights of Man*, Thomas Paine refers to the long enmity between France and England and to the heavy taxes the British Parliament raised to finance the wars (Foner, 1984: 434-5). After the Norman Conquest, Britain was ruled by the French aristocracy after its

defeat in the battle of Hasting in 1066, which marked a watershed in English history. The defeat of the English at the battle of Hastings led to the establishment of the feudal system at its top William the Conqueror placed the French nobles. In 1327, the two countries engaged in brutal and ruinous conflict over territorial expansion, which is known as the One hundred Years War. That long, bloody, and intermittent conflict ended with Britain losing nearly all its French territories in 1485 and the end of the English presence in France by the time of Henry VIII in 1536. The poor bore the brunt of the Poll Tax (the tax for war), leading to the peasants' Rebellion in 1381. The French and the English efforts to build an Empire in Europe had some negative consequences since both countries paid a heavy price for their quest for glory; they were ruined by war taxation and its effects on practices of economy and its regulation (Mc Elwee, 1960:73-77).

The British and the French conflicting relations came to the fore by the end of the seventeenth century over the control of the new continent, America. In *Common Sense*, Paine refers to the fierce competition, which was engaged by Britain, France, and Spain for controlling the rich American continent (Foner, 1984:22). The struggle between these three nations involved also American peoples and amounted to a life and death struggle for domination in Europe as well as in the New World. They were fought on the waters and the soil of the two hemispheres. Their endeavor for domination lasted from 1688 to 1763 that saw the end of the Seven Years War or George's War. The American people, whether as British subjects or as American citizens, found themselves directly or indirectly amid these conflicts, which were known as "the Clashes of Empires". One of those wars was called the Seven Years War in Europe and the French and Indian War in America (Mc Elwee, Pp. 122-123).

The earliest contests among the European powers for the control of North America, known to the British colonists as King William's War (1689-1697) and Queen Ann's War (1702-1713), mostly pitted British colonists against the French "coureurs de bois", with both sides recruiting whatever Indian allies they could. Neither France nor Britain at that time considered America worth the commitment of large detachments of regular troops, so the combatants waged a kind of primitive guerrilla warfare. Indian allies of the French ravaged with torch and tomahawk the British colonial frontiers, using especially bloody violence on the villages of Schenectady, New York, and Deerfield, Massachusetts. Meanwhile, Spain entered the fray on the side of France by using its Florida base of South Carolina settlements. For their part, the British colonists failed in sallies against Quebec and Montreal but succeeded to control Port Royal in Acadia, which was named New Scotland by Britain. In 1713, both France and Spain failed in their conquest of the new continent while Britain re-conquered the French populated Acadia and Hudson Bay. These immense tracts pinched the St. Lawrence settlements of France. In 1739, Britain engaged in The War of Jenkins's Ear with Spain in the Caribbean Sea, which was transformed into a War of Austrian Succession in Europe, known as King George's War in America. France allied with Spain and New Englanders invaded New France with the help of the British navy and succeeded to be in command of French fortress of Louisburg, which was on Cape Breton Island and have a control over St. Lawrence River (Tindall, Shi.1989:88-89).

The conflict between France, which stuck to its vast holdings in North America and Britain, intensified over the control of the Ohio Valley, a strategic region into which the westward-pushing British colonists would inevitably penetrate. For France, it was also the key to the continent that the French had to retain, particularly if they

were going to link their Canadian holdings with those of the lower Mississippi Valley. By the mid 1700s, the British colonists, painfully aware of these basic truths, were no longer so reluctant to bear the burdens of the empire. The French project was to build forts commanding the strategic Ohio River such as Fort Duquesne, which was the key point where the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers join to form the Ohio with its site in Pittsburgh. Britain's colonists, baptized by fire, emerged with increased confidence in their military strength allied with Britain. The Battle of Quebec in 1759 ranks as one of the most significant engagements in British and American history. When Montreal fell in 1760, the French flag had fluttered in Canada for the last time. By the peace settlement at Paris (1763), the French power was thrown completely off the continent of North America. The French were allowed to retain several small but valuable sugar islands in the West Indies, and two islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. A compromise between France, Spain, and Britain let all trans-Mississippi Louisiana and the outlet of New Orleans to Spain, which ceded Florida to Britain in return for Cuba. Great Britain became the dominant power in North America and held its place as the leading naval power of the world (Ibid.92).

1) - Britain's and Frances' Competitions over Colonies in the New World

It is important to point out that the French and the British imperialist tradition followed the lead the Spanish and Portuguese empires. The mercantile came to be known as the Triangular Trade. The French and British will for expansion was motivated by the mercantile structure with its "policy of monopoly"; it was fueled by their capitalist industrialism and nationalism with its ideology of subjugating lands and people, which Fanon denounces in what follows: "The progress of Europe has been built with the sweat and the dead bodies of Negroes, Arabs, Indians and yellow races" (Fanon, 1990:76). The outcome of their imperial ambitions and colonialist

attitudes led to the formation of resistance and wars for decolonization and gave rise to fierce tensions, resistance and revolutions in America and Algeria. The same processes were central in shaping the critical, anti-colonialist, and revolutionary thoughts of Paine and Fanon.

From its discovery by Christopher Columbus during his second voyage to America in 1493 until the 1600s, it had been controlled by Spain. Local resistances, which prevented the Spaniards to achieve their settlement had been an opportunity to the French Compagnie des Isles d'Amérique to claim it as a colony for France in 1635. It was the beginning of the French settlement with a great number of farmers coming from Normandy, Brittany and the Charente landing in the Guadeloupe. To face the difficulty of working conditions in the plantations, Louis XIII authorized and encouraged importation of slaves to work the farms. The French authorities reinforced their control over the region with a series of laws and regulations, known as le "Code Noir" (Williams, 1944:32-33).

Martinique and other West Indian colonies had been a source of raw material and an important market for the French first empire. Fanon refers in his *The Wretched of the Earth* to the blind domination founded on slavery within the "early days of capitalism, when colonies were the source of raw materials, which turned into manufactured goods for European markets" (Fanon, 1990:151). The West Indies were involved in the wars between the British and the Spanish, known as the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-1742), and then between the British and the French in the early years of the Seven Years' War (1755-1763). Fanon maintains that the conflict between the two powers continued with France's participation in the American War for independence; he then establishes the link between Capitalism and violent forces which blaze up in colonial territory (Fanon, 1990:51). The French domination and its

quest for territory and wealth was not respectful of human rights of the indigenous peoples and the harshly oppressive system inflicted on slaves, which led a number of revolts in 1801, 1811, 1822, 1831, 1833, and 1848, with the abolition of slavery the same year (Macey, 20012:33,55).

2)-Britain's and France's Footholds in Africa

France and Britain started their tractions in Africa with the Atlantic slave trade, which started, Eric Williams writes, with "The first English slave-trading expedition of Sir John Hawkins in 1562. Like so many Elizabethan ventures, it was a buccaneering expedition encroaching on the papal arbitration of 1493 that made Africa a Portuguese monopoly" (Williams, 1944:30). Slave trade intensified with "the policy of monopoly" over the American commerce and industry. France and Britain were considered as the leading slave-trading powers in Europe. Enslaved Africans were transported to work on the sugar plantations of Brazil and the British West Indies. Others worked on tobacco plantations in North America. Fanon writes: "The ports of Holland, the docks of Bordeaux and Liverpool were specialized in the Negro slave trade and owe their renown to millions of deported slaves" (Fanon, 1990:81).

In Britain, one of the most important consequences of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the expulsion of the Stuarts was the impetus it gave to the principle of free trade, which allowed the increase of the demands for slaves. The "Triangular Trade" supplied "Britain and France and Colonial America with raw materials and slaves for working in plantations. The two counties became so powerful and their ports were used to trade with Africa but also received those coming from the Americas laden with goods and raw materials produced by slavery, which gave a "triple stimulus" to British and French industries (Williams, 1944:60-3).

Fanon cites the Napoleonic War and the power of the French army, which made the whole Europe, tremble (1990:50). To stop Napoleon's plans for the control in the Caribbean, the British Parliament passed the an Act in 1806 banning slave trade, which was intended to attack French interests, but it also undermined the bulk of the British trade. After the abolition of slavery in 1807, the struggle for supremacy in international trade and empire between Britain and France continued and resulted in wars ending with the strengthening of Britain's position in India, Africa and the Caribbean. Moreover, Britain's victory in the Napoleonic wars ensured its victory over France in overseas trade while its industrial revolution provided it with a dominant manufacturing position (Ibid.P.156-59).

France's policy, after her defeat by Prussia in 1870, had become one of vast colonial expansion; it engaged to restore her "national prestige" through international territorial acquisitions. In the 1830s, the French started their conquest project to re-create the empire (Canada and India) they had lost in favor of Britain in 1763. They also engaged in a conquest of Algeria. By using piracy as an excuse they carried out their African expansion with an expedition of troops to Algeria in 1830. During the 1840s, France regained its influence through the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire by supporting the rebellious Egyptian Pasha Mohamed Ali. But his grandson, the Khedive Ismail's (1863-1879) foreign adventures devoid of financial prudence, his public works schemes undertaken without good judgment, and his personal lavishness precipitated Egypt into a financial crisis in 1875. As a consequence, its finances were placed under the control of Britain and France. A nationalist movement then arose, and several years of disorder culminated in serious riots in 1882, which compelled Britain to squash the nationalists' revolt. The Khedive's authority was reestablished and Egypt fell under British rule (Oliver, Fage, 1995:37).

France's crucial defeat had been its loss of control over the Suez Canal, which was built by a French enterprise and directed by a French diplomat and engineer, Ferdinand de Lessep, to Britain. Disraeli obtained more than half of the shares in the Suez Canal Company in 1875. This purchase laid the basis for an increasing British interest in Egypt which ended in its total control after 1882, displacing the French who had historic ties there going back to Napoleon. A further humiliation ended French renewed attempts in the region of 'Fashoda' in 1898. British troops moving up from Egypt and Sudan forced the withdrawal of the French garrison at Fashoda, on the head-waters of the Nile. The retreat from what is known as "Fashoda incident" caused uproar in French domestic politics. There was a reversal that, if not quite as spectacular as the one inflicted by Nelson on Napoleon at the battle of the Nile, had repercussions almost as momentous. It ended French hopes in Egypt and Sudan, and put an end to French ambitions of an equatorial African empire stretching from the west coast to the east. Britain also completed her occupation of Nigeria, Ghana, Gambia and Sierra Leone in West Africa, and acquired Kenya, Nyasaland, Uganda, Zanzibar (where the Arab Sultan accepted a British protectorate) and British Somaliland in the east. In the Gold Coast there were two more wars with the Ashanti before it became a British colony in 1902 (Boahen, 1985:1).

3)-France's Reconstruction of its Empire

From the eighteenth to the twentieth century, Britain and France carried on their "imperialistic projects" and their competition to dominate Europe and the world. Such a competition started in France with the rich and influential state ruled by the French King Louis XIV, who had a complete military, economic, and cultural control. He presided over an amazing royal court at Versailles and was able to take possession of key territories and established his country as the dominant power on

the continent until the War of the Spanish Succession, which lasted from 1701 to 1714. During his reign, the Bourbons had a strong influence not only in France but in Spain and many of the Italian states. Their power extended also to North America, the Caribbean and India. Hence, France became the leader of Europe and the light to the world; its culture was imitated and admired while its language spread all over Europe and became the most used the educated classes all around the continent. However, France did not achieve its projects without a number of severe struggles with its European imperial rivals, particularly with Britain. Their conflicts were motivated by economic, geostrategic, political, and cultural factors (Mc Elwee, 1960:117).

The first French and English conflict led to four European and intercontinental wars; it started with the ascent of William of Orange to the British throne after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The British monarch stood against the impressive imperialist ambitions of Louis XIV and engaged in war against France. It was known as the King William's War (1689-1697) when Britain entered in coalition with Germany and Netherlands. The conflict became acute with Queen Anne's War (1701-1713), which was followed by King George's War (1744-1748). From the middle of the nineteenth century, devastating changes altered the French superiority; they were caused by the Seven Years War (1756-63). The conflict overturned the struggle for empire and global influence. It started when England declared war on France in the early 1750s (Tindall, Shi, 1989:88).

However, the French defeat did not put an end to its will of overseas territorial domination. While Britain consolidated its rule in India and in south Asia, France's empire-building project was directed to the control of Indochina, which started when French justified its penetration by revenge of their traders and missionaries. The

French took possession of Vietnam in 1858 siding with Catholic missionaries; its intervention led to increasing French involvement and imperial ambitions in the region. In 1859, it occupied Cochin, which became its colony. France used resistance against the local factions and protection of their interests and subjects to hide their will for expansion and power (Goscha, 2012:13-14).

With the French triumph over the local conflicting factions, the Vietnamese population was deprived off their lands for the profit of the French new comers. France established Protectorates over other territories during the 1880s and 1890s. The French gained control over more and more land, the right to sell French goods, and spread Catholicism. By the late 19th century, Vietnam became an important French colony, a source of raw materials with its rubber plantations, opium and wine industries. It was also a center for French industrial companies, and a trading post for French products. Meanwhile, many of the Vietnamese who had lost their land for failing to pay taxes were forced to hard labor in French plantations. These poor peasants suffered from malaria, dysentery, and malnutrition while the French colonial authorities remained deaf to their grievances. The unfair land tenure laws, hard labor, increasing taxes gave birth to revolts against the colonial regime. Between 1863 and 1893, Cambodia, Laos and the Vietnamese territories, Annam, Tonkin and Cochin China, were under French control, forming what is known as French Indo-China. With these territorial gains, France became the second imperial power in the nineteenth century (Ibid.P.17).

The French and the British industrial Revolutions and their free trade liberalism motivated their ambitions and renewed their confidence to embark on more territorial expansions. They gained footholds on Africa starting from the 1870s. As they experienced a “Second Industrial Revolution,” which accelerated the pace of

change as science, technology, and industry prompted economic growth, improvements in steel production revolutionized ship building and transportation. The development of the railroad, the internal combustion engine, and electrical power generation contributed to the growing industrial economies of British and French and their need to seek new avenues of expansion. Colonial settlement is seen by Fanon as “the main methods used by Europe to increase its wealth, its gold, diamond reserves, and to establish its power” (Fanon, 1990:80).

To legitimate their interests, France and Britain used the denial of African history to establish the necessity, to paraphrase Rudyard Kipling, of the “White Men’s Burden”, to bring light, innovation and technologies to the “Dark continent”. The British and French expansion policies were mostly motivated by political needs that connected empire building with national greatness and religious reasons that promoted the superiority of Western society over “backward” societies. Africa provided France and Britain with raw goods. They hoarded oil, ivory, rubber, palm oil, wood, cotton, and gum (for paper). They used the African cheap African labor and easily acquired materials to spark a financial boom in their countries. The industrial revolution of capital goods increasingly took the lead, ushering in the age of coal, steel and iron, manifested in intense railway construction, other transportation means, and arms industries. Through the use of direct military force, economic spheres of influence, and annexation, Britain and France dominated the continent. By 1884-1885, they controlled the largest number of areas. Basil Davidson writes that the vastness of British and French holdings and their imperialism had consequences that affected the colonized countries and the world leading to increased competition among nations and to conflicts that would disrupt world peace in 1914 (Davidson, 1978:112-115).

Section Two: British Mercantilism in America and French Expansion in Algeria

A) British Control Over the American Colonies

Throughout the French and British conflicts, the American colonists fought valiantly at the side of British regulars and had gained war experience as officers and soldiers. However, if the French and Indian War reinforced colonial self-esteem, it also demystified the myth of British invincibility. The American colonists, as Paine describes it in his fourth *Crisis Papers*, stating: "I have been tender in raising the cry against these men, and used numberless arguments to shew them their danger, but it will not do to sacrifice a world to either folly or their baseness" (P.94). The author explains how Americans felt betrayed by the British contempt after risking their lives to defend and secure the British Empire against its French and Spanish enemies. The situation worsened when considering the role of the American colonies in the British economy as the dominant sources of raw materials and major consumers of manufactured products are the results of long years of British dominance, exploitation and political impositions. Though each colony had its own government, the British monarchy controlled them.

By the 1770s, many colonists expressed overtly their revolt because they did not have self-government. They could not govern themselves and make their own laws while they had to pay high taxes to the British monarch. They felt that they were paying taxes to a government where they had no representation. They were also angry because the colonists were forced to let British soldiers sleep and eat in their homes. Besides revenue bills, additional policies caused unrest in the American colonies in the years after the war. In May 1765, Parliament passed a Quartering Act that required colonial authorities to find or pay the lodging expense for British soldiers stationed in the colonies. The act did not require the quartering of soldiers in

occupied homes but did permit the quartering of soldiers in inns, livery stables, ale houses, barns, and other buildings. When the colony of New York failed to obey the Quartering Act in 1766, Parliament suspended the New York legislature in 1767 and 1769 (Tindall, 1989:102,106).

More significantly, America inherited from the progress of thought generated by the Enlightenment era. *Rights of Man* and *The Age of Reason* display Paine's immersion in the 'enlightened' intellectual movement of his time. They explain his reasoning upon natural principles while they implicitly presume religious beliefs, setting various scriptural stones to lay his foundation. Such an advance was essential in the shift of the mood of reflection as the New World benefited from the works of philosophers such as Locke and Montesquieu who influenced considerably the minds of people, rejecting aristocracy which had no justification of existence and advocating democratic republicanism as the most natural and only legitimate form of State.

The English immigrants, mostly Puritans who flocked to America, sought to establish settlements where religious freedom, which Paine advocates in his *The Age of Reason* (P.725). They also fought for economic opportunities. They escaped discrimination and persecution and often disagreed with the English government and the Church of England over governmental policy and religion. The settlers transposed such ideas in the colonies like Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Morton. C. Joseph is right to point out: "Much of the impetus for American independence emanated from the Bay Colony of New England". The colonists "nurtured a society that gave rise to the independently-minded New Englanders who overwhelmingly sought independence from Great Britain in the late 18th century" (Morton, 2003:6).

The situation in the colonies worsened, as Paine writes in *Common Sense*, during the time of George III, "who deprived them of any form of political life control

when commerce diminishes the spirit, both of patriotism and military defense while England hath lost its spirit” (P.42). The colonists were regarded as markets where raw materials could be obtained and finished goods sold. The British monarchy wanted to remain subservient and no competition with the mother country in industry or trade was allowed. Such mercantile considerations impinged on the liberties of American colonists, who were very unpatriotic and did not want to pay to England either duties or taxes. Hence, the settlers started to develop their sense of liberty and issued new concepts that brought deep changes in the political practices, thus transforming “the thirteen colonies into small self-governing republics”. “The State Constitutions” which were elaborated during the Revolution and to which Paine participated, “contained provisions for broadening the suffrage, granting political power to the elected legislatures”, and organizing elections, respecting constitutions such as that of Pennsylvania, drafted in 1776, whose innovation was the creation of governments of limited powers (Ibid.P.4).

1)-The British King George III’s Policy and Resentment of the Colonists

The political transformation, which turned into a revolutionary war was the outcome of the pressures exerted by England over its colonies in the second half of the 17th century, especially the Navigation Acts of 1651, 1660, 1663, and 1673 that regulated the American trade in England’s favor. The “Albany Plan of Union”, a meeting of the seven coastal colonies followed to establish a government of all the colonies that would raise taxes and form an army for the common defense. The conception of the Albany Plan as a defense strategy established a precedent for common cooperation in the colonies which elaborated a unified attitude that grew hostile to Britain. The British imperial system ignored the colonies for many years and turned to them when new tax revenues were needed in the 1760s, especially after

the Seven Years War which ended in 1763 with the defeat of France. After the Treaty of Paris, the colonies witnessed political unrest when George III became King in 1760 upon the death of his grand-father, George II. The new twenty-two-year-old king exerted further oppression when the Parliament passed the Townshend Acts, a series of measures proposed by Charles Townshend, the Exchequer. The decisions fanned the flames of resistance resulting in a national non-importation movement in America, thus giving credence to the spirit of the Albany Plan. The emphasis on that legislation is important because it raised the wrath of mostly all the colonists. The first major crisis in Anglo-American relations was brought about by the passage of the Stamp Act as it concerned the rich and the poor alike. Edward Countryman writes that “anyone who bought or sold land, who became an apprentice, went to church, married, read a newspaper, consumed drinks in a tavern, gambled, took public office, or went to court, was compelled to pay a tax”. Globally, the colonial society rejected it and it brought the American colonists closer together than they had ever been before. Countryman adds that American printers poured out political pamphlets, newspaper essays, broadsides, poems and songs. Town meetings, popular conventions, revolutionary committees, and regular assemblies passed endless declarations and resolutions (Countryman, 1985:46).

2)- The British Taxation Policy in the Colonies

The colonists advanced the doctrine of real representation in the British Parliament and the organization of the Stamp Act Congress, as a reaction to that tax, was significant. It was the initial important step towards colonial union, which allowed the delegates to meet for the first time together and carry out later a revolution. As Countryman writes, the colonists dropped their localism, becoming Americans rather than New Yorkers or South Carolinians and the growing American nationalism is to

be considered as the point of departure leading to the American independence from Britain (Countryman, 1985:18). The “Boston Massacre” of March 1770 was a turning point on the road to the revolution as it succeeded to galvanize colonial opposition. The Boston Tea Party (1773) was another determining event that precipitated a series of actions which quickened the pace along the road to revolution (Morton, 2003:29). The origins of the American Revolution go back to the climate of collective resentment reinforced by the Stamp Act Congress of October 1765, which assembled delegates from nine colonies who met in New York to protest against the act’s burden. The information exchanged by the Committees of correspondence and the pacific town meetings, turned to violent action. Various groups called themselves “The Sons of Liberty” or committees of correspondence opposed the Stamp Act and often used physical intimidation to achieve goals (Kuklick, 2009:44, 60).

The Revolutionary War that broke out in April 1775 was the result of the political movement for independence that had developed over a number of years in response to increasing disagreements regarding Britain’s jurisdiction in colonial affairs. During his support of the New American Government, Thomas Paine was dealing with the “American Crisis” pamphlet series, one of the most significant of his works. The beginnings of the revolution, according to Daniel Moncure Conway, go back far in history when North Carolinians encountered British troops and 200 “patriots” were killed and their leaders hanged for treason. The earliest martyrs were forgotten because North Carolina produced no historians, poets, and magazines to report their story. In addition, the rebellion which Governor Tryon crushed at Abamance, though against oppression, occurred in 1771. This conflict was ignored because the events happened before the colonies had made common cause.

For most historians, the American Revolution started in 1771 when in North Carolina, the first armed resistance to British oppression occurred. Its Mecklenburg County has been the first to organize a government independent of the Crown. When in September, 1774, the first Continental Congress assembled, its members generally expected to settle troubles with the “mother country” by petitions to Parliament. Conway believes that if Great Britain had conceded to Americans the constitutional rights of Englishmen, there could have been probably no revolution (Conway, 1892:54). The issue of separation from Britain was highly controversial. In this sense, Countryman states: “the question of independence cut through the knot and forced all colonials to decide which side they were on”. For Thomas Jefferson, as for many other American intellectuals, the different Acts offered good evidence that there was a concerted campaign to destroy American liberty. The colonists found no reason that “160,000 electors in the island of Great Britain should give law to four millions in the states of America, every individual of whom is equal to every individual of them” (Countryman, 1985:3,4,45,70).

3)- The Impact of the Enlightenment on the American Declaration of Independence

The American Revolution started as a performative announcement, which was part of the debates of that time before it turned into an action and an armed revolution. To the thousands of resolutions performed, replied torrents of counter proclamations. In Pennsylvania and in the colonies generally, the conflict over national independence was complicated by a struggle for democracy within the province. The wealthy Quakers and Anglicans of the eastern counties opposed not only national independence, but also democratic reform of the provincial Assembly, for whose members most of the adult males in Philadelphia and half of the western frontiersmen had no vote, and in the oligarchic assembly instructed its delegates in

Congress to resist any proposition leading to the twin evils; independence and a reform in the provincial government. That alliance of local and royal despotism was opposed by popular committees of discontented farmers who resorted to revolt against the British order (Smith, 1938:30).

By the end of 1775, it still seemed to most Americans who had supported the taking up of arms that they were fighting to restore the sovereign to his senses rather deposing him and establishing a republic. Within the Continental Congress, two opposing factions were represented; the radicals composed of a group which had been actively working for independence, including Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Rush, as well as Generals George Washington, Nathaniel Greene and Charles Lee and another, including delegates, who rejected any suggestion of political separation from Great Britain. In many colonies, local politicians and future revolutionary leaders got their first experiences in revolutionary politics as members of the democratically-elected committees, which became the engines that drove the independence movement towards the July 2, 1776 decision for independence. The first Continental Congress ended its deliberation by endorsing addresses to the king representing the views of the conservative majority in which the colonists reaffirmed their allegiance to the crown, and passed a motion that it would meet again, in May 1775, if Britain failed to repeal the Intolerable Acts. In other words, the colonists hoped for a British retreat in the face of united colonial opposition (Morton, 2003:37).

The meeting in May 1775 of the Continental Congress represented the failure of reconciliation. It constituted the American government from March 1775 to March 1781 when the Articles of Confederation were promulgated. The Congress gave birth to the first American union, created the Continental Army and Navy, declared independence, waged war, made alliances with British enemies abroad, and

concluded peace treaty. The American Revolution was inspired by four major eighteenth-century trends: the philosophies of the Enlightenment, the Great Awakening, the Expansion of the British Empire and the wars that resulted from British global ambitions and economic disagreements between Britain and the colonies. The Great Awakening led to a greater sense of unity among the colonies and to more independence thinking on the part of many people who began to question the wisdom of established religion. As Britain expanded its global reach, it became increasingly dependent on income from the colonies, both through trade and taxation. In addition, the French and Indian War taught the colonists both that European military strategies did not work well in battles in America and that the colonists had to rely on one another for protection. These trends, combined with a series of specific events, including the Stamp Act, the Sugar Act, the Navigation Acts, and the Townshend Acts, led many colonists to consider revolution (Meyers, 2006:60).

The Declaration, largely inspired by the Enlightenment ideas, which are developed in all Paine's writings, led to a new grasp of politics. The American political leaders assumed that the Creator made all people somehow the same or at least all white men. In the order of things, men should have equal opportunities and an equal voice with other men in determining how society should be arranged. They assumed that such "natural rights" were given by God, and no government should take them away. The American thinkers had in fact relied on the egalitarian teachings of the religious awakenings, claiming that all people looked the same in the eyes of God. New political approaches distinguished society from government.

The American founding document implemented a wide variety of ideals, ranging from the broadening of economic opportunities, the enlargement of the

universal suffrage, and the abolition of the symbols of aristocratic rules. In this respect, Morton C. Joseph considers that in declaring “those men are created equal”, the revolutionaries inaugurated the first anti-slavery movement, though the blacks’ rights were ignored. The freedom of religion was the core idea that made the basis of a republican society work, via separation of church and state. Another idea entrenched in the Declaration of Independence is that men should not be subject to the hierarchy that was the foundation for a monarchical government, such as that England had used with the colonists in the New World. The final version of the document, largely penned by Thomas Jefferson, was the outcome of some semantic changes. Morton notes that phrases such as “Scots and foreign mercenaries” were deleted, as there were Scots in the Congress, and a denunciation of the African slave trade, as it was seen as offensive to some Southern and New England delegates. Some phrases in the document have steadily exerted profound influence in the United States, especially the proclamation that “We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal” (Morton, 2003:3).

The Declaration laid the ground for a new political era in the former colonies and around the world. In America, it served to justify the extension of American political and social democracy and remains a great landmark as it contained the first formal assertion by a whole people of their right to a government of their own choice. Divided into three parts, the Declaration proclaims, in its first section, high principles including that men are created equal; all have, therefore, unalienable rights such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as one can read it in its preamble:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes

destructive of those ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government (Ibid: 9).

The excerpt expresses the self-regard of the American Enlightenment that politics had been inherited from colonial religious culture. Indeed, the Declaration spoke of the God of nature and invoked Providence as a protector of revolutionaries. While the second part justifies the Americans' trend to alter the political order imposed by monarchy through which King George's policies convinced them that a plan to establish tyranny over them was under way, the third one asserts the necessity to cut off the ties from the British colonial system and proclaiming that the former colonies are "free and independent states", entitled to do everything "which independent states may or might do" (Countryman, 1985:124).

However, some Americans remained critical toward their revolution. They often grew impatient with the unfulfilled promise of the ideals presented in the Declaration of Independence which failed to resolve the problem of slavery, neglected the rights of women, and dismissed Native Americans' rights to their lands as increasing numbers of Americans moved westward. Still, other Americans were captivated with the founding period from the First Continental Congress to the presidencies of George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson. Some of the changes produced during the Revolution were that people who had enjoyed less freedom began asserting a claim to equal rights with people who had long enjoyed more. In this perspective, Gordon S. Wood writes:

Equality was questioned since the issue of slavery was a terrible plight in the American society. George Washington, prior the Revolution, like most 18th century Americans, especially Virginians, took slavery much for granted. [...] In the new republican society of equal citizens dedicated to liberty, slavery became an anomaly, a "peculiar institution" (Wood, 2006:38,39).

In the spring of 1776, a plot to assassinate General Washington was uncovered. Money was procured to traitors, including members of Washington's personal guard.

Some soldiers betrayed their positions and deserted to the British, bringing detailed plans of Fort Washington, held by their regiments. This helped the British in their successful attack upon the Fort which fell on November 6, 1776, totaling the American casualties to 3,000 and heavy material loss (Aptheker.1960:131,132). The Revolution however, achieved two main purposes; the destruction of the British Empire in America and the creation of the American Republic.

B) France's Second Empire and the Conquest of Algeria

Unlike what happened in India and North America, the French were not ousted from Africa. Taking advantage from their base in Algiers, seized in 1830, France maintained its control of the Mediterranean coasts. Algeria was annexed in 1870, Tunisia in 1881, and Morocco in 1912. French control of North Africa helped its incursions into sub-Saharan Africa, leading to the formation of French West Africa in 1895 and French Equatorial Africa followed in 1910. France was the most active colonial power, and acquired the largest area of territory. Its African empire included Algeria and Tunisia in the north; Senegal, French Guinea, Ivory Coast and Dahomey in the West African coastlands; French West Africa which took in nearly all the Sahara and western Sudan; French Equatorial Africa which comprised Gabon, some of the Congo and central Sudan (Chad); French Somaliland (Djibouti), and the island of Madagascar. The French imperialist project was to build a vast African empire, linked by a Trans-Saharan Railway running from Algiers to the Sudan, with branches to the key port city of Dakar on the West African coast. Such a project had never been achieved; the Trans-Saharan Railway was not constructed, and British diplomacy and military power blocked the French in the northwestern corner of Africa (Oliver, Fage, 1995:167).

In 1830, Charles X, the last Bourbon monarch, exploited old commercial and political disputes with the Dey of Algiers and ordered an expedient attack to shift the attention of his subjects, restless with his ultraconservative policies in France, toward exciting foreign adventures. Algeria, then, became a means to serve Bourbon internal and external interests. Economic concerns were secondary, though providing persuasive rationales inflating political prestige. Algeria was destined to be a mirror reflecting France's vision of itself as a world power. Thus, from 1880 to 1895, the French conquered a colonial empire in Africa and Asia of some 9,5 million square kilometers. Fanon stresses the pitiless competition among European powers over territorial control and the Berlin Conference, which "was able to tear Africa into shreds and divide her up between three or four imperial flags" (Fanon, 1990:51).

Algeria was conquered in 1830 and became first a military colony and by April 1845, it was divided into three provinces. Shortly afterwards in the 1860s and 1870s, it began to experience successive waves of European colonists who deprived the natives of most of the best land assets (Le Sueur, 2001:17).

1)- The Outcomes of Land Expropriation and French Settlements

The land tenure in England is comparable in many aspects to the land issue in colonial Algeria. After the end of the military Norman Conquest of England, William the Conqueror confiscated a fifth of the land and distributed it to his lords. Throughout his writings, Paine repeatedly mentions the effects of conquest on poor people while denouncing "the landed interests" and taxes in *Rights of Man* (P.610). Nearly, the same process of land expropriation took place during the 19th century after the French military invasion of Algeria. Successive waves of French and European immigrants, called the "Pieds noirs", (black feet) took over Algerian land, turning the country into a settler colony. Under French rule, Algerian lands were

seized under the Warnier Law of 1873 to accommodate the growing settler population. An 1895 inquiry reported that indigenous residents lost more than 5 million hectares of land and, in 1939, it reached 7.7 million ha, representing more than 40% of the most productive land of the country, dispossessed as a result of French colonialism (Ahluwalia, 2010:28).

During the same period, the French colonial authorities operated other oppressive measures to force the Algerians to unproductive lands in order to make room for the European influx. An estimated 6,385 European cultivators possessed 87% of the land while there were over one million rural people unemployed. Land expropriation resulted inevitably in a high unemployment rate and poverty among the Algerian society. As the rural poverty was growing steadily and the urban misery increasing massively, shanty towns grew around the European urban centers like Algiers. Thus, the concept of the “Frenchness” of Algeria obviously benefited the settlers who “acquired some 215 million acres of land in the years between 1871 and 1919” (Shipway, 2008:56).

Such a policy, based on racial discrimination and social exclusion affected deeply the Algerians; the marginalized labor force, which was pushed to the edges of the economy constituted the hard core of nationalist support. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon denounces the colonial system, which deprives the colonized from their right of access to land and property (P.75). This exclusive right will force some to sell to colons, property in land will be concentrated in the hands of the minority will be divided into one class of land owners, and another that owns only their labor. The first, enjoying a monopoly on land, will impose draconian terms of access on the laborers, and establish a system in which they live idly off the toil of others, while the workers are impoverished, although they produce everything. Since private property

is the cause of their misery, it is unjustified. The revolutionaries would commit no crime in struggling to recover their land, since it was stolen from humanity in the first place and is now only being returned to the common use to which all have an inalienable right (Fanon, 1990:48).

These economic and social segregations also had political effects; the issue of citizenship was applied to the settler community whilst the Algerians were considered as subjects, just liable to a range of administrative sanctions imposed by a Native Code, known as “Le Code de l’indigénat” which was issued in 1908 and finally abolished in 1944. Despite the injustices, 173 000 Algerians fought during WW I and defended the French cause after conscription had been imposed in 1908 (Naylor, 2000:14). Algeria also constituted the only French colony of settlement, with a million “Europeans” in 1954 (French, but also Italians, Spanish and Maltese, who not only enjoyed an automatic naturalization) but also whose advantages were to be opposed to the under-administration and the under-equipment of the local population.

The battlegrounds of the First World War brought experience to the Algerian conscripts to prepare for the Revolution that erupted in 1954. The spirit of armed upheaval nurtured during the second half of the 19th century was preceded by a certain number of rebellions though devoid of nationalist dimension. Fanon alludes in his *The Wretched of the Earth* to the successive rebellions (P.54), like the revolts led by Emir Abdelkader (1847), Fatma N’Soumeur (1850), Ouled Sidi Cheikh (1864), and El Mokrani (1871) which are considered by Naylor as a kind of violent response to the French refusal to recognize tribal procedure, prestige and dignity. Naylor is to the point because the revolts were geographically limited and intermittent as none of the leaders had defined clearly a global vision of an Algerian State as a political entity. The rebellions which were limited in time and space were episodic reactions to

specific oppressive colonial policies. After the exhaustion of the Algerian population by the end of the Revolt of 1871, the French Third Republic was established and consolidated the colonial system by disinheritance and disorienting the colonized. The movement towards the Algerian liberation came at the end of a long period of economic decline and was conditioned by the two world wars which gave the Algerians more incentive to start a nationalist movement. Naiiad N. Wong wrote: "The fact that France also depended on Algeria during both world wars revealed to the Algerians that their colonizers were vulnerable and not invincible" (Wong, 2002:21).

However, the worsening of the social and economic conditions originated from the sufferings of several political restrictions and a heavy and oppressive situation as the call to reform introduced by the integrationist or nationalist organizations was rejected by the colonial order. That status quo was to favor the emergence of a group of pro-independence nationalists who advocated the Algerian political autonomy. The Blum-Viollette project of 1937, extending the right to vote to a minority of Algerians, was pushed back. Ten years later, a new organic statute was granted, creating an Algerian Parliament that instituted a discriminatory dual-College. That atmosphere of discontent favored the emergence of a nationalist revival (Harbi, 1998, pp, 13, 9, 21, 108).

2)- The Unrest After WWII, The French Defeat in Asia, and its Hold on Algeria

Fanon writes that during the period following the Second World War to which he participated, tensions were exacerbated and Algeria experienced a great turmoil with the uprising of May 1945 which occurred nearly a decade before the beginning of the Algerian Liberation War. He denounces the French indifference to deportations, massacres, forced labor, and the 45 000 victims of the riots, which passed unnoticed (1990:62). Algerian nationalists lodged similar complaints against

the French occupation of Algeria and World War II became a turning point in the raise of consciousness since it gave tremendous impetus to nationalism in Algeria in particular and North Africa in general. The social and political unrest, which prevailed in the Algerian society from 1944 to 1945, is well detailed in Redouane Aïnat Tabet's analysis of the different crises experienced by the different layers of Algerian society. The author writes that the situation was fuelled in part by a poor wheat harvest, shortages of manufactured goods and a severe unemployment rate. At the political level, the Algerian nationalist claims, even for civic and political equality, were suppressed and repressed. The crisis penetrated every aspect of life and the signs of an approaching storm were all too apparent. On May 8th, the Algerians and French celebrated V.E Day and there were demonstrations that caused thousands of casualties. Ferhat Abbas was arrested; his political party, the AML dissolved. Consequently, a large demonstration was organized by the Algerian nationalists to protest against the French tyranny (Tabet, 1987, pp, 29, 85, 86).

The shots fired during those events were to be considered as the beginnings of what became the Algerian War of Liberation. The brutal repression and the bombings that targeted villages were the first military operations and attacks. While the French counted 300 people dead, the Algerian nationalists claimed 45,000. At the political level, the 1945 events made the French political personnel to react; the French president, Charles De Gaulle declared his determination not to allow Algeria "to slip through our [France] fingers". His government created the Statute of 1947, under which Algeria was governed officially until January 1958, when it was displaced by a new framework law (loi-cadre). The statute created two electoral "colleges" of 60 persons each for Muslims and Europeans in Algeria, and gave 30

representatives to Algeria in the National Assembly in Paris. Even though the system was unequal, elections offered posts to docile Muslim Collaborators (Wall, 2001:11).

Meanwhile, the Algerian nationalists rejected any mere reform of existing structures and institutions because they were convinced that these reforms could yield national unity and change. Fanon mentions the failure of political negotiations, which were engaged by Algerian political parties (1990:48). Since 1947, the Algerians had voted in a college separate from that of Europeans. The principle of equality, "one man, one vote," was not respected and the idea of independence, shared by a growing proportion of Algerians, seemed to be the only way to undo that contradiction. That gave birth to a radical organization and to relentless struggle for independence. Members of the PPA, an outlawed party that continued to operate clandestinely, formed the radical group which created secret political cells throughout Algeria and paramilitary groups in Kabylia and the Constantine region. The emergence of the advocates of the revolution began their work as a Secret Organization (OS) in 1947. They were obliged to carry out secretly military operations since political protest through legal channels was banned. The situation was fuelled by the rigged elections of 1948 for an Algerian Assembly that made it clear that the peaceful solution to Algerians' problems was not possible (Le Sueur, 2001:93).

As a reaction to the inhuman practices of Bugeaud and all the French conquistadors, who claimed: "We are here by force of the bayonets" (Fanon, 1990:66), the Algerian started their struggle through sudden attacks. In 1950, the French police discovered that the robbery of the Oran post office had been the act of the Secret Organization (OS), led by Ahmed Ben Bella. The group, whose opposition to French colonization became increasingly radical, began to prepare the Revolution. It was known as the Revolutionary Committee of Unity and Action (CRUA). Nine

nationalist leaders, known as the “Historical Chiefs”, namely; Hocine Ait Ahmed, Mohamed Boudiaf, Krim Belkacem, Rabah Bitat, Larbi Ben Mhidi, Didouche Mourad, Moustapha Ben Boulaid, Mohamed Khider and Ahmed Ben Bella, led the organization. In 1954, the Secret Organization became the National Liberation Front (FLN) and assumed the responsibility for the political direction of the Revolution that rested on the National Liberation Army (ALN), a military branch, which conducted the war for independence (Connelly, 2002:25).

Within the leadership of the "activist" and, as a consequence of the negation of Algerian national identity, the FLN was pushed into launching its armed challenge to continue colonial rule on 1st November 1954. The Algerian nationalist politicians, exiled in Tunis were led constantly to proclaim the international character of the conflict. The bombing of Sakiet Sidi Youcef in Tunisia in 1958 and the revelations regarding the use of torture and other internationally outlawed “pacification” method in Algeria, made a major contribution to the critical awakening of international opinion (Martin, 2002:138).

In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon celebrates the “great victory of the Vietnamese people in Dien Bien Phu” and points out to panic of the colonialist government. For him, “the Korean and Indo Chinese wars, with the revolt in Kenya by the Mau Mau, represent a new phase” in the struggle for liberation (1990:62). The mid-1940s was marked by persistent acts of extralegal violence aimed at punishing those who had collaborated with the German occupiers: in addition to roughly 800 capital sentences carried out by the state, some 9,000 extralegal summary executions, thousands of bomb attacks on the homes and properties of “collaborators” and the punitive head-shaving of about 20,000 women took place. Then, just as this surge of retributive political violence was winding down, in 1947

and 1948 a series of massive, Communist-led strike waves shook the country. Even as the country slowly, unevenly recovered from the ravages of war and the privations of the immediate postwar years, political violence remained part of France's day-to-day reality in the 1950s and early 1960s. The French army became engaged in protracted conflicts in colonial Indochina and Algeria, as well as shorter but brutal conflicts or "repressions" elsewhere (Kuby, 2011:14)

The Algerian Revolutionary War began on the heels of the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu and withdrawal of French forces from Indochina, followed by the autonomy of Tunisia in 1954 and the independence of Morocco in 1955, which were French "protectorates", administered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The experience of protectorates together with the French defeat in Indochina greatly stimulated the revolution spirit in Algeria (Wall, 2001:10).

The course of international relations was greatly influenced by the Algerian revolutionary war. For instance, the United States' policy was twofold: on the one hand, it maintained relations with the Algerian Revolution and in the same time attempted to avoid the impairment of their political ties with France. Wall adds that the USA could not accept the Algerian Revolution as a clear case of the Third World revolution. The US major concern was to avoid the emergence of a communist regime, and from the start, the Algerian revolutionaries were conscious of the need not to appear to take sides in the Cold War (Fanon, 1990:77). While the USA sided with the Algerian cause, the French army was still in large part armed by Washington; it used American weapons to fight the Algerian War and Paris began sending requests to Washington for more support. The situation worried Washington and the State Department wrote that a French appeal for U.S helicopters in 1956 "demonstrates the French failure to appreciate the problems created for us by the

rapid deterioration of the situation in North Africa and the apparent inability of the French to formulate and apply specific imaginative programs to which the local population will rally and which other countries can reasonably support". The helicopters were provided and much of the French army equipment had been provided from American stocks through Military Defense and Assistance Program (MDAP) (Wall, 2001:16).

3)-The Impact of the Liberation Movements on November Proclamation and Algerian Independence

Similar to the American Declaration of independence, the November proclamation in Algeria was performed within the debates and took seat in the movement of decolonization which affected the Western empires after the Second World War, particularly, the French and British empires. When the insurrection started, on November 1st 1954, Viet-Nam gained its independence, which constituted an encouragement for all the colonized peoples to get rid of colonial domination. For France of the 1950s, the possible victory of Algeria would represent a loss of its rank of a great power, symbolized since the end of the 19th century, by its colonial presence in the world. Algeria's geo-strategic location in the middle of the Maghreb, between Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East, is the showpiece of its device. On November 1st 1954, the National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale) issued a proclamation, which declared Algeria's separation from France, sparking a brutal seven-year war of independence. The Proclamation marked the beginning of the end of Algerian severance from French rule, a process that had begun many decades earlier and evolved in 1951 when several revolutionary groups joined together in order to create the Algerian Front (Front algérien). However, the coalition fell apart in 1954, and militant groups calling for armed rebellion formed the Revolutionary Committee for Unity and Action (Comité révolutionnaire d'unité et

d'action) with its headquarters in Cairo. Between March and October 1954, the group divided Algeria into six military districts (wilayas) and selected commanders to launch direct action against the French colonial authorities. By November 1st, that revolutionary committee changed its name and became the National Liberation Front. The November Proclamation reflected the spirit of nine Algerians, considered as the leaders of the Algerian War of Independence; Hocine Aït Ahmed, Ahmed Ben Bella, Mohamed Khider, Rabah Bitat, Mustapha Ben Boulaid, Didouche Mourad, Larbi Ben M'hidi, Krim Belkacem and Mohamed Boudiaf. The first three, who were in self-imposed exile in Cairo, named the "externals", gave the document its final form and the rest of the group, called the "internals" remained in Algeria. Their role was to act as commanders of the army and connections to all the men involved in the revolution.

The First November Proclamation is, then, a call to Algerians for direct action which meant, indeed, armed revolution and open resistance to the French colonizers. The FLN took upon itself the responsibility of leading the liberation movement and creating a provisional government that would provide direction after gaining independence. The document was addressed to the militants of the Algerian cause, particularly those who challenge and judge the actions of the FLN. The distribution of the Proclamation to them aimed at explaining the purpose of the profound reasons that pushed the Front to call for direct action. The goal, of course, was independence. The Proclamation printed in Ighil Imoula (Kabylia) was a call for struggle for the "restoration of the Algerian state, sovereign, democratic, and social within the framework of the principles of Islam and the preservation of fundamental freedoms, without distinction of race or religion" (Milestone documents. com/11:12:2011. Time of access 09:51).

Many countries responded to the Algerian call, especially Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco which provided a sanctuary for leaders and supporters of the FLN. De Treux explains that the document was a strategic communication message for the international community, and in the Cold War context of the time, the Proclamation garnered support from anti-Western countries and organizations which acknowledged the Algerian struggle for independence and would play a contributable role in the final outcome of the conflict (De Treux, 2008:63) In this vein, the Declaration reads:

After decades of struggle, the National Movement has reached its final phase of fulfillment. At home, the people are united behind the watchwords of independence and action. Abroad, the atmosphere is favorable, especially with the diplomatic support of our Arab and Moslem brothers.[...] (From *historical text archive.com/sections.php 11 /12/2011*. Time of access:10:05).

The framers of the Proclamation shaped a global dimension for the Algerian cause by internationalizing the problem and building up a North African unity and asserted through “the United Nations channels the sympathy toward all nations that may support our liberating action”. Not only was the Proclamation inspired by peaceful principles, but it also offered the French authorities a series of propositions, primarily the protection of the French settlers’ welfare in return of their acceptance of the Algerian claims. It assured:

The French cultural and economic interests will be respected, as well as persons and families, all French citizens desiring to remain in Algeria will be allowed to opt for their original nationality, in which case they will be considered as foreigners, or for Algerian nationality, in which case they will be considered as Algerians, equal both as to rights and as to duties, the ties between France and Algeria will be the object of agreement between the two Powers on the basis of equality and mutual respect.
(*historicaltextarchive.com/sections. php 11 /12/2011*.10: 05).

Like the American Declaration of Independence, the revolutionary philosophy of the November Proclamation inspired the oppressed and colonized peoples in many parts of the Third World. As a revolutionary document, it has inspired revolutions in many countries, at many times, and Algiers has been named “the Mecca of revolutionaries”. People seeking to throw off tyranny of one form or another have frequently cited the document because it gives the intellectual and political justification of the right of revolution. In addition, the First of November Proclamation, comprised, as we have noted, a series of grievances and objectives. The document included the demand for the abrogation of “all edicts, decrees, and laws denying the history, geography, language, religion, and customs of the Algerian people”. By calling for the “restoration of the Algerian State within the framework of Islamic principles and the recognition of Algerian nationality”, the FLN targeted the denial of the idea of a historical Algerian past. France had to acknowledge not only Algeria’s independence but also, implicitly, its extent historical and national identities (Naylor, 2000:5).

The First of November Declaration also served as a framework for political organization, and defined the role of the National Liberation Front endowed with two main tasks: first to pursue an interior action at the political and military levels. Second, it should continue an exterior action in supporting the allies to make the Algerian problem a reality for the entire world. Such a crushing task requires the mobilization of all national energies and resources (Ibid). The internationalization of the struggle became a core of FLN political strategy. In this respect, the Algerian cause gained support abroad by securing training camps and propaganda outlets such as Radio Cairo and by winning diplomatic recognition for the GPRA (Provisory Government of the Algerian Republic) from eastern bloc and Third World countries

from 1958 onwards. Martin is to the point when he noted that thanks to the Algerian diplomatic offensives, “the French found that they were swimming against a tide of international opprobrium” (Martin, 2002:30).

Yet, the Proclamation was the outcome of various disagreements between the leaders of the Revolution about the path the Algerian cause should follow. Indeed, the concern of the Algerian revolutionaries through the drafting of the text and particularly by addressing the militants of the national cause can be justified by the serious divergences between the different leaders of the National movement mainly the so called Centralists, who were for an armed struggle, unlike the Messalists who turned against the former. A close reading of the document reveals the state of mind of the framers of the Proclamation who denounced the apathy of the Algerian movement of liberation. The document also refers to the situation of the neighboring countries, Tunisia and Morocco, whose events are significant and a landmark of the process of the struggle for the liberation of North Africa. The drafters of the Proclamation refer to the illustrative situation in these two countries in order to motivate the Algerian people and the revolutionaries to act so that to map out to the national movement new perspectives. A severe “prosecution” was made against “the personal interests, fights and influence” of some Algerian political leaders. The authors of the document were critical of their fellows. The following paragraph is illustrative of the weaknesses of some leaders.

We are independent of the clans that dispute leadership. We place the national interest above all considerations, following the revolutionary principles. Our action is directed solely against colonialism, unique enemy which has always refused liberty through pacific ways (Ibid)

After enumerating these observations, the framers of the Proclamation label their movement as one of “renovation” presented under the name of the FLN which accepts no compromising situation and “offers the possibility to all the Algerian

patriots of all social classes, of all parties and movements to integrate in the struggle for liberation". An examination of the Proclamation permits to understand that it set to the revolution two main objectives, at the internal and external level. Internally, the writers of the document sought to give politics the place it deserved by directing the revolutionary movement in its correct course and eliminating corruption which caused regression in the Algerian society. It also focuses on the assembling and organization of all energies of the Algerian people in order to overthrow the colonial system. The objectives defined by the Proclamation to the revolution at the external level are three; internationalization of the Algerian question, realization of the North-African Union and the affirmation of the Algerian appreciation toward all nations that would help the liberation movement in the United Nations framework. To achieve their purpose, the framers of the Proclamation have inscribed a series of means "in accordance to revolutionary principles [...] the continuation of the struggle through all means until the realization of our purpose". Commenting on the document, Naylor notes that it is a platform compounded of six points suggested to the French authorities for discussion. The initiative is intended by the leaders of the FLN to "prove our desire of peace, limit casualties and bloodsheds", only if they acknowledge to peoples they subjugate the right to self-determination.

The three preliminaries were, in fact, grievances against the French rule to which the FLN claimed recognition of the Algerian nationality through an official declaration that pronounces null and void decrees and laws making Algeria French land in denial of history, geography, language, religion and morals of the Algerian people. The other point suggests negotiations with the spokesmen of the Algerian people based on recognition of the Algerian sovereignty, "one and undividable". The last preliminary notes that creating an atmosphere of confidence through the

liberation of all political detainees, the raising of the martial measures and the stopping of the legal proceedings against the “fighting forces”.

Algeria’s struggle for independence lasted almost 8 years and was one of the bloodiest wars of self determination in history. Putting the cost of the war in perspective, Wong asserts that the war ended 132 years of French occupation of Algeria, which actually had never been an Algerian *per se*. The war was a complex event whose character changed between 1954 and 1962. Was it a war of liberation? Was it a simple confrontation between oppressors and oppressed? Was it a struggle to assert an Algerian national identity? (Martin, 2002: 5, 6).

France identified itself as an imperial power and the will of changing the identity, especially concerning Algeria, meant rejecting the “hegemonic conception of a unified Republic”. The brutal repression of the 1945 uprising demonstrated the extent of this attachment (Naylor, 2000:15). Yet, the Algerian nationalism developed not as a movement to recover a lost identity, but as a movement to create and assert a special identity in the face of the destructive forces of French colonialism. The FLN hoped to harness the Algerian people’s energies and unleash them against colonialism. After it launched an insurrection in 1954, the French Army used various tactics to silence the insurgency and to restore order by using atrocious forms of torture. Suspects, for example, were given electric shocks to the testicles, raped with bottles and often beaten to death. Entire villages were destroyed in retaliation for the death of a single soldier.

However, as was the case of the American Revolutionary War, the Algerian Revolution was not just about a war consisting of merely military operations. It was also a sum of battles over ideas, beliefs, traditions and perceptions; its participants were the ordinary people who had united behind the FLN. Though on the French

sides, the Algerian war was not recognized as a law-and-order problem and France governmental and military discourse labeled the ALN units as “outlaws”, “rebels”, “terrorists” and denied them the status of warriors. But the truth goes beyond the French discourse. One can assert that the Algerians experienced an organized revolution, not an anarchic revolt. It was a national and popular struggle aiming at destroying the colonial regime and, thus, represents a march forward in the historical path of human progress. According to Connelly, the “revolt” was also fought beyond the Algerian borders. He argues that “the Revolution” was diplomatic in nature, and its decisive struggles occurred in the international arena. Algerians employed human rights reports, press conferences as weapons to gain world opinion and international law more than conventional military objectives. The Soummam Platform reaffirmed the international strategy and in that process, the FLN established its legitimacy as Algeria’s government and adhered to the international law. To achieve such a purpose, the Congress formed a five-man committee (Comité de coordination et d’exécution) (CCE) composed of Abane Ramdane, Larbi Ben M’Hidi, Krim Belkacem, Benyoucef Benkhedda and Saâd Dahlab and nominated a larger council (Conseil national de la révolution Algérienne, CNRA) which served as a supreme authority, backed by a “committee of 22” to improve the party’s chance of survival in case of individual capture or death (Connelly, 2002:4).

Some ideologues considered that the struggle in Algeria was about paving the way to a revolutionary tide sweeping across the emergent nations of the Third World. Yet, a glance at the historical conditions of the birth of the revolutionary movement shows that the Algerian Revolution witnessed clashes between the founders of the Algerian cause. Indeed, the FLN which emerged in 1954 from an impasse within the traditional nationalist organizations led by Messali Hadj and Ferhat Abbas,

represented a new generation of radical activists who rejected compromise with the colonial authorities, suggesting that the armed struggle was the only way ahead. However, the FLN borrowed from the MTLN the partitioning of Algeria into six wilayas (regions), and metropolitan France was appointed the seventh position when the FLN stepped up its action and took the fight to the French mainland.

The Algerian revolutionaries did not possess the size, strength, or military capacities of the French forces and had to resort to what Martin calls “asymmetric tactics”, primarily urban-based violence. In addition to that military imbalance, the Algerian revolution was affected by poor coordination between the wilayas while the expansion of French forces was massive after the deployment of the reservists who put pressure on the ALN. In response, FLN leaders conferred in the Soummam valley in August 1956 and two years later, the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic (GPRA) was proclaimed. The FLN/ALN strategy to conduct urban-based attacks achieved a certain number of results. The attacks struck fear and terror into the French in Algeria by producing violence and instability, discrediting the French government’s ability to provide security. It also raised French domestic and international concerns over the futility of a war in Algeria (Martin, 2002:19).

The armed struggle expressed a real disillusion with regard to the French promises. After the beginning of the war, the French government attempted to present it as a problem of internal order, but the international dimension of the conflict did not cease growing, a fact which benefited the FLN and made the Arab help decisive. The external Delegation of the FLN gathered around Ferhat Abbas in Cairo, seat of the Arab League. The two adjoining countries, Morocco and Tunisia, were used as arsenal, basic back and of training camps for the combatants. Each attempt of the French Army to break the solidarity of the Sovereign states raised international

protests as during the interception, in 1956, of a Moroccan plane transporting the historical leaders of the FLN, or during the bombardment of the Tunisian village of Sakiet Sidi Youssef on February 8th, 1958, which caused American reprobation. The non-aligned countries allowed the Algerian delegation to sit in their movement like member, and that gave an international dimension to the FLN. As from September 1955, the repeated diplomatic offensives of the Afro-Asian countries would force France to initially justify its policy before the General meeting of UNO in 1956.

While the words of the proclamation rang out a challenge, the Algerian National Liberation Army initiated simultaneous attacks against government military installations, police stations, and infrastructure across Algeria. The immediate response of the French government was to declare war. While the French had lost in Indochina (its colonial empire in Southeast Asia, comprising mainly Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam), the situation in Algeria was different; there could be no secession of the Algerian departments because they were one with the French Republic. The Algerians were harshly repressed and Arab nationalism within the region was at its height while European colonialism was in decline. The Algerians' insurgency was motivated primarily by nationalism expressed through armed resistance. The French military actions, tactics, techniques, and procedures although initially effective, would prove to be ultimately counterproductive as it caused a great deal of disdain and consternation whether in Algeria or abroad. By 1957, the Algerian War started to become internationalized as a result of atrocities against the Algerians by the French Army that fueled anti-war protests and contributed to additional outside support for the FLN, including American policy which shifted as the then Senator John F. Kennedy renounced U.S. policy toward Algeria as "retreat from the principles of independence and anti-colonialism". At the end of February, 1957, an Arab "summit"

composed of Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt convened in Cairo and, in a first display of Middle East unity, declared its total support for the Algerian cause. In the Cold War climate and with the influence of the U.S.S.R. and China in the United Nations Security Council, the Algerian struggle for independence gained momentum from this outside support which would significantly contribute to France changing course on continuing the war in Algeria.

The ideology that inspires the texts invokes irresistible or divine forces to justify faith in victory. From 1954 to 1962, the French military, Algerian nationalists fought one of the bloodiest wars of independence of the 20th century. The war is important as it occupies a seminal place in the history of European decolonization. Debates raged within the Algerian intellectual and nationalist communities because many intellectuals from French territories such as Frantz Fanon maintained divergent notions of how a so-called “colonized” intellectual ought to relate to the culture and politics of the “colonizing” nation. New conceptions of intellectual and cultural identity were being forged in response to decolonization. Because the Algerian war erupted in the middle of the Cold War, the relationship of communism to anti-colonialism turned out to be a framing motif. Fanon, as many intellectuals, was in favor of decolonization, and turned into the sphere of communism, which was the sole means of expressing anti-colonialism (Le Sueur, 2001, pp, 2, 5).

Conclusion

The preceding first chapter suggested that a dialogic and eclectic approach including Historicist, New Historicist, Critical, Social, Speech Act, Postcolonial, and Postmodern theories are important to compare and contrast Paine’s and Fanon’s texts. They help situate the two authors within the interactive ideas of the intellectuals of their times. The relevance of these theories rests on the fact that all of them stress

the importance of the context and do not focus upon a text in isolation from the historical and political situations of its production. All of them also sharply criticize all forms of intellectual stances that resist being situated socially and culturally. The chapter also scrutinises these individuals' intellect with an inquiry into history and social perspective of how extraordinary circumstances have not only shaped the history of their adoptive countries, but have transcended their limited geographical boundaries to influence the global political course of the century.

The context in which Paine's and Fanon's texts were written lead to the following conclusions: first, by putting the emphasis on the main historical events which shaped the American and Algerian revolutions, it is noticed that the two Revolutions came as the outcome of the land expropriation, compulsory labor, and various restrictive measures. These conditions were the formative circumstances that gave birth to protests, the emergence of nationalist ideas and political organizations, and later, to the outburst of the revolution. In the two countries, the colonial oppression and repression were the formative circumstances that gave birth to protests, the emergence of nationalist ideas, and the outburst of war for independence. The American and the Algerian political awareness evolved in comparable ways; protest, rise of nationalism, and war for liberation.

The Algerian and the American nationalists followed a similar revolutionary path, hoped for similar victories and had to pay, to a certain extent, the same price for independence. The search for the origins of the two revolutions which shaped the minds of Paine and Fanon has taken us back to the historical circumstances, not in their totality, but to the extent that they sparked the two men's commitments and ideologies. America and Algeria shared oppression and social degradation in colonial hands. The convergence of social, economic, and cultural frustrations, along with the

renewed sense of political possibility were fertile grounds for the two revolutions. Paine's texts can be explained as works which spring from the American Revolution including the political and economic conditions which produced them. The same holds true for Fanon whose works are tightly linked to the Algerian and worldwide revolutions. In America, the Founding Fathers drafted the Declaration of Independence in January 1776, as a decisive action to cut off the ties from Britain. In Algeria, the fathers of the Revolution printed the First November Proclamation in 1954 as a starting point of the Algerian War of Liberation. In addition to charismatic revolutionary leaders such as Mohamed Boudiaf, Didouche Mourad in Algeria and George Washington and Benjamin Franklin in America, in the two countries, the work of Paine and Fanon are referential. The former's influence and contribution to the American Revolution and Fanon's unquestionable support to the Algerian Liberation War deserve special attention. The question which imposes itself is how the commonality of colonial experience shaped the commitment of the two men and how the revolutions played out in Paine's and Fanon's texts. The reply will be the concern of the next part devoted to Paine's and Fanon's political and ideological thoughts. Their careers are historically significant for a number of reasons. They reveal the attitudes of the two intellectuals dissatisfied with the colonial regimes. They also direct their political choices.

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What matters is not death, but to know whether we have achieved the maximum for the ideas we have made our own [...] the cause of the peoples, the cause of justice and liberty. We are nothing on earth if we are not, first of all, slaves of a cause, the cause of the people, the cause of justice, the cause of liberty. Whenever there is injustice, whenever, there is an insult on human dignity, whenever the spirit of human is threatened, I will be there; I will fight to death against that.

(Frantz Fanon)

Introduction

What follows in the two subsequent chapters, is devoted to exploring the extent to which the interplay of Paine's and Fanon's personal circumstances influenced their pervasive strategies and shaped their positions, which represent the ultimate destination of the drive for self-respect and the necessity to end with the structures of oppression. From this perspective, I proceed by analyzing some parts of Paine's and Fanon's life itineraries in relation to their political, social, and cultural backgrounds, as an evidence of their engagements to the question of Man and their support of a better social change. This second part addresses the following questions; how background and experience help form Paine's and Fanon's philosophical and political thoughts? What are the elements, which contributed to shape their ideas and ideals and figure out their theory as a project of liberation? What was the impact of the intellectual milieus on their way of thinking and acting? How did they engage in dialogue with intellectuals of their time, and to which extent do they take their distance from them and from tradition?

The analysis rests on the basis of how their ideas foster global justice and social transformation as they appear in the two authors' political essays, *The Age of Reason* (1794) for Paine and *Towards the African Revolution* (1964) for Fanon. Without limiting the study of these two texts only, I also refer to some letters in relation to their unconditional refusal to submit to the systems of oppression including their refusal to take part in any repressive structure. Paine and Fanon advocated "the necessity" to provide a strong stimulus of thought for ending all kinds of authority.

Part Two:
**Paine's and Fanon's Political, Ideological,
and Philosophical Thought**

Chapter Three: Paine's and Fanon's Background Experiences and Political Ideologies

This chapter provides information about the two thinkers, which are cultural and social rather than biographical. It is a reconstruction of Paine's and Fanon's lives as "narratives of liberation" by establishing gradually some links with generative tropes as tyranny, alienation, consciousness, struggle, and active agency as a way to man's liberation. Fanon died at the age thirty seven. At the same age, Paine was forced by the troubled events he experienced in his homeland, to leave England for America. Though Fanon belonged to a different time and spoke from a different context, I shall try to establish some parallels between their lives and careers in the arena of civic accomplishments rather than in private existence or emotions.

Section One: Paine's Unusual Life Itinerary

Paine's story illuminates his key radical activity and vocation. The analysis is guided by two overarching questions: what makes Paine's life fascinating? How did space shape his radical beliefs and political engagement? Emphasis will be put mainly on his political essay, *The Age of Reason* (1794) where a wealth of biographical information is provided about his career and his British, American and French experiences. I shall stress what forced him to get involved in the socio-political, religious controversies of his time; how his life was linked to his evolving religious ideas and political thought while Davidson H. Edward and Scheick J. William maintain that "there is no presence of Thomas Paine, the "person" in all the records that have survived him". For his critics, Paine's personality is uncovered, suggesting that " what is mentioned is that he only suffered from poverty and made his way to America in 1774 with almost not a shilling in his pocket" (Davidson, Scheick,1994:26).

Thomas Paine was born in an “Age of Revolutions” in a nation of ‘Vassals’ and these two factors played a significant role in shaping his thoughts. It was a time characterized by a cruel and hierarchical politico-social life. Craig Nelson writes that “Five percent of Paine’s neighbors were aristocrats, doctors, lawyers, landowning yeoman, and clergy while ninety five percent were rural paupers trying to survive the enclosure movement” (2006:15). The aristocratic structure of the English society with its established land lord class order exercised its power on the politics. H.T. Dickinson points out their supremacy when writing:

The class of lords would have emphasized widespread support for a limited monarchy and have highlighted the prestige of a parliament dominated by the landed elite, but they would also have stressed that government and parliament did little to interfere with the lives of most British subjects. They would have acknowledged the importance of agriculture, but would have recognized the growing wealth of the country based on commercial and industrial improvements. They would have praised Britain as an enlightened, modernizing society, becoming increasingly urbanized, secularized and tolerant. They would have celebrated the military, naval and imperial successes which Britain gained in her long rivalry with France, with but a passing nod to the failure in the War of American Independence (Dickinson, 2002:vi).

What also characterized the same society was the widespread political, social and cultural intellectual debates concerning theology, science, the role of woman, and many other issues of public interest. Britain during the eighteenth century, H.T. Dickenson writes, “was a vibrant, multi-faceted and multi-layered society that cannot be understood without making an effort to examine the old and the new, the traditional and the dynamic, the changes and the continuities”(Ibid.xvi).

It was in that time of great political, social, and cultural changes that Paine was born on January, 29th, 1737 and grew up in a lower and poor class family among farmers, unskilled laborers, journeymen, and craftsmen in Thetford. As the only child of Joseph Paine, a stay maker artisan Quaker and Frances Cocke, a daughter of an attorney of Thetford, Thomas was brought up in a Quaker faith with its moral

principles and education. His mother belonged to an Anglican church and his father had been disavowed by what was called “the Society of Friends” because his marriage was legalized by a priest. Paine gained strength and self-confidence from his father, who taught his son vigor and resistance while his mother initiated him to the values of religion as goodness, morals, and providence (Conway, 1908:28-29).

It is important to point out that, though his family religious background had an impact in shaping his education, later in his life, he could not accept and follow the dictates of any creed except his evolving humanitarian beliefs and uncompromising ideals. In the opening pages of *The Age of Reason*, the author states his total rejection of the institutionalized religion: “I do not believe in the creed professed by the Jewish church, by the Roman church, by the Greek church, by the Turkish church, by the Protestant church, nor by any church that I know of. My own mind is my own church”(Foner, 1984:666). Paine believes in the quality of man while the revealed religion is a pure human invention. What matters for him is the excellent morality and equality of men.

At the age of thirteen, Paine’s formal education ended; he was taken from the Grammar School where he preferred to study mathematics rather than Latin because the Quakers did not accept the programs and languages, which were taught in that schools (Ibid.P.702). In 1750, he engaged in stay making trade with his father. That period was a turning point in his life because of his great interest in science, natural law, poetry, philosophy and natural rights. Steeped in the thinking of the Enlightenment, Paine travelled to London and started his self-education; he started learning for himself and acting for his own reflection because “every person of learning is finally his own teacher” (P. 702). His particular interest was to what he calls in *The Age of Reason* a “Natural philosophy” (P.714). He writes what follows:

I had made myself master of the use of the globes and of orrery and conceived an idea of the infinity of space, and of the eternal divisibility of matter, and obtained, at least, a general knowledge of what is called natural philosophy, I began to compare, or, as I have before said, to confront, the internal evidence those things afford with the Christian system of faith (Pp.703-704).

Paine reinforced his erudition, as he points out in his *The Age of Reason*, with philosophy lectures of James Ferguson and the ideas of Dr Bevis at the Royal Society (P.701). For him, it was an opportunity to get immersed in the great debates of society with all the socio-economic, political, and religious controversies of that time and take part in the public sphere. It was in London, a “full-fledged rioting city” in Graig Nelson’s words, that Paine nurtured his knowledge about political ideas and vision while working as a sea man in a privateer of the British fleet. His activism in politics began there and his skills were first polished because of the political climate of that period. Paine’s reviewer writes that in London, “Paine would find alongside the squalor and inequity the discoveries of the Renaissance were culminating in a two hundred-year apex, escaping the confines of the academy, the clergy, and the nobility to become a part of the very fabric of everyday life” (Nelson, 2006:24).

It is his experience with the laboring poor that made of Paine an organic intellectual, who participated in meeting clubs, societies and correspondences, which was known as John Locke’s Republic of Letters. Its objective was reading one another letters, pamphlets, and books. Some of them were published in local newspapers. Writing, reading for education and pleasure created and fostered a “cultural revolution”. Paine also learned to speak in the widespread debating clubs composed of politicians, painters, historians, economists, and writers (Ibid).His dissidence as a Whig intellectual started at this time.

More significantly, in his *Rights of Man*, Paine displays his support for the social movement from “below” and denounces the “injustice of charters and corporations, which exclude the rights of people” (Foner, 1984:602-7). His idea can be linked to the efflorescence of the radical culture and the formation of class-consciousness among the English working class. E. P. Thompson refers to the importance of the working-class ‘public market’ as a site among many others, which formed a radical life. The working-class ‘public market’ was important for the printed word expressed through the burgeoning radical press and was a site for spoken debate and exchange of ideas. The opportunity to live in London allowed Paine to learn about new cultures, new ways of thinking, and new religions. As an established space in London’s cultural landscape, Christina Parolin suggests that the tavern was appropriated by successive generations of radicals. Her analysis of the visual records and the tavern as radical space of legitimate political opposition illustrates how, over time, the tavern generated its own language, protocols and practices into the public sphere. The venue’s nomenclature, like its symbolic counterpart, the tavern emblem, became a form of political shorthand. “These radical spaces provided a generation of men and women excluded from the formal machinery of politics with a voice in the public sphere” (Parolin, 2010:14).

Paine took part in the debates, which evolved around reason, diversity, tolerance, logic, and other subjects of scientific, political, and social interests. In St Paul’s Coffee-House at the Club of Honest Whigs, Paine spent usually his nights in company of intellectuals like the Dissenting minister Richard Price, the pastor and natural philosopher, Joseph Priestley, Benjamin Martin, a mathematician, globe maker, and fossil collector, and James Ferguson, a Scottish astronomer, who

introduced him to the American scientist, Benjamin Franklin, who will become his close friend all along his life (Nelson, 2006:26-32).

1)-Paine's First Tempestuous Experience in England

The years Paine spent in “café society” among artisans countrymen, and merchants forged his character and shaped his egalitarian republicanism and his rejection of hierarchies. Meanwhile, during eleven years, he was forced by poverty to travel from town to town seeking for job opportunities and to escape debtors’ prison. He experienced a situation of instability, a painful loss with the death of his wife and baby, added to his bankruptcy and ran out of money. He tried his hand in many jobs, which he abandoned short time after; he worked as a shopkeeper, a teacher in a Methodist school at Kensington, a ship privateer, a preacher at Moorefield, and corset businessman in London, but without success. When he completed his apprenticeship, Paine worked as stay maker in Thetford before travelling to Dover for an association with his cousin. After that, he moved to Sandwich where he became a shop keeper in 1760. A short time after, he lost his wife and the loan of his master. To escape his creditors, Paine was forced to return to his native town, Thetford. Once there, he shifted from stay making trade and enrolled in studies to become an officer in the Customs and Excise Service for the government. A year later, he succeeded in the examination and entered the Excise Service. Paine’s job as an officer in the Excise opened his eyes wide enough to see the precarious and risky conditions of the lower working classes. His own harsh economic situation would lead him to start a struggle with the established order. In 1765, he lost his job in Alford, Lincolnshire because he did not verify the load before writing his report. His anger grew when his appeal for re-instatement was not accepted. As he could not return to stay making

trade, he worked as a teacher with a meager salary. Paine's misadventures are revealed in the following passage:

These experiences were also the first instances in which he felt the unfairness of the political system under which he was living, forming within him a growing hatred of privilege and aristocracy. Paine spent these frustrating years in London and Lewes, both of which were highly charged environments filled with political discontent. Lewes in the 1760's and 1770's was a town populated by lower-middle class artisans who freely expressed their feelings of economic and political dissatisfaction, creating an atmosphere of unrest that was distinct from London (Kinsel, 2015:23-4).

After writing a letter of apology to the Excise Board, Paine was re-instated as an excise officer in 1768 and established himself in Lewes where an anti-government sentiment spread among its inhabitants. While serving as a tax collector and when set to watch smugglers at Alford, Paine faced economic hardships. He was overworked, underpaid, and his job was odious to people. Hence, he joined the excisemen's protests; he defended their requests and became their spokesman in expressing their grievances through a pamphlet entitled, *The Case of the Officers of Excise* (1772), which he handed to the members of the Parliament. To plead their cause, Paine analyzes their hard living conditions, described their distress of making ends meet on fixed salaries in time of inflation. Paine wrote: "The officers would be secured from the temptations of poverty, and the revenue from the evils of it; the cure would be as extensive as the complaint, and new health out-root the present corruption" (Conway, 1908:29). He asked for the raise of salaries and wrote that low salaries combined with the daily hardships of their works, the stagnation of their wages, and the escalating of inflation forced even the honest and loyal excisemen to accept bribery and become corrupt (Burgan, 2005:31).

Paine's situation worsened and his disappointment by the structures of the monarchical power increased when he lost his job again, his second marriage failed,

and all his property was sold at auction. Amid this time of serious troubles, he pursued his struggle to wrest the excisemen's rights from the Parliament. But his tireless efforts to curtail corruption in the government service and to resolve their dilemmas were in vain. While staying in Lewes, Paine was in contact with the underground tradition of antimonarchical pro-republican belief, which went back to the Civil War (1640-1650); these ideas were widespread in London, which had been a center for food riots during the 1760s and 1770s. The rejection of hierarchies in the church and the state also characterized the daily lives of the inhabitants of Lewes, which was a town of radical political and religious dissent. It was there that Paine befriended Thomas Rickman and John Wilkes, two Whigs with their radical voices against the monarchy in the Headstrong and Hell-Fire clubs where Paine discovered the art of rhetoric and the value of good speech and erudition. But he was also traumatized by what happened to John Wilkes, who had been persecuted for daring to publish "seditious libel against the king and his ministers. His arrest led to riots and an increasing discontent" (Kaye, 2005:26-27).

Meanwhile, Paine dedicated his time to the study of science, and continued his interest on clerical experiments. His acquaintance of moral education, philosophy, and science started, Paine writes in his *The Age of Reason*: "In contemplating the power, the wisdom, and the benignity of the deity in his works, and in endeavoring to imitate him in everything moral, scientific, and mechanical" (Paine[1790] in Foner, 1984:703). It was at that time too that he gained the sympathy of and a long friendship with Dr Oliver Goldsmith, one of the best playwrights and Dr Benjamin Franklin, who urged him to go to America. What Paine and Franklin share, Craig Nelson writes was: "Both were born near the bottom rungs of the Anglo-American

society. Both believed in cultivating an elegant and stylish simplicity as an outward manifestation of the republican ideals” (2006:49).

Paine left England when his domestic discord reached its top. He went to America in 1774 with a recommendation letter by Dr Benjamin Franklin and, in a short time, wrote his *Common Sense*, a book that established his reputation for ever with more than 500,000 copies sold. It advocated separation and independence from Great Britain. From a poorly-educated artisan and, after thirty seven years spent in England, Paine became in America a prolific and a subversive journalist, who galvanized the colonists to struggle for a democratic republic free from Britain. However, to understand the formation of the ideas developed in this book, it is necessary to refer to the intellectual milieu in which Thomas Paine was immersed in.

2)-The Development of Paine’s Ideology and Radical Thought in America

Paine’s life turned from terrible failure in his beginnings into phenomenal success. He discovered the potential of the American life and became the editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. A short time after his settlement in the colonial city of Philadelphia, he wrote a pamphlet against slavery "African Slavery in America" (1775). He asks for a total abolition of slavery in a letter to his friend Benjamin Rush:

I despair of seeing an abolition of the infernal traffic in Negroes; we must push that matter further on your side the water; I wish that a few well instructed Negroes could be sent among their Brotheren in Bondage, for until they are enabled to take their own part nothing will be done” (Paine in Foner, 1984:372).

Paine’s preoccupation by the slave condition and his moral demand for the liberation of all slaves shocked Americans and triggered some radical intellectuals like Oliver Goldsmith and Benjamin Rush. This abolitionist paper starts as follows: “Our traders in men (an unnatural commodity!) must know the wickedness of that slave trade, if they attend to reasoning, or the dictates of their own hearts” (Nelson, 2006: 64). A

short time after its publication, Philadelphians set up the first abolitionist organization the Pennsylvania Society for the Relief of Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage; it was followed by his contribution to write a law as a clerk in the Pennsylvania Assembly to end slavery in 1779 (Ibid.P.65).

Though Paine received recognition, many Americans opposed him and his progressive ideas because of his continuing fight against the abolition of slavery. Paine also wrote about the rights of women, not about privileges for women as today's feminists' claim, but full humanitarian rights for all women (Ibid, 64, 66). Paine even preceded his friend, Mary Wollstonecraft whom he had inspired to write two books. It is important to point out that Paine shares with Mary Wollstonecraft a support for French Revolution. In her pamphlet *A Vindication of the Rights of Men*, published in 1790, she replies to Burke and argues that he is grown old and confused, basically a good man but one corrupted by the English establishment. She carried on her argument with another response in 1791, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* where she expressed the need and value of female emancipation (Nelson, 2006:200).

Between 1776 and 1783, Paine wrote his *The American Crisis papers*, which inflamed the American soldiers commanded by General George Washington. He wrote about the moral rightness of the war of liberation, the impossibility of a unilateral pacifism when a country was occupied by an alien military presence. In 1777, he was appointed secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs by the Second Continental Congress and lost his position in 1779 because of political quarrels. In 1785, he worked as a clerk in the Pennsylvania legislature and was elected to the American Philosophical Society. If Paine was an ardent proponent of insurrection, he

was also an advocate of law and order. My examination of his political thinking will be an illustration of the man he was and the ideology he embraced.

Paine's radical political thought was sharpened, as previously noted, by a network of contacts of radicals in Philadelphia such as Benjamin Rush, David Rittenhouse, Peter Young, among many others, who stood against British control and the merchant elite. Paine had to adjust himself to political controversies, religious antagonisms, and economic interests. Eric Foner is to the point when he writes that Paine "found him amid the tangled and divisive politics of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, which influenced intellectual radicals, professionals, artisans to stand against the politicized artisans, militia of Philadelphia, and the corruption of American Whigs" (Foner, 1976:204-6).

When Paine arrived in 1774, the American society was shaped by a class hierarchy and many political, social, and cultural conflicts. The existence of many organizations of rural lower classes which developed during the period 1763-1776 were the small farmer such as the Regulators in the Carolinas, the Paxton Boys in Pennsylvania, and the Levelers in New York. These groups were very antagonistic toward the eastern political leaders and consequently were among the most reluctant to accept the idea of independence when it was proposed by some of those leaders. They preferred to submit to a distant British oppression rather than to their own colonial legislators. The conflict was intensified by the antagonism in the colonies between various religious groups from different nationalities (Quakers, Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians) because religion had great effect upon American life and politics. Paine directly or indirectly found himself involved in the political and religious quarrels. In addition, among these religious and cultural differences, Paine faced the difficulty of the audience to which he would address his

argument whether to those pleading for reconciliation (merchant class who opposed independence) or separation. In his *The Age of Reason*, Paine expresses his commitment to an egalitarian society and maintains: "I believe the equality of man, and I believe that duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow creatures happy" (Foner, 1984: 666). This quote summarizes his political engagements and ideals while it explains his longing to change the political structures of power in England, America, and France radically. He wrote in the same book: "It is necessary to the happiness of man, that he be mentally faithful to himself" (Ibid). With this idea in mind, Paine remained all along his life a fervent spokesman for a limited government.

Paine's disagreement with John Adams started during that period, but as editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, he did not give importance to these conflicts. He rather concentrated on discussions about science, philosophy, and politics with his friends, Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Rush, David Rittenhouse, and Samuel Adams. He managed the conflicts between the various segments of colonial society and the strong feelings of those who opposed the idea of independence. He encouraged the publication of articles about social welfare programs for the poor, the disabled, and the aged. His own way of thinking makes him unquestionably a fulfilled and an emancipated citizen and his call for an end to monarchy, for democracy and the eradication of poverty of the world remained uncompromised (Kaminski, 2002:2).

The early interest of Paine in politics, David C. Hoffman suggests, started in the winter of 1757-58 when he was in contact with seamen. His insubordinate ideas started to emerge during that time. The prize-cash he gained as a hand on the British privateer King of Prussia was spent for his studies. Paine attended lectures by two renowned Newtonian science members, James Ferguson and Benjamin Martin, and

became personally acquainted with them. He renewed his acquaintance with Martin and Ferguson in the winter of 1772-73, and added to them that of John Bevis, an astronomer, and Benjamin Franklin, a friend of Ferguson as he writes in *The Age of Reason* (P.701). His acquaintance with prominent men of science contributed to shape his ideas and allowed him to attack the credibility of the long established authority of monarchy and the church, which robbed people of happiness and harmony created by God. During the same period, Paine was in trouble and experienced a bitter experience of the inequality and injustice of his society because he wrote a pamphlet, which urged the tax collectors to claim their rights for increasing their salaries. He lost his job because of his protest. In the 1790s, he campaigned for an awakening campaign of the working-classes to their political and natural rights in England. He even took a hand in directing the proceedings of the French Revolution. He challenged orthodox Christianity by subjecting its creed to a rational critique (Nelson, 2005:45).

In America, Paine found a suitable ground to express his opinions on political and social issues. His objectives were first to raise the consciousness of the lower middle classes against the tyranny of the colonial British monarchy. His radical ideology and hard thinking contributed to mobilize artisans, and small tradesmen. His ideas were circulated in pamphlets and articles, which helped some middle-class leaders to see the danger on the right to acquire unlimited private property. The spread of radical journals, newspapers, and Paine's investment in radical political clubs and salons as outlets for the expression of radicalism sharpens his principles. In his *Rights of Man*, Paine advocated democratic principles with "national" or "federal" governing councils, as well as with checks and balances on civil and military affairs to avoid the concentration of power in individuals. Some of the most basic

rights that citizens can possibly possess are deciding how to govern themselves and how society should assure their protection and how to organize and control their political institutions to secure their natural and civil rights (Foner, 1984:465-66).

During the elections for the 1776 convention to frame a constitution for Pennsylvania, Paine opted for a Privates Committee. He urged voters to oppose "great and overgrown rich men, they will be too apt to be framing distinctions in society." The Privates Committee drew up a bill of rights for the convention, including the statement that "an enormous proportion of property vested in a few individuals is dangerous to people and destructive of the common happiness, of mankind; and therefore every Free State hath a right by its laws to discourage the possession of such property." (Burgan, 2005:48-49).

More significantly Paine's contacts with Joseph Priestley, Doctor of Laws from Yale College, Dr Richard Price, and Mary Wollstonecraft, who moved her school for girls to Newington Green in 1784, played an important role in shaping Paine's radicalism. As members of American Philosophical Society, they discussed the principal questions in morals, science, religion, and other matters. Though they differed in their thought, with the development of events in France at that time, Richard Price wrote "A Discourse on the Love of our Country", in which he presented his views on the "dawning of the millennium through the spread of liberty and happiness over the world", which led to a great debate over the French Revolution and an extremely fierce anti-revolution rebuttal by Edmund Burke; this debate will be examined in the course of the next fifth chapter.

Paine's interest in politics grew out of his contact with radical intellectuals during his years in Britain. His contacts continued in America with long friendship with Benjamin Franklin and the circle of the American philosophical Society, which

included the scientific Dr Joseph Priestley, Dr Richard Price, Mary Wollstonecraft, and many other radical intellectuals, who like Paine, shared an enthusiastic support for the French Revolution, which reinforced the relationships between them. All of them adhered to two main principles: belief in the inherent equality of all men and an unshakeable faith in mankind's capacity for self-improvement, in the goodness and virtue of man, and in the concept of a continuous progress to be achieved, and the appeal to science to discover the truth. Hence, Paine worked untiringly to defend this philosophy of liberation that makes his accomplishments in the path of the American Revolution undeniable. His journalistic articles and letters criticized the assumption that the colonists were just British subjects fighting for the restoration of their rights as such. He reiterated that they were fighting for the restoration of their natural rights, a goal that could only be achieved through independence, first of America, France, and the rest of the world (Foner, 1984:206-7).

3)- Paine's Philosophical Thought

The influence of the Enlightenment generally, as opposed to its possible origins in theology, will be discussed under the heading of how Paine's thoughts concur with many of the 18th century philosophers and some Enlightenment thinkers, like David Hume, John Locke, Isaac Newton, amongst others. The link appears through his philosophical narrative, *The Age of Reason*, which will be read as a call to link man to God through reason, to figure God out through the lens of rational thought, and the quest to view God through the rational lens certainly did not mean an abandoned belief in God. But this way of thinking had few partisans in America, where pragmatic leaders were more committed to sustaining a conservative English tradition than dabbling with the speculative, rhetorical ideals of the Enlightenment.

They, therefore, develop the rhetoric's of "enmyship" as a solution to bring under control the spirit of revolution and mitigate its dangers (J. Engels, 2010:03).

Paine did not go to university or to any prestigious school, but he spent all his money to buy books about science, religion, and ethics, which made him familiar with classical works of philosophy. As he faced the oppression of monarchy, he criticises the philosophical traditions, which allowed the church and the monarchy to exercise domination and rob people of their happiness. Paine challenged the established philosophical mood of his time by his critique of the hereditary monarchy and the absence of a British written constitution. It is important to point out that he advocated reforms of the English government which was a common occurrence during his lifetime. But the question is why his position raised heated debates while his ideas were feared by the British and American elite classes alike.

Paine's philosophical principles derived, as Moncure. D. Conway suggests, first and foremost from his Quaker education (1908:11). Though Theodore Roosevelt, a former U.S president, once launched an anathema, labeling Paine as a "filthy little atheist", in *The Age of Reason*, he declares overtly his Deism, which he expresses in what follows: "I believe in one God, and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life" (P.666). In addition to his faith in God the Creator, Paine expresses a sympathy to that of his parents when writing in the same book: "The religion that approaches the nearest of all others to true Deism, in the moral and benign part thereof, is that professed by the Quakers" (P.703). But Paine objects the Quaker's use of theology in a harsh way; he criticizes the orthodoxy of this doctrine for, "they [Quakers] have contracted themselves too much by leaving the works of God out of their system" (Ibid).

The confluence between Paine's Quaker education and his Deism finds its expression in the rejection of a "mediator" between Man and God. It also appears in the necessity to exercise "a true Justice, Goodness, and the diminished emphasis on scriptures". However, Paine took his distance from the "mystical" view of "God in the heart" of the Quakers and replaces it with "God in the intellect" (P.703). As a he grew up in the age of Enlightenment, like many intellectuals of that time, Paine turns his interest to "Reason" and what is called "Natural Philosophy". Hence, his belief cannot be limited to Quakerism; he insists: "If he admires the philanthropic and humanitarianism of the Quakers, the only way to God is to imitate his Creation" (P.704). What Paine kept from his Quaker education are the natural equal rights for all men. The humanitarian philanthropy of the Quakers and their permanent solidarity with the oppressed is repetitive in Paine's texts. All these beliefs formed the premise of his struggles whether in England, America, or in France. The same ideas will be used for the shaping of his political ideas in relation to the way of constructing a government. His difficult experiences served to provide a different philosophical beginning point for his core ideas, and concerns.

4)- Paine's Natural Philosophy

The next source of Paine's philosophical thought derives from his contact with the ideas of the devotee of science and worshiper of Truth, Isaac Newton (1642-1727). Paine had read or at least, heard about Newton, who acquired a high reputation for his famous book, *Principia* and his *The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*. Newton's works, as Andrew Janiak suggests, spread among the common people in Britain and Europe throughout the 18th century (Janiak, 2008:03). In *The Age of Reason*, Paine repeatedly emphasizes the importance of "nature" to

understand the “immense system of creation”; he adds that every part of nature serves something and no part of the world remains empty.

Every tree, every plant, every leaf, serves not only as an habitation, but as a world to some numerous race, till animal existence becomes so exceedingly refined, that the effluvia of blade of grass would be food for thousands” (P.705).

Paine insists on the harmony of God’s creation by reference to the solar system, to the existence of an infinite number of galaxies and stars, and to the way the sun turns to reach the conclusion that “the Creator made nothing in vain” (P.709). The universe is created in a harmonious way for the benefit of man, who should enjoy and admire everything created and endeavor to explain, understand, express his gratitude for the “plurality” and the opportunities the worlds offer (Ibid).

The same ideas were promoted by the members of the Royal Society, which Tiffany E. Piland defines as the first English organization devoted to the promotion of natural religion and experimental science. Its members were assigned the mission of encouraging learning of natural philosophy (universal laws of mechanics) as a type of religion that would be universal in its appeal. The members taught the ways “Power and Wisdom, Goodness of the Creator [...] display’d in the admirable Order and Workmanship of the Creatures. This is a religion which is confirm’d by the unanimous Agreement of all Sorts of Worship.” Its first meeting was hosted by bishop John Wilkins of the “Invisible College and Robert Boyle, who wrote treatises on natural religion and *Some Considerations about the Reconcilableness of Reason with Religion* (1675), *A Disquisition about the Final Causes of Natural Things* (1688). Thomas Sprat, one outstanding historian of the Royal Society, links its scientific objectives and natural religion in his *History of the Royal Society* (1667). The relationship between science and the Creation was embodied by Paine, who described the possibility that God manifests through his creation:

There may be many systems of religion that far from being morally bad, are in many respects morally good: but there can be but One that is true; and that one necessarily must, as it ever will, be in all things consistent with the ever existing word of God that we behold in his words (P.710).

The above passage rings with Spinoza's Necessitarian philosophy, which is based on the idea that a law may depend either on natural necessity or on "human decision". Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), wrote: "If God should omit to do anything, then he must either have some cause for it, or not; if he has, then it is necessary that he should omit doing it; if he has not, then it is necessary that he should not omit to do it, this is self-evident" (Spinoza, 2002:52).

Another instance of necessitarian statement that echoes Spinoza's thought appears in Paine's *Rights of Man* to emphasize the necessity of separation from Britain; he writes: "If the grievances justified our taking up arms, they justified our separation; if they did not justify our separation; neither could they justify our taking up arms (P.123). In addition, Paine maintains that divine nature is needed and whatever follows from something that is required is itself necessary. Instances of Paine's animated sentiments towards the necessity of the divine nature of God in his creation, in *The Age of Reason* illustrate his shift from the prescriptivist view of religion to a kind of regular description of the physical laws which subscribed to a metaphysically robust image of nature. The notion of "necessity" played a central role in it by delivering the necessity of the laws of nature. Paine writes that, there is a strong "necessitarian" relation between God and his creation of the "plurality" of the worlds. The relation holds between the Creator and this creation passed on to the comparison of the particulars' knowledge of what he created (P.704).

Like Ferguson, Hume, and Smith, Paine bases natural moral philosophy on a scientific basis; he argues that every person is endowed with moral sense and a strong desire of acting according to one's own cultural norms, whether based on

religion, tradition, or other customs. These cultural elements function as guides to behavior by establishing a balance between the actor's self-interest and contribute to the creation of a natural affection for his fellow man. He claims what follows: "The unity or equality of man is one of the greatest of all truths and of the highest advantage to cultivate" (P.463). Like the Enlightenment thinkers of his time, Paine believed that reason helps to explain natural phenomena. In *The Age of Reason*, he makes a case for reason:

It is only by the exercise of reason, that man can discover God. Take away that reason, and he would be incapable of understanding anything; and in this case, it would be just as consistent to read even the book called the Bible, to a horse as to a man. How then is it that those people pretend to reject reason (P.688).

The excerpt illustrates Paine's idea that the development of science goes hand in hand with a "revolution in religion". However, the difference between the Newtonian philosophy and Paine's ideas remains important. His use of ordinary language is a revolutionary tool, which credits Paine in creating a political philosophy that differentiated him from that of Newton and all the English elites. He turns his back on the bombastic Newtonian milieu of the English academic elite whose works remain so complex to understand. Moreover, Paine uses his Deist views about Creation and natural philosophy to attack the Established Church. Hence, he had been situated in what David. C. Hoffman calls the Physico-Theological Tradition. In his essay entitled: "The Creation We Behold", Thomas Paine's *The Age of Reason* and the Tradition of Physico-Theology", he claims:

Although most British deists were Newtonians, none before Paine had the character of rhapsodic physico-theology. Many deists, or reputed deists, such as Anthony Collins, Thomas Woolston, Conyers Middleton, and Peter Annet, concerned themselves mainly with proving that miracles and prophecies" should not be understood in a literal sense, and had little cause to rhapsodize the glories of Creation. (Hoffman, 2016: 290).

This interesting relationship is worth of attention since there is evidence in such involvement in Paine's *The Age of Reason* where he affirms that he has been in contact with the physico-theological tradition through lectures he attended in London. The public lectures Paine listened to, as mentioned earlier, were given by self-educated men of science, with origins and education much like his own and existed outside the academic establishment. All of them were dissenters. James Ferguson was a Scotsman, the son of a tenant farmer. Largely self-educated, he began his professional life as a miniature portrait artist and maker of scientific instruments, including the orrery mentioned by Paine (P.703), which was a mechanical device that reproduced the motion of the planets. By 1746, he settled in London, giving public lectures on an array of topics in natural philosophy. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1763. Benjamin Martin, the son of a farmer, was also largely self-taught. He apparently gave himself a very broad education, for his first success was the publication of *The Philosophical Grammar* in 1735, which was nothing less than a treatment of the whole of natural philosophy. After years as a traveling lecturer, in 1756, he set up a shop in London to sell "philosophical, optical and mathematical" instruments and began to lecture steadily in the city. Martin's lectures covered a plethora of topics in physics and chemistry (proceedings/Hoffman.pp281-303.pdf.Time Access. 12/ 12/ 2016).

Although Paine implied that his deism originated in what he learned from Martin and Ferguson, he found himself very often at odd with their ideas. While Ferguson, Martin, and Boyle made great efforts and tried to employ their "discoveries" to prove the truth of Christian revelation, Paine opted for the elevation of ordinary perception over philosophical eruditions and endeavored to show a plurality of worlds, the benevolence of God for two purposes; first to question the

tyranny of the church and monarchy and second, to plead for a creation of a better society. He kept writing: "My religion is to do good". His innovated themes were used to confront the religious institutions of the clergy by re-reading the Bible and confront the British political system.

5)-Paine's Disillusionment in the Aftermath of the French Revolution

In 1787, Paine faced acute financial and political difficulties, which forced him to go back to England where his *Rights of Man* was published between 1791 and 1792. The book which is a critique of Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* displays Paine's position against monarchy and his claim for a republican form of government. Such a claim caused him to be judged for treason by the British government in 1792 on his way to France while he was chosen to be a member in the French National Convention, but his position towards the execution, for King Louis XVI led him to prison from 1793 to 1794. At that time, he published the first part of his *The Age of Reason* where the author aired his critique of established religion and monarchy.

It is important to point out that Paine remained till his death constant in rational idealism; he ended his days as a rejected pariah and became a national embarrassment because he dared to ask questions and called into question the established order following the American Revolution. The establishment was worried about dissident intellectuals; what is preferred is an ordinary person of the Third Estate, who remains in ignorance, does not ask embarrassed questions, and give uncomfortable answers. As a constitutionalist, Paine became the enemy of 'Conservative' landed gentry, which he held in contempt. This nobility sought to preserve their feudal privileges. So Paine was considered as a real threat for it in England as well as in America after the publication of his *Rights of Man*, and in

France for asking for the suppression of death penalty. He struggled with that bitter reality while he was imprisoned for eleven months waiting for death by guillotine in France. He wrote a letter to his old friend George Washington, who turned his back on him; he refused for political reasons to speak in favor of his liberation. Moreover, when Paine knew about Washington's decision of cooperation with Britain; it injected bitterness in his soul, which never left him until he died. In 1802, with the help of President Thomas Jefferson, Paine lived the last years of his life embittered by poverty, bad health, and political disillusionment. Paine's life ended like that of many dissident intellectuals, who opposed the established conventions, whatever they were. He died without seeing his political convictions realized. The radical reformer, political agitator, pamphleteer, and journalist died on June 8, 1809 in New York City and was buried on his farm without official funerals (Nelson.2005:324).

Paine's uncompromising challenge of established institutions of power, his faith in human possibility to end the colonial oppression, and his call for a radical political and social militancy for human emancipation reappears later in the works of Fanon, who spoke from a different time and context.

Section Two: Fanon's Atypical Life Trajectory

Fanon was born in Martinique, which had been integrated into France in 1946 as its oversea Department. As a colony of settlement, it had been the ground for political conflicts and commercial competition between European powers, Spain, Britain, Netherlands, and France. Fanon refers to them in *Black Skin, White Masks* as "the former colonialists, who exploited, enslaved, and despised the Negro" (P.157). Like Britain, the Martinican society was characterized by class structure where the ruling minority had dominated the black majority of the population. In the same book, Fanon denounces the Caribbean experience of violence by the French

and Spanish explorers (P.114) and describes the class structure of his homeland in his *Towards the African Revolution* in what follows:

We may say that the West Indian, not satisfied to be superior to the African, despised him, and while the white man could allow himself certain liberties with the native, the West Indian absolutely could not. This was because whites and Africans, there was no need of a reminder; the difference stared one in the face. But what catastrophe if the West Indian should suddenly be taken for an African! (Fanon, 1967:20).

The passage illustrates Fanon's early discomfort with the fact that Martinicans were taught to believe that all West Indians were superior to Black Africans; they were also superior to the African-descended inhabitants of the neighboring French colony of Guadeloupe and were trying to pass as Martinicans. But Frenchmen were naturally superior to all the mentioned ethnic groups (Ibid.P.18).

Though Fanon came from a respected family background, very little affected by misery and poverty, the environment in which he grew up was the inspiring source of his argument against the question of racism. It contributed to his commitment to the equality of races, and the struggle against colonialism. Fanon is issued from the black bourgeoisie in the Antilles which was in favor of assimilation rather than national independence. However, it was in his Martinique that Fanon discovered a reality mediated by inferior-superior relations through the existence of racial inequality of black Africans, who suffered racial stereotyping and denigration. Fanon expresses it in *Black Skin, White Masks* by stating: "The Martinican is a man crucified. The environment that has shaped him, but that quartered him, and he feeds his cultural environment with his blood and his essences" (P.168). The racial segregation he saw around him contributed to his rise of consciousness about the question of racism and alienation; it matured in his works where he violently deplored and fought tirelessly against them. Some critics tend to justify Fanon's antiracist

engagement by his conflicting relationship with his mother. Irene Gendzier, for instance, situates Fanon's soreness within his own family. She cites Mrs Fanon in her explanation of why the issue of color is central for the Fanons. In this respect, she writes what follows:

His mother was of Alsatian origin, herself the illegitimate daughter of parents of mixed blood. In the context of the islands, the factor of illegitimacy was less important than the ethnic quotient. Frantz's name reflected the Alsatian past (Gendzier, 1974:10).

She argues that Frantz is the youngest of four boys, and the middle child in a total of eight, was the darkest of the family whose mother considers as a troublemaker. However, this version is completely rejected by Joby Fanon, Frantz's brother, in his book entitled *Frantz Fanon. De la Martinique à l'Algérie et à l'Afrique* (2004). Joby publishes letters Frantz had written to his family while he was a student in Lyon to support his arguments. He affirms that:

Faire de Frantz un "rejeté", un marginalisé, bref un anormal qui compense sa solitude par une agressivité envers son prochain: ce serait risible si n'était pas sous-entendu un procès qui n'ose se déclarer mais cherche de manière oblique à « dévaloriser » les prises de positions politiques de Frantz et sa dénonciation radicale des méfaits du colonialisme, à faire admettre que son analyse de la violence est le résultat d'un homme psychologiquement atteint (2004:99).

The explanation, which assumes that Fanon was unable to transcend the identity imposed upon him by historical circumstances, is more credible. Albert Memmi writes that Fanon's standpoint concerning the issue of whiteness holds much importance in his questioning of that identity (Memmi, 1973:11). Memmi is right because Fanon's alienation derives from the French efforts in erasing his past and culture. The French minority of settlers controlled education in Fanon's native country. This traumatic past and the profound sense of a crisis appear in *Black Skin, White Masks* through his analysis of the colonial project in creating an inferiority complex for the colonized; he states: "Cultural imposition is easily accomplished in Martinique" (P.149). He then

develops some aspects of this crisis of the Algerian cultural-political with the same argument in the chapter entitled “On National Culture” where he reminds his readers of a number of important issues:

When we consider the efforts made to carry out the cultural estrangement so characteristic of the colonial epoch, we realize that nothing has been left to chance and that the total result looked for by colonial domination was indeed to convince the natives that colonialism came to lighten their darkness. The effect consciously sought by colonialism was to drive into the native’s head the idea that if the settlers were to leave, they would at once fall back into barbarism, degradation and bestiality (Fanon, 1990:169).

During Fanon’s stay in Algeria, he experienced a more crucial racial hierarchy. Alice Cherki, Fanon’s colleague and biographer, explains clearly that though he did not talk a lot, he was deeply affected by the crucial situation of the Blacks who suffered from racism in North Africa; whether in Algeria or in Tunisia, the Black people were placed at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Cherki maintains that in Algeria, for instance, the proverb says: “Les Français crachent sur les Espagnols, qui crachent sur les Juifs, qui crachent sur les Arabes, qui crachent sur les Nègres” (Cherki, 2000:67).

1)-The Impact of the French “Civilizing Mission” on Fanon’s Education

Schools in the West Indies, as in other French colonies, served the imperial mercantilist and capitalist cause. The main objective of the colonial school system is to develop and maintain the necessity of dependence on France’s language, history, and culture. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon indicts the French “inspectors and government functionaries, who poured programs that would make the Negro a white man” (P.168). He also maintains that teachers played an important role in reinforcing the French assimilation policy: “Teachers keep a close watch over the children to make sure they do not use Creole. Let us not mention the ostensible reasons” (P.17). The ironic tone of the author makes it clear that colonial education never meant to be a tool to diminish class inequalities or foster man’s mutual understanding; it rather

strengthened political elites and ruling classes, and developed passive social stratification between those with and those without educational privilege. Fanon's indicting statement is shared by Paulo Freire in his analysis of systems of oppression; he describes the aim of this process as following: "The interests of the oppressors lie in changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses them, for the more the oppressed can be led to adapt to that situation, the more easily they can be dominated" (Freire, 1989:74).

As a product of his time, Fanon had a social position and the privileges of the black bourgeoisie which strove for assimilation and identified itself with white French culture. His French education made him speak, think, and behave like a Frenchman by erasing his Creole language and culture while promoting French values. Instead of a desperate life condition in the sugar cane plantation, he had the possibility to study and learn about the dynamism and comprehensiveness of western civilization as well as the "fantasy" of its cultural superiority (Fanon, 1967:114). In relation to Western culture and civilization, Fanon explains its uselessness for the poor farmers in the Caribbean in what follows: "I can absolutely not see how this fact would change anything in the lives of the eight-year-old children who labor in the cane field of Martinique and Guadeloupe" (Ibid.180).

It is important to point out that his Eurocentric schooling anchored a kind of "false Consciousness" in Fanon's mind, but at the same time, it brought him into a suitable environment, which will help him to liberate himself from the ideologies of 'race' and racism. In addition to his formal education, Fanon used to go to Schoecher library, where the portraits of the Enlightenment thinkers such as Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Voltaire were hanging on the walls. Like Paine, Fanon read classical books, got in touch with the philosophy of the Enlightenment (Macey,

2012:81). His selective readings of philosophy and psychology were meant to find theoretical tools to analyze his experience and develop his theory of revolution and man. Reading contributed to shape his clinical studies on the behavior of violent patients, the role of culture in the development of illness, and the function of the psychiatric hospital as a social milieu. As a privileged witness of the terrible sufferings inflicted by the French Army in Algeria, Fanon came to believe that the revolution contained the seeds of redemption, not only for Algeria but for the entire colonial world.

2)-The Development of Fanon's Radical Thought

Resembling Paine, Fanon's intellectual career cannot be dissociated from the ideological concerns, primarily, his attitude toward the issues of liberty, independence and happiness of man. Many of his essays, newspaper articles, and letters stand as fragments of an answer to two important questions. How does the phenomenon of colonial oppression and domination shape the psychological and cultural personality of the colonized people? What are the possible ways through which the oppressed can get out of the circle of oppression and give substance to the ideal of social justice, commitment to equality, regard for the poor? Two events will help him to address these questions and will affect him deeply: Césaire's return from France to Martinique with the word "negritude" as revolutionary politics. And the return of the French soldiers after the French capitulation under the Vichy government to Martinique, which behaved in an excessively belligerent way against the Black Antilleans. The depth of the abuse of the Martiniquan people by the French soldiers and sailors during that time reinforced Fanon's feelings of alienation and disgust with colonial racism. To fight back, he engaged in the Second World War struggling for human dignity regardless of race and creed, but he encountered some instances of

human indignity through the racialisation of resistance. The war volunteers were considered like slaves. Fanon was twice wounded and was completely disillusioned by the war. For him, it was a waste of time to fight for people who did not respect the cause of man (Bulhan.1985: 47-48).

The final blow came with the triumph of the allies; he was sent home with other compatriots, denying their participation in the war. All along his life, he constructed his protest in the name of man and the respect due to humanity in general. Fanon expressed his corrosive critique of the false humanity of Europe. His hopes for overcoming the debilitating forms of social and psychic misery that haunt the colonized are summarized in the following excerpt:

It was an absurd gamble to undertake, at whatever cost, to bring into existence a certain number of values, when the lawlessness, the inequality, the multi-daily murder of man were raised to the status of legislative principles (Fanon, 1967:53).

The passage underlines Fanon's role in articulating and analyzing the process of French oppression in Algeria while describing how colonialism in general disoriented the colonized personality, resulting in a "psycho existential" condition. He further explores the way colonialism destabilized the colonized culturally, economically, and racially by not only alienating but also erasing his culture and identity. Such cultural erasure led to the appearance of "a feeling of non-existence" as the colonized's lives became disrupted by colonial domination.

Fanon's work reflects the intellectual influences of his years in France, where he was drawn to the group of black intellectuals associated with the journal *Présence africaine*. He was also close to a group of Leftist French intellectuals associated with *Temps modernes* that included Jean Paul Sartre, Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Albert Camus. These two groups and the writings of the German philosophers Karl Marx and Georg Wilhelm Fredrick Hegel strongly influenced Fanon's political and

philosophical orientation. In Lyon, as a practicing psychiatrist, he looked at how dehumanizing practices play a role in the deterioration of one's mental health. The innovative methods used by François Tosquelles were of great help for the exploitation of the psychological trauma of the colonizer. The field of psychiatry was used by Fanon to back his ideals, particularly group therapy, which he borrowed from the Spanish psychiatrist, François Tosquelles who influenced him. While he was at Blida-Joinville's hospital, Fanon worked as the director of the psychiatric department and applied the ideas of Tosquelles, a Catalan psychiatrist he met during his training in France and whose militant itinerary had a great impact on Fanon's mind. François Tosquelles had supported Catalan nationalism as a young man, and by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War (1936), he was an active member of the Partido Obrero de Unifacion Marxista or POUM. He helped to organize a psychiatric service and selected soldiers for machine-gun and tank units (Bulhan.209-210). His techniques were implemented by Fanon who, in his turn, participated in innovative movements toward more humane treatments of psychiatric patients.

In Algeria, he was convinced of the close connection between the individual pathologies of his patients and the political situation. He concluded that colonialism causes dehumanization as pathology in both the colonized and the colonizer, and the only cure is a revolutionary struggle by the colonized to free themselves from colonial rule. Fanon articulated these ideas in his political writings, namely *Towards the African Revolution*, *The Wretched of the Earth*, and *A Dying Colonialism*. After the publication of *Black Skin, White Masks*, a book partly composed of his lectures and experiences in Lyon, and whose original title was "An Essay for the Disalienation of Blacks", Fanon abandoned the philosophy of negritude for what he himself defined as "non-racist humanism". The shift in his views on negritude received much

criticism, rejecting his postulate that loving oneself and his own culture was assimilated to racism. He gives emphasis to battles in order to integrate various aspects of the local material reality into his universal humanism. National culture and local and authentic values represent resistance, as a response to the disintegration sought by colonialism. He advocates the defense of the cause of liberation, using striking words to denounce tyranny, injustice and exploitation. The following description summarizes his thought in this regard:

The colonial world is a world cut in two compartments. The dividing line, the frontiers are shown by barracks and police stations [...] the two zones are opposed, but not in the service of a higher unity. Obedient to the rules of pure Aristotelian logic, they both follow the principle of reciprocal exclusivity. No conciliation is possible, for of the two terms, one is superfluous (Fanon, 1990:29-30).

The excerpt illustrates the discrimination imposed by the colonial system that Fanon denounced overtly. In relation to liberation movements, he argued the injustices of colonialism could not be redressed through liberal philosophies.

In Algeria, Fanon primarily employed medical approaches to the treatment of mental illnesses and was able to place symptoms of psychiatric troubles in their social context. He continued his pioneering work and founded the first psychiatric day hospital in Africa and attempted to introduce social treatments (Usmani, 2008:81). The application of Tosquelles's methods at the Blida hospital, made him earn the trust of Arab patients to whom he applied revolutionary methods of treatment and care based on what is called, socio-therapy. The method was also known as “milieu therapy”. It consisted in re-connecting the patients to their cultural background, their socio-environmental by establishing interpersonal factors. The method aims to humanize and improve the psychiatric hospital conditions by providing a suitable environment for the patients (Gendzier, 1974:64-66).

If Anglo-American had been a suitable ground for Paine's revolutionary expectations, the same holds true for Fanon in French Algeria. It was in Blida that the Marinican doctor discovered disparities between the populations; one million Europeans ruled over some nine million Algerians largely illiterate and cruelly exploited. The "alienated and depersonalized" patients he met during his three-year stay in Blida had deep effects on his psyche and on the practice of psychiatry in such a colonial situation. The oppression and torture undergone by the Algerians during the war were regarded by Fanon as "terrifying", and he concluded that the struggle for national liberation had become patent because of the brutal colonial oppression that caused him to resign from his duties, and to become one of the most articulate spokesmen of the Algerian cause. His motivation for every decision he made and for each project in which he participated was to better the mental health of the Algerian population. His famous letter of resignation he addressed to the Resident Minister in 1956, explains clearly his motivations:

If psychiatry is the medical technique that aims to enable man no longer to be stranger to his environment, I owe it to myself that the Arab, permanently an alien in his own country, lives in a state of absolute depersonalization. What is the status of Algeria? A systematized dehumanisation. It was an absurd gamble to under-take at whatever cost, to bring into existence a certain number of values, when the lawlessness, the inequality, the multi-daily murder of man were raised to the status of legislative principles (Fanon, 1967:52).

It appears from the excerpt that Fanon uses psychiatry for political purposes while he uses politics to achieve psychiatric health. As a campaigner for the promotion of public health, he denounces the nefarious effects of oppression on the psyche of his patients. In his article entitled, "The North-African Syndrome", published in 1952, he breaks down the barriers between medicine and politics in order to change the people's perception of the psychology of oppression. His experience during the war compelled him to reevaluate his understanding of race and oppression to reach the

conclusion that mental health was closely linked to social system. In addition, the dilemma of the Algerian patients who suffered from mental disorder was caused, according to Fanon, to political, economic, and social limitations, which resulted from poor sanitation, high level of alcoholism, and nutritional deficiencies; “The North African combines all the conditions that make a sick man”, he writes (Ibid.P.13).

His letter of resignation addressed to Robert Lacoste, the Resident Minister (1956) contains many of its author’s motivations. Fanon draws a parallel between the mental health and the political and economic changes in the larger society. The deep wounds that domination was causing to the colonized people made them profoundly entrenched in a state of “neurotic mode”. The healing of people from the various mental disorders necessitated the end of colonial domination; it needed human work with the objective to “wipe away tears; to fight inhuman attitudes; to condescend ways of speech to be ruled out; and to humanize man” (Ibid.P.16). To be mentally healthy, one must be a part of a healthy social context where the colonial structures that deny the humanity of people should be dismantled. The responsibility to the colonized people, insists Fanon, rests upon the amelioration of the political, social, and cultural well being of the population, which can be achieved by giving more freedom to patients rather than confining them to the Blida Joinville hospital. In support of his claim, he tells us what follows:

The social structure existing in Algeria was hostile to any attempt to put the individual back where he belonged [...] the function of a social structure is to set up institutions to serve man’s needs. A society that drives its members to desperate solutions is a non-viable society, a society to be replaced (P.53).

Fanon denounced the segregated methods, which were practiced in Blida hospital where he found himself treating both the Algerian victims of torture and the French officers who had administered this torture. He rejected the use of psychology devoid

of the contexts where it is practiced; the notion that all human beings shared enough experiences and innate characteristics that psychiatry could universally apply. He became totally disappointed with the hospital administration's decision to fire several staff members after their participation in a general strike. His rebellion against the hospital's harsh stance against the repression was added to what he calls the "disappointments and illusions of the French Colonialism", which led him to resign from his post after three years of hard work. It was impossible to heal genuine mental health in a sick society because medicine and politics are closely linked fields as two components of public health. The only path to find a remedy for so much mental illness, Fanon reiterates was to reestablish justice for Algerian society in the face of violence and oppression.

The reply to Fanon's resignation was an eviction from his office and a decision of expulsion by the French authorities, obliging him to settle in Tunis where he joined the "delegation of the FLN abroad" to which he had been previously admitted. After his resignation, he continued to practice medicine; as a doctor, he was involved in training the nurses, and was charged to take care of the ALN soldiers and the Algerian refugees. His medical practice joined with his activism contributed greatly to improve the mental health of the revolutionaries. Fanon's involvement in the liberation movement was twofold: it was, according to Jessica Mc Pherson, curative and preventative. If a sick society causes sick individuals, then Fanon's work aims to 'cure' individuals. His participation in the Algerian Liberation War was an involvement in a public health campaign. His devotion to the mental health of others makes him a healer, an advocate for the health system, and a chronicler of the mental illness that he witnessed and studied (Mc Pherson, 2007:4).

Fanon's stay in Tunisia was the most politically active phase in his life. In addition to his medical and psychological help, as a journalist, Fanon worked for the FLN leaflets as *Résistance algérienne* before it ceased publication and then, he contributed to *El Moudjahid*, a press organ established in Tunis and his articles were devoted to analyses of problems of colonialism and decolonization. Yet, his commitment to the Algerian cause was not only limited to his contribution to the different issues of the newspaper anonymously. He was also given a post in the "Commission de presse", a press division of the FLN. His profound involvement in the Algerian war led him to an active and constant struggle to assure the acquisition of arms, to convince international opinion, and to keep Algerian opinion informed about the progress of the war. In one of his articles published in 1958, he makes his assumption clear:

The "nation in the becoming process", "new Algeria", "the unique historic case", all these mystifying expressions have been swept away by the position of the FLN and only the heroic combat of a whole people against a century-old oppression has remained in the full sunlight (P.102).

The passage illustrates Fanon's relentless commitment to the cause of liberation in general and the defense of the Algerian cause in particular. More importantly, he made Algeria the centre of his existence, of his thought and of his work. Such a choice led him to grow as one of the leading spokesmen of the Algerian Revolutionary War in adopting a defensive stand for the nationalists and rejecting the French accusations concerning the Melouza Massacres. The political and military propaganda developed in the columns of *El Moudjahid* made Fanon argue that France had failed to gain the allegiance of the Algerian masses while its administration resorted to drastic means to bring about the "counter revolutionary" currents in the Algerian society. The cruel events of Melouza where cleans-up of

“Douars” and rapes and massacres were explained by Fanon as an attempt to provoke the outrage of the population and the condemnation of the revolutionary movement. He was unequivocal: the French government was choreographing violence on the Algerian stage in order to turn the world opinion against the revolution, which can be added to its attempts to foil the revolution by giving more justification to the use of excessive force to discredit the Algerian leaders. Blaming the FLN for Melouza, retorted Fanon, was another indication that France waged a psychological warfare of division when realizing that her so called good project of faltering the revolution ended in failure. The French government’s liberal reforms were unable to take the realities of the war seriously. He sustained that: “Without any grasp of reality, unable or unwilling to recognize the Algerian national will and to draw the inescapable logical conclusions, the French authorities today live under the domination of deists and prophecies” (Le Sueur, 2001:168).

Therefore, Fanon maintains that ending colonialism cannot be achieved through liberal reforms; it requires liberation and independence. For him, colonialism is an act of collective oppression rather than a type of individual relations; it is the conquest of a national territory and the oppression of a people. His objectives were to establish and open a new military front for the National Liberation Front against French colonialism and to articulate his fundamental tasks in Africa, as a global vision of decolonization. In his *Toward the African Revolution*, Fanon insists that to put Africa in motion, to cooperate in its organization, in its regrouping, behind revolutionary principles, to participate in the ordered movement of a continent, was really the work he had chosen (Fanon, 1967:177,178).

The position of Paine toward the British domination resembles Fanon’s resentment of colonialism. He emerges as perhaps the most important critic of the

French anti-colonialist movement while his passionate commitment to the Algerian cause remains amazing as Mohamed El Mili testifies:

Fanon ne pouvait dissimuler sa soif de connaître les décisions qui devaient être prises. Il était clair qu'il se voyait concerné par tout ce qui avait affaire à la révolution algérienne ou en émanait. Loin de se considérer comme 'un mercenaire de la plume' ou 'un brasseur d'idées', il se tenait pour l'égal des militants algériens quels que fussent les degrés d'instruction et les positions que chacun occupait dans la lutte. La curiosité scientifique semble avoir affiné ses notables facultés d'observation; s'intéressant à tout ce qui venait du Front, il voulait s'enquérir de l'ensemble des éléments dont pouvait disposer un militant (El Mili.2011:32).

More than other people of the Maghreb, his ardent and uncompromising commitment to the Algerian cause surprised more than one critic. However, other critics blame Fanon for his silence on some aspects of the Algerian Revolution which was traversed by an atmosphere of conspiracy and intrigue. For instance, the assassination of Abane Ramdane, one of the outstanding figures of the Revolution, in 1957, was not commented by Fanon who rather considered the cause of liberation as his primary concern. Yet, he had very good regards toward Abane and sees independence as a recovery of dignity to colonized countries that have to restore their national cultures, thus, to set up what he defines "a new man". He describes the situation of colonized men, suggesting that the action should be carried not on traditional values, but should open itself to the future and create that genuine "new man" in the context of a more brotherly world (Gendzier, 1974:192). In addition to his contribution to the war, Fanon differentiates himself from other psychiatrists by recognizing the necessity and importance of decolonization to limit and prevent mental illnesses. His involvement in the armed resistance improved the mental health of the oppressed Algerians. Jessica Mc Pherson asserts that Fanon's involvements include several cases describing his interaction with patients and relate the stories of individual victims of colonization. The same pieces are part of public health history,

suggesting that social, political resistances are vital constituents of population health in certain circumstances. His work provided clues to psychiatrists and public health physicians who continue to struggle to liberate oppressed people from cycles of poverty and mental illness. However, Fanon's response to his own predicament was political; after a long period in which he tried to respond to it on the psychological and existentialist level, he gradually identified his own destiny with Algeria's revolution, then with the Third World, and ultimately with all humanity (Mc Pherson, 2007:5). That is what gives his image, his life's journey, and his work their final philosophical significance.

3)- The Moral Principles of Fanon's Philosophy

For the Algerian population, French colonialism was certainly injurious and its indifference to the pleas of the Algerians made it particularly oppressive. Yet, Fanon's philosophical thought goes beyond the commitment to the Algerian cause. As a political thinker, his views gained also a worldwide audience. Unlike many black writers who advocated the wisdom of blacks, Fanon opposed the concept of Negritude which was first used by Aimé Césaire, who introduced him to the philosophy of Négritude which he embraced, but only for a brief period. Fanon's vision, instead, gives prominence to people's economic and social position that valorizes status and not their racial belonging. He believed that the struggle for liberation was the only means for ending colonial repression and cultural trauma in the Third World. In addition, as a well-known psychiatrist and revolutionary writer, Fanon's writings had deep influence on the radical movements in the 1960s in the United States of America and Europe. The Algerian newspaper *El Moudjahid*, to which Fanon had been an important contributor, published an article entitled "Algeria face to face with French Torturers" where he charged French intellectuals who

condemned torture in Algeria, but refused the FLN's legitimate demands for independence.

For Fanon, torture went hand in hand with colonialism. It was simply a principal means of maintaining France's domination of Algeria. It was an expression of the occupant-occupied relationship. He reassessed in various articles the shortcomings of French intellectuals, who according to Fanon, were driven by democratic paternalism and would try to influence revolutionaries by criticizing the nationalists' methods. His expectations from intellectuals and democratic elements in colonialist countries are, "unreservedly to support the national aspirations of colonized peoples". As violence intensified, repression increased, the people in revolt had no choice but to react to the "genocide campaign" waged against them. The article was more forceful in attacking French intellectuals including Jean Paul Sartre, the most vehement and most consistent opponent to the war, for not having an impact on the French meddling in the affairs of the colonized. Sartre's misinterpretation of violence appears in his preface to Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* where he writes, for instance what follows: "Others make men of themselves by murdering Europeans, and these are shot down; brigands or martyrs, their agony exalts the terrified masses" (Fanon. 1990:18). Sartre's point of view differs from that of Fanon, who reduced French intellectuals' behavior to the Eurocentric desire to dominate every aspect of the colonized life (Le Sueur, 2001:184,185).

A reading of Fanon's articles published in *El Moudjahid*, the FLN mouthpiece, indicates how Algeria was gradually becoming loaded with a modified significance and function. It appears as a moment in a wider destiny, a process that transcends the national consciousness and the national revolution. The expression "We, Algerians" has become intimately tied to a broader and new subject; it is "we,

Africans". Fanon's aim is his conceptualization of the conditions of possibility for a unified Africa, as a "United States of Africa". Some of his texts are addressed to the African peoples, urging them to follow the example of Algeria whose struggle revealed both the weak point of the colonial system and "the rampart of the African peoples", which the author phrases in the subsequent manner:

When we address ourselves to colonial peoples and more especially to the African peoples, it is both because we have to hurry to build Africa, so that it will express itself and come into being, so that it will enrich the world of men, and so that it may be authentically enriched by the world's contributions. It is also because the sole means of achieving this result is to break the back of the most frenzied, the most intractable, the most barbarous colonialism in existence (Fanon, 1967:115).

It appears from Fanon's point of view that the cause of Algeria is twofold; it is a scandal for France and the contradiction that must be concealed, and for Algeria, it constitutes a "guiding territory" paving the way for other oppressed peoples to continue the struggle against colonialism. That "guide territory", functions as "an invitation, an encouragement, a promise". In this process, the colonized peoples gradually came to know their real enemy and each struggle for national independence was, therefore, dialectically linked to the struggle against colonialism in Africa and the entire world.

In his embrace of African causes, Fanon abandoned the Algerian nationalism on his way to a universal vision of a New Man in a reconciled world, which echoes the view of Paine. For him, the time has come for larger unions and the latecomers of nationalism must, as a result, correct their errors. He needed a mediator, the African continent before addressing all mankind. In March 1960, Fanon was appointed ambassador to Accra where he experienced a decisive change of perspective.

Like Paine, Fanon was appointed to official employments. During his term as Ambassador to Ghana for the Provisional Algerian Government, he worked to establish a southern supply route for the Algerian army, which reminds us of the way Paine helped the American Revolution through the French supplies of money and arms against Britain. As an envoy of Algeria, Fanon contacted the political leaders in Mali, as did Paine with his French allies, and at the suggestion of Fanon, a base was set up in the Sahara for an arms route to be followed toward the Wilaya I and IV. He felt African as Paine felt American, and Fanon's Africanness stood for the creation of a political and economic unity of the continent; he decided to construct a united Africa where frontiers of skin and cultural prejudice did not exist. Fanon's social project is summed up in his *Towards the African Revolution*:

Our mission is to put Africa in motion, to cooperate in its organization, in its regrouping, behind revolutionary principles. To participate in the ordered movement of a continent [...]. After carrying Algeria to the four corners of Africa, move up with all Africa toward African Algeria [...]. What I should like: great lines, great navigation channels through the desert. Subdue the desert, deny it, assemble Africa and create the continent. All Africans should climb the slopes of the desert and pour over the colonialist bastion. To turn the absurd and the impossible inside out and hurl a continent against the last ramparts of the colonial power (Ibid.177,181).

Concerning the notion of "African unity", Fanon imagines it in many forms, ranging from the economic cooperation between African and European countries. In the spirit of the Pan African solidarity, Fanon abandoned his home in Martinique, the West Indies, and gave his entire adult life to the struggle for the liberation of the African people from colonialism, which is comparable to Paine's project of uniting the American continent through trade relations. Fanon insists that the united Africa should get rid of nationalist chauvinism, conflicts and wars.

Yet, concerning this very issue, Fanon has been criticized, on the one hand, for his tendency to homogenize people; Africans, classes, peasantries as well as

colonial situation which differed from each other. On the other hand, he has even been stigmatized for his commitment and his ignorance of Algerian culture. For instance, Malek Benabi criticizes the Martiniquan's embrace of the Algerian cause while ignoring its identity, religion, and language. Benabi's harsh criticism calls to mind that of President Roosevelt who considered Paine as 'a filthy atheist'. Malek Benabi remarked that Fanon had misunderstood the causes and communal specificity of the Algerian Revolution, which required a communal adherence, knowledge of its culture and language, which he phrases in an unfair criticism as follows: "We wrong Fanon when we make him the rhetorician of the Algerian Revolution, as some have tried to do. In order to speak the language of a people, one must share its convictions: yet Fanon was an atheist" (Cited in Memmi. 1973:16). What no one can deny is that Fanon, unlike the intellectuals who opted to attach their careers to an empire, has chosen to defend the colonized Algerian, the exploited African, and all oppressed peoples worldwide. One may find in the memory of Fanon's sacrifices and his devotion to desperate ideals a means to break the haunting circle of the violent critiques he has been subject to. As a defender of lost causes, Fanon, like Paine before him, was nearly forgotten by the people to whom he dedicated all his life, after the Algeria's independence.

4)-Fanon's Disenchantment and Early Death

The end of Paine's life parallels that of Fanon's. Paine wrote and finished urgently his *The Age of Reason*, which made him the enemy of Britain, America, and France alike. Fanon dictates his *The Wretched of Earth* hastily to his wife when his energy left him in 1960, after a 1,200-mile expedition from Mali to the Algerian border carrying intelligence on French troop movements, he returned to Tunis physically and morally sick. He comes to a conclusion that the "African Revolution" to which he had

dedicated his life turned to be a mere slogan. Before his death, he saw the failure of Guinea ruled by Sekou Touré to “crystallize the revolutionary potential” of its neighboring countries; he bitterly witnessed the backing an uprising in Angola crushed by the Portuguese army, causing the deaths of twenty to thirty thousand people. Above all, he failed to anticipate the forces plotting Patrice Lumumba’s assassination in January 1961. Just before his death, Fanon warned African nations against the premature celebration of political independence they had gained in the late 1950s and early 1960s. He argued prophetically that the pillars of Western domination had not been dismantled. As things stand, independence had turned out to be a mere Africanization of European colonialism, and this signified little change in the historical structure of the African subjugation at the hands of the West. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, he insists on the lack of practical perspectives, freedom, and democracy under the newly constituted nationalist leaders.

His disillusionment is expressed clearly in “The Pitfalls of National Consciousness”, which summarizes the shortcomings of the African national elite in the decolonization process. Fanon describes the failure of the postcolonial national reconstruction and a national consciousness, which could lessen the grievances of the dispossessed people. He warns against the undeveloped middle class resembling the European bourgeoisie that perpetuates the subjugation of the masses through “their laziness and cowardice at the decisive moment of the struggle will give rise to tragic mishaps” (Fanon, 1990:119). He insists that the resistance through which people should pass is a twofold enterprise; it ranges from indiscriminating nationalism to social and economic awareness. He predicted the oppressive nationalist bourgeoisie, which would impose a quasi-feudal economy while the productive relation would be consigned to a permanently peripheral position in the

world system. Their lack of intellectual productiveness and a totalizing vision of society can be added to the revolutionary party, which ossifies into an instrument of control and submission. In such conditions, people would remain trapped within a nationalist mindset losing the real consciousness with which to challenge their own bourgeoisie reduced to a desire to get privileges from their European masters. The author warned that the nationalist successors would remain stuck within the trajectory of domination and submissions as the colonizers in failing to move from the paradigm of domination to that of liberation (Ibid 143). For Fanon the fundamental failure of the African national bourgeoisie and the African intelligentsia is their inability to understand the historical distinction between national consciousness and nationalism.

What comes out from the presentation of Fanon's and Paine's careers reveals that they somewhat converge. The outline of their biographies shows clearly that the more one reads about these two authors, the more he notices how their lives seem to have passed through nearly the same stages, though their ideologies remain different. Their commitment to the defense of liberty and equality made of them incomparable icons of the world's struggles for fighting against any sort of domination. For both, language, culture, and nation are not enough to make one belong to a people; common experiences and memories and shared aims and perspectives are more decisive in constructing and defending a common cause. While Fanon built up his intellectual reputation as a passionate defender of the oppressed, starting with his involvement in the Algerian cause, Paine is considered as an ardent advocate of universal fights against monarchy and a fervent defender of republicanism who compared the cause of America to that of humanity. Despite historical and intellectual background differences, both of them share the ideal of

national independence and decolonization but also a commitment to the defense of freedom, justice and the rights of man. So, key issues around which this chapter is organized can be summed up as follows: first, the common feature worth comparing is Paine's and Fanon's pertinent and convergent itineraries starting from their experiences of colonial oppression. They aired their views and opinions, engaged in dialogues with other intellectuals, and their essays and newspaper articles served as vehicles to express their nascent ground-breaking thoughts to criticize any form of injustice and subordination. Third, they attempted to reinterpret their nation's history and culture in a way that combines their political visions and their preoccupation with "the downtrodden and oppressed". Both advocated the right to free thinking and their works with their denunciatory tones treated many political and philosophical issues inside and outside their countries while their activities as journalists, reporters, and columnists accompanied their political activism. The relationship between Paine and the American Revolution is comparable in many respects to the way Fanon embraced the Algerian struggle for independence. First, both were personally involved in the liberation struggles though in a sense they were outsiders to the contesting camps. Second, both were outsiders with the majority and found themselves equally outsiders to the British and the French with whom they shared the same cultural background through their birth and culture. Paine's and Fanon's philosophies as reflected in their writings and pronouncements cannot be limited to their integration into the human realities, but rather in their potential possibility to modify them. Their involvement in the cause of liberation, their engagements in the American and Algerian Revolution is described in their essays *The Crisis Papers* and *A Dying Colonialism*. In many ways, Paine's and Fanon's political intervention in the American and Algerian Revolutions were motivated by political and philosophical

principles of the Enlightenment to which they wholeheartedly subscribed in opposition to European imperial domination. Paine's ambivalent attitude appears in his commitment to decolonization of America and its transformation into an Empire. In this respect his ambiguous attitude makes him resemble the other Enlightenment thinkers. Paradoxically, European imperial systems themselves were part of the distorted logic of the Enlightenment in their attempt to universalize European historical experience: the historical problem of spreading or implanting democratic principles in an undemocratic and oppressive manner. Paine and Fanon revealed the contradictory values and vectors of European history, which they "deconstruct" each in his own way by using the Enlightenment humanist values to subvert and dismantle the political and religious "habitus". Their common "deconstructivist" project of the established political, social, and religious conventions will be the main focus of the next chapter.

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Chapter Four: Paine's and Fanon's Deconstruction of Political, Religious and Cultural "Habitus"

In the course of the previous chapter, I have marked out how Paine and Fanon grew in home countries where backgrounds of oppression and inequity were the prevailing characteristic. Throughout the present chapter, Paine's and Fanon's texts will be studied as an illustration of their engagement in the revolutionary process and an intrusion in the heart of the American and Algerian revolutionary wars and a challenge to monarchical and colonial systems. The two authors' support of the American and Algerian causes can go beyond the war events themselves with an examination of their philosophies and the ways in which they illustrated their philosophy of decolonization. The attempt is to examine how the two authors, each in his own way, perform the conflict as a social drama, which projects to rethink oppression pronouncing a "deconstruction" of the traditional political and religious established order or "habitus". One of the points to make is that Paine's and Fanon's "deconstructive" process of political and religious "habitués" helps understand, in a transformative way, the destructive power of colonialism and the established religion, which force the colonized people to yearn for liberation. With reference to Bourdieu's sociological term, I examine how Paine and Fanon appeal to some rhetoric strategies to denounce the French and British colonialism.

The first section deals with the way Paine and Fanon, as intellectual awakeners, war commentators and political analysts, interpret, clarify, and perform a historically concrete presentation of reality in its revolutionary development which combines with the task of achieving ideological change. The two authors, each in his own way, "deconstruct" the political and religious "habitus" and shape the revolution with defensive dynamic strategies to indict colonialism and embrace national liberation. If Paine waged a war against the British monarchy and its established

church, Fanon expressed firmly his eagerness to change the colonial system, which he believed to be false and degrading while denouncing the Catholic church in reinforcing it. The two authors' chief concern was to change the opinions of men and apply deep transformations in their visions of the future.

Section One: The Rhetorical Strategies of Resistance in Paine's Texts

The significance of religion in the American colonies is not the focal point of our analysis. What is of an interest instead is to focus on the way Paine deconstructed the American religious "Habitus" to the development of the liberal and progressive faith in his writings and in shaping his theories of social transformation. It will be argued that, in bracketing off religion, Paine sought to produce anti-colonial narratives of meaning-making, which promoted possible continuities between his revolutionary humanism and the beliefs of the colonized. Finally, the task is to unearth how he understood the meaning of religion in the life of the individual within the struggle against colonialism and its place in revolutionary period and beyond.

When Paine's *Crisis Papers* first appeared in Philadelphia on December 19, 1776, the majority of the American colonists continued to prefer reform of the British system to independence. It was a crucial time because many American political leaders asked the British King and Parliament to repeal changes in tax structures and economic policies to facilitate reconciliation. Amid this conflict, Paine writes: "These are the times that try men's souls" (Foner, 1984:91). It is in this way that Paine begins the series of his papers, which he wrote during the American Revolutionary War, a fight between the American colonists and the British Empire. What characterize Paine's *Crisis Papers* are, first and foremost, the rhetorical strategies he employs to strengthen the moral of the American soldiers and to publicly condemn the Tories, who were colonists loyal to Britain. The same strategies targeted the established

political and religious orders, which the author wanted to change by envisioning an alternative future for the American colonists. The arguments Paine presented might be too sophisticated for some critics, but his style remains fresh and colloquial, flashing with images, simple to grasp according to others. The pamphlet appeared when George III's intransigent response to the colonists' petition arrived in Philadelphia. Paine's unrelenting impact lies in his wording; he addresses his readers as one common man using everyday language and homely illustrations to speak to other common men. Repetition of the word "bloody" and references to William the Conqueror as a "French Bastard" (P.17), offended genteel taste, but it was just this kind of bold, plain language that gave *Common Sense* its strong appeal. By expressing his sentiments and intentions, Paine wanted to gain the sympathy and trust of his audience, with whom he engages in a political dialogue. The first strategy he appeals to is what Jay Fliegelman calls the "impersonalization" of print, which he defines as "a speech act process that altered the meaning of publishing and reading into acts of sociability through the use of republican discourse in print" (Flieglman.1993:45). At the eve of the American Revolution, the "impersonalized" transformation in print discourse created opportunities for the middling classes to engage in civic participation. This technique of "impersonalization" appears right in the beginning of his *Common Sense* when its author declares: "In the following sheets, the author hath studiously avoided everything which is personal among ourselves" (P.05). This statement announces Paine's public oriented communication as a mode of expression. The objective of his "illocution" is not to inform his readers about facts, but mostly to articulate the national values and a common sensibility by addressing the public directly. He uses repeatedly words within the republican vocabulary like "tyranny," "foolish," and "oppression" expressed visions of a new

political order that aim to end with British monarchy, aristocracy, and the established Church as essential elements for a radical transformation of American society and emancipate the behavior of its inhabitants. The substance of the pamphlet is even more of a “call” because instead of attacking particular violations of the British Constitution, it slashed an axe to the entire political system, root and branch, pronouncing it too rotten, too corrupt to ever be connected. Paine’s solution, obviously, is total independence, not some kind of patched-up accommodation or reconciliation (P.31).

However, Paine did not go to America to wage war and was not a proponent of violence and bloodshed. But, under the passionate influence of the Lexington incidents, he threw in his lot with the Americans when he avowedly claims:

No man was a warmer wisher of reconciliation than myself before the fatal 19th April 1775, but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, sullen-tempered Pharaoh of England for ever, and disdain the wretch that with the pretended title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE (sic) can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul (P.29).

The passage provides evidence that the cause of the events strengthened Paine’s emotional acceptance of the American cause and reinforces his attacks on the monarchy, and upon the entire principle of hereditary rule and aristocratic privilege. His commitment helped make republicanism a living political issue. The pamphlet was not only interesting to the readers’ everyday life, but also for its intrinsic value as a historical document.

1)-Paine’s Assertive Denunciation of the British Imperial Tyranny

Paine creates a social interaction with his audience, using the experience, he acquired within political clubs and coffee shops, to perform a more inclusive understanding of public engagement and an outgoing meaning of democracy. He starts his performance of social drama by appealing to sympathy and friendship

through literary demonstrations of sincerity to persuade the colonists to rebut categorically the traditional, hierarchal relationships by denouncing Britain, which he describes as a cruel and unrelenting enemy. He affirms the seriousness of the situation and shows how the lives of the colonists are threatened to death because of Britain's oppression. He supports his arguments with Britain's denial of one of the basic constitutional rights to the colonists, which is freedom. The author insists on Britain's despotic plan, which was formulated by a "tyrant" king and his "infatuated ministry" in order "to bind" the colonists and make them subservient to their authority in all things that affected their interests" (P.91). Paine reinforces his arguments and lists what Britain has imposed to the colonists such as taxation, colonial commerce, church domination, colonial representation, petitions, and military harassment. He stresses the conditions of "abject slavery", which is caused by the British exactions and its coercive legislation. This passage summarizes Paine's arguments:

Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared, that she has a right (not only to TAX) but to BIND us in ALL CASES WHATSOEVER[sic], and if being bound in that manner is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth (P.91).

The author's insistence on Britain's enslavement of America is meant to shake the audience's consciousness about the high values of its freedom. His description of Britain and its intentions evokes a feeling of anger and indignation in the American colonists: "I have likewise an aversion to monarchy, as being too debasing to the dignity of man" (P.115). Hence, he encourages Americans to reject the British monarchy and declare independence. He engages a robust religious, republican, and dissenting discourse to construct his argument of radical politics through his blunt efforts to convert promoters of reconciliation and convince the soldiers of their noble mission. Paine knows that religious arguments and republican principles were deeply rooted in the American sensibilities.

The structural parallels of religious and political change are used by the author to make it clear that the colonists have to choose between unconditional submission to tyrannical rule or resistance by force and to take up arms in their own defense to drive the invaders from their country. The effect of Paine's pamphlet was powerful in his endowing the revolution with all the virtues while considering the British monarchy as destitute of every moral principle, and its impact suggests that colonists conflated their religious and political convictions to a greater extent. The author produces daring statements that embodies moral and practical sentiments with which many colonists favorably identified. The context of the production of *Crisis Papers* can be directly linked to the mood of the initially besieged revolutionary forces. King George III and his decisions were one of the major causes that made the colonists fume with anger toward Britain and eventually led to the American Revolution. Paine's purpose was the renewal of the soldiers' faith in their cause. As mentioned earlier, his spirit as a fiery preacher dedicated to the revolutionary cause was inspired by his uncompromising rejection of the monarchy while he was in England.

Paine wrote his papers in a sensible, rational, articulate way; he was not afraid to take risks by publishing his seditious thoughts to empower the American colonists with an implication of self-rule: "I thank GOD that I fear not. I see no real cause for fear" (P.98). His unquestionable commitment to the American Revolution started after the Continental Army's retreat from the Hudson, which stimulated lines to attract the soldiers' attention to the British oppression and injustices. During those times of depression, he refers to the unlawful and oppressive acts of the British government to educate his readers in British political history. He enlightens people about the foundation of democracy and emancipation, and appeals to the Americans'

enthusiastic and distinctive faith urging them to distinguish themselves from the English colonizer.

For Paine, those who went to the battlefield were more than patriots as they grew to share an “American” nationality, a common sense of mission to create a new democratic and republican order (P.94). Paine explains that the war remains the only effective means to end the British tyranny and injuries, which the author expresses in the subsequent lines: “I cannot see on what grounds the king of Britain can look up to heaven for help against us: A common murderer, a highwayman, or a housebreaker, has as good a pretence as he” (P.92). Paine wants to inspire the lives of the worn-down soldiers in the American Revolution to persevere in their struggle against the British Kingdom, the prize being to gain their independence. The author explains that the mere thought of an island ruling an entire continent thousands of miles away with poor communication and lack of supervision of the colonies by the king, served neither the colonies nor Britain. He writes: “America hath been one continued scene of legislative contention from the first king’s representative to the last; and this was unavoidably founded in the natural opposition of interest between the old country and the new one” (P.122). Paine wants his statements go straight to the soul and heart of people to allow them to overthrow the colonial system. In addition to this, Paine reinforces his discourse by claiming that America cannot be under the government of Britain without becoming a sharer of her guilt, and a partner in all the dismal commerce of death (P.358).

Yet, Paine contradicts those who tend to interpret him as a man who loved revolutions for their own sake and a restless trouble-maker who preferred civil turmoil to peace, when declaring eloquently: “Our time and turn is come, and reflect on the success we have been saved from, and reflect on the success we have been blest

with, it would be sinful either to be idle or despair” (P.149). The quotation illustrates that Paine uses fear as a powerful motivator and his bleak vision of the future elicit that emotions in the reader. His persuasive speech aims to incite the colonists feel the urgency to fight Britain to avoid suffering the listed atrocities. It also illustrates that he does not incite to revolution for its own sake; his devotion is to his principles while his vision of revolution combines his anti-war principles which he inherited from Quakerism and the necessity of self-defense. In addition, he was acquainted with the 17th century Quaker writer, William Penn, whose *An Essay Towards the Present and Future State of Europe* (1693) urged the creation of a European assembly to guard against the outbreak of war. This certainly influenced Paine’s own proposals for peace in Europe which was his main concern. War was seen by him as a necessary path to reach peace. It is in this perspective that in *Crisis Papers* as well as in his *Common Sense* can be understood.

Paine particularly urges the American soldiers to act in order to create a homeland for freedom from which the entire world would benefit. More significantly, however, he knows that the colonists were predominantly Christian groups. Therefore, he appeals to their religious sentiments. If the colonists accept Paine’s arguments and support them, it is because Britain’s king is no more than a murderer. The result is that the colonists feel confident that God is at their side in waging their war against the British tyrant. To reassure the American colonists of the rightness of their side, Paine sharply criticizes first the Tories: “Every Tory is a coward, for a servile, a slavish, self interested fear is the foundation of Toryism; and a man under such influence, though he may be cruel, never can be brave” (P.94). The author’s constructive knowledge in politics and social reform jotted down in his pamphlet. He expresses his good will, which is animated by sentiments of compassion with regard

to the British imposed burdens, with significant hints to punishment to reach the conclusion that there is no excuse for the injustice done; no sympathy is expressed for the sufferings inflicted on the colonists. He uses a strong and passionate language because he wants to emphasize that there is no more uncertainty whether remaining loyal to Britain is the right thing to do. He affectively instilled a strong aversion toward his audience; he explains the stern purpose of Britain to subdue the colonists by using their American coward and self-centered Tories as an additional injury. To convince his audience, Paine contrasted their cowardice with the bravery of the American colonists and soldiers. This excerpt illustrates the point:

I love the man that can smile in trouble that can gather strength from distress, and grow brave by reflection. 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death (P.97).

The above passage narrates the events, which took place during the past months of November, December 1776, in the New York and New Jersey military areas. The descriptions suggest the following thoughts. First, Paine listed the virtues of a brave man in order to inspire the colonists for fighting for their noble cause. Second, it is with a vivid goal in mind, as they can achieve an honorable task for a brave man that Paine set before them. He, for example, uses inflamed formulas to support the patriots and shame the loyalists. He also vehemently denounced traitors of the cause especially when the American military forces were suffering the greatest hardships to rid the country of the British colonial order (P.168).

It is important to mention, however, that *Crisis Papers* series were written by Paine whenever the situation necessitated it. During the war, American soldiers needed support and they found it within every word of the pamphlet where Paine put his soul in his creations, understanding the significance and necessity of moral support during such exacting times. He took an active part in the creation of the new

country and summoned Americans to break through the oppression of the British government to establish the state they would themselves choose. Paine encouraged freedom fighters with his fiery words to incite them to struggle for their future and that of their children. One of the best means in his hands during that crucial moment was religion; it was used as a strategic tool to share his revolutionary thoughts with his audience.

2)-Paine's Expressive Illocution and Revival of Puritan Oratory Skills

Paine produced *The American Crisis Papers* at a time when one of the most fiercely debated questions in American history was whether America was founded as a Christian nation or as a secular republic while religion played a prominent yet fractious role in the era of the American Revolution. Though there appears an inconsistency between what surfaces in Paine's papers and his personal religious beliefs, he nonetheless, succeeds to establish a connection between public religious beliefs, interests, and his political convictions. Paine was aware that many colonists were religious and those who were unsure still felt that there was a greater being similar to God. A noteworthy feature of his religious overtures was destined for an American audience for whom religion was a central aspect of their lives. Most of them had been influenced by a religiously flavored conceptual system that emanated from the Great Awakening. For them, God had provided man with land, but not to be accumulated in large quantities by a tiny group of people (Kaye.2000:44).

Meanwhile, the American society was characterized by a progress in the life forms as a result of urbanization, industrialization, and rationalization. It was a time when the social relevance of religion and the church decreased and religious worldviews were gradually replaced by scientific, rationalized and secular interpretations of the world. After the First Great Awakening, the so-called

preordained order of society was completely turned upside down. It was during the revivals that the colonists began to view themselves as capable of interpreting the will of God for themselves. John Winthrop, for instance, promised that the Massachusetts Bay Colony would be like “a city upon a hill”. It was the First Great Awakening that truly provided the ground for the American colonists to begin to see themselves as a chosen people. They believed that God was working within the American colonies in a special way (Flower, Murphey, 1977:141).

However, for Paine, the biblical premises empowered the monarchy, as it demanded obedience and precluded revolution. Therefore, he challenges the prevailing conventions with a rhetoric that drew upon a religious prophetic tradition rooted in the Puritan vision of the colonies, to which he adds the features of the Enlightenment. In so doing, he displaces the religious beliefs from their existing form to replace them with a new religious perception through which he explains to the colonists their world as a community that should embrace revolution by putting aside their religious divisions. This process requires reasons for rejecting monarchical government, and needs forms of discourse that challenges, even overcome the rhetoric that empowered the British political tradition.

In this regard, Paine combines religious ideals with political efforts to forge a tenacious link between piety and liberty by mixing the humanist virtues of the Enlightenment. The widespread argument required for entering the war was to transform the American society and create a “new people”. Paine’s use of religion was a credible voice for the particular arguments being made to a specific public purpose. His message became that of a “prophet’s call” and echoed the Puritan vision of a “Shining City upon a Hill” where colonists dreamt of creating a devout civilization free from the corrupted world of Europe. Paine’s resonant comparison

echoes the compact of a “civil body politic”, which was created to enact just and equal Laws, ordinance acts, and constitution by the early Puritan colonists on the Mayflower before America became a British colony added weight to his arguments. In *Common Sense*, he argues that, at the period of the Revolution, the American colonists are morally abounded in forms of virtue and fidelity to principle of freedom, which emancipated them from the arbitrary rule of kings and enabled to "govern themselves" as a new nation conceived in liberty” (P. 08).

More significantly, Paine connects the religious principles to his philosophy of “Natural Right”, including the idea that people were created equal, the belief that religious freedom required the disestablishment of government authority, the necessity of virtue in a republic, and the role of Providence in guiding the affairs of the new nation; he affirms: “It appeared clear to me, by the late providential turn of affairs, that GOD Almighty was visibly on our side” (P.108). He uses the power of God to move his audience to share his faithful arguments and support his side of the War. The premise of God persuades his audiences and increases their patriotism. He persuades them that God is on their side and not on Britain's because he views the British colonial authority as evil. He uses words like murderer, highwayman, and housebreaker to describe Britain and never says anything positive about it. He acts as a war strategist, setting the first stone of his foundation by reminding the colonists that Providence is also a means of motivation. He asserts that God will not allow a peaceful people to be destroyed; he chooses to use God as support for the American War and urges the Americans not to throw “the burden of the day upon Providence” but his calls upon his readers to “show your faith by your works” (P.96). He suggests that the British political order is tyrannical and effectively convinces his readers that it is much worse than it seems even though it may or may not have been so. He also

explains why the American colonists should fight back against the British Empire; otherwise they would continue to live under its oppression.

Paine widens his vision when stating that godliness and a divine spirit permeate every aspect of the universe that ranges from the natural world to man's creative ability to make things better for his fellow human beings. Paine adds to religious presumption an enlightened view suggesting the necessity and inevitability of independence and the ability of America to wage the war. He removes God's blessing from the king by listing the injustices and hardships caused by British policies which quickly outweigh loyalty to the British crown. He rhetorically constructs the king into the incarnation of evil, against a satanic tyrannical oppression with God's support of the American colonists for whom "the physical size of America exercises a kind of metaphysical influence upon the inhabitants of the country" (P.95). He considers that the Americans were endowed with particular inspiring thoughts and superior abilities, which he expresses as follows: "God almighty will not give up a people to military destruction, or leave them unsupportedly to perish" (P.92). He, then, relies on lengthy biblical quotes freely interspersed with his own additions as the sole repository of evidence for his argument. As a deist, Paine refers frequently in his writings to the grace, the wisdom and power of God, which he uses in his *Crisis Papers* to stimulate the army, as the following extract from the first *Crisis* illustrates:

I have as little superstition in me as any man living but my secret opinion has ever been and still is, that God Almighty will not give up a people to military destruction, or leave them unsupported to perish, who have so earnestly and so repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war by every decent method which wisdom could invent (P.92).

It can be understood from the *Crisis N°1* that Paine contrasts the comfortable situation of the present with the sacrifices needed for a better posterity. However, he

makes it clear that corporate religion and even spiritual renewal are not enough to reach freedom. For him, what is needed is action. His skepticism about religious dogmas, government authority, and the established church appears in his mix of Christianity and scientific rationalism, his faith in the individual, in the man's rights granted directly by God, and in human dignity and equality.

3)-Establishing Credibility through Sentiments and Ethics

Paine's commitment to the American Revolution was not only military and ideological but also ethical. The primary focus of Paine's *Crisis Papers* is to maintain an implicit religious foundation, allowing it to reassure readers of his philosophical and theoretical commitments, which were part of the 18th century thinking. Like William Godwin, Richard Price, and Adam Smith, he exhibits a strong attraction to sentiments, which could be automatically, physiologically transmitted by the natural faculty of sympathy between physically proximate individuals, especially intimate friends and family members. Through the pamphlets, Paine produces instantaneous and vigorous actions associated with the ideas of the Enlightenment, which he regards as being of interest to all humanity. The affective rhetorical strategies, as mentioned earlier, derive from his belief in reason, natural philosophy, moral sentiments, and fellowship that he uses to prove that political action is more effective than the spiritual renewal; he states that he faced the enemy himself (P.95). He shares his war experience on the ground when he joined General Washington in his battle against General Howe in the War of Independence where he motivated many downhearted soldiers who were in need of reassurance. The retreating of General Washington's army was a slow and Paine knows that the British enemy would not take the Revolutionary Army seriously. He even suggested military strategies to

counter the tactics of the English Army, and could advise the American Revolutionary Army what to do. The following passage is an illustration:

We must change our sentiments, or one or both must fall [...] But before the line of irrecoverable separation be drawn between us, let us reason the matter together: Your conduct is an invitation to the enemy, yet not one in a thousand of you has heart enough to join him. Howe is as much deceived by you as the American cause is injured by you (P.95).

Paine's personal participation in the war illustrates that he is not urging his audience to do anything that he has not done himself. Therefore, he gains the respect of his audience. More importantly, it was his unquestionable engagement in the cause of America that led him to stand near the "patriots"; he was stationed outside of New York City with the American soldiers and noted that the hardships of the war made them awe-struck, and some even deserted their posts (P.96). He knew that his fellow nationalists needed encouragement and inspiration. When Paine visited Philadelphia, he found the people in a "deplorable and melancholy condition [...] afraid to speak and almost to think, the public presses stopped, and nothing in circulation but fears and falsehoods" (P.98). Therefore, he sets himself the task to write texts and articles, which will encourage the middle and working-class men and women to express themselves publically in ways that would justify and safeguard their inclusion into the political conversation over the new republic's future. His texts are shaped, in Jay Flieglman's words, as "a register of the author's subjectivity in ways that needed a new set of rhetorical prescriptions and expectations in order to regulate the vagaries of that subjectivity" (Flieglman, 1993:24).

It is important to point out that from the first of the thirteen *Crisis Papers*, all of which appearing at critical points in the course of the Revolutionary War, until the final number issued in 1783, after independence, Paine reaffirms his vision of revolution and explains the reasons why America had to fight for independence. For

instance, throughout all *Crisis Paper X*, Paine repeats the arguments that the geographical location of America is a major justification for independence, suggesting that the eventual military triumph of America-over any attempt by an island to conquer her “was as naturally marked in the constitution of things, as the future ability of a giant over a dwarf is delineated in his features while an infant” (P.157). Paine repeatedly called for the need for political unity among the thirteen colonies:

From a concern that a good cause should be dishonored by the least disunion among us. I said in my former paper that should the enemy now be expelled. I wish, with all the sincerity of a Christian, that the names of Whig and Tory might never mentioned, but there is a knot of men among us of such a venomous cast that they will not admit even one’s good wishes to act in their favor (P.102).

Paine’s participation in the war, as already mentioned, and his siding with soldiers helped him to explain the main causes of the war as a witness to colonial oppression and the on-going struggles against it. In showing that patriotism is not an empty word, Paine maintains that it has a deeper meaning than it could be supposed; the British Empire takes too much on itself, trying to assume the powers of God. In addressing the American soldiers, he expresses his persuasive statement in this way:

The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot, will in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph (P.91).

The above words, which were directed to the newly constituted American army, were not only intended to motivate the fighting soldiers, but they were also critical of the fighters who have not supported the battle for independence when the American cause went well. Paine insists on the necessity of solidarity and urged Americans to fight the war for independence which, he warned could be lost if people did not help each other during the difficult winter ahead.

The second *Crisis*, for instance, was addressed to the British Admiral Lord Richard Howe, who had previously issued a proclamation in which he threatened the rebels to lay down their arms and resume their allegiance and loyalty to King George (P.100). To help counteract the influence of the proclamation, Paine produced *Crisis Papers N°II*, a document intended fundamentally to calm the nerves of the colonials whose state of mind was despairing and to minimize the British victories. The text confirms Paine's commitment to the American cause as it is intended to urge the "patriots" to step up efforts and renew confidence in their leaders while he denounces the Tories. Such an assumption appears clearer in Paine's own words, asserting: "I consider Independence as America's natural right and interest and never could see any real disservice it would be to Britain [...] The United States of America will sound as pompously in the world or in history as The Kingdom of Great Britain" (P.101). Paine's defense of the American Revolution and history acknowledges that it was himself who coined the expression "United States of America". In the same document, Paine also touches upon other recurrent theme, which is the internationalist dimension of British colonialism that exerted oppression and practiced inhumane cruelties in India, Africa and the Caribbean. He insists on the supremacy of the union to persuade his readers that the central government must maintain its autonomy in financial matters: "The expenses of the U.S for carrying on the war and the expenses for each state, for its own domestic government, must be kept separate and distinct". Paine declares that "the union of America is the foundation stone of the independence-the rock on which it is built and is something so sacred in her Constitution, that we ought to watch every word we speak, and every thought we think, that we injure it not even by mistake" (P.166). Paine was promoted to the post of secretary in the revolutionary government of the USA since his publication of *Crisis*

III, which tore down what remains in support of reconciliation and addresses the practical ability of America to succeed with a war for independence. By calling to the sentiments of his audience, Paine declares:

The success of the cause, the union of the people, and the means of supporting and securing both, are points which cannot be too much attended to. He who doubts of the former is a desponding coward, and he who willfully disturbs the latter is a traitor. Their characters are easily fixt, and under these short descriptions I leave them for the present (P.118).

This passage shows that Paine's unrelenting commitment was not only military and diplomatic; it also expresses the author's theory of revolution and his perception of the world. In *Crisis VI*, he insists that the Americans' war main objective is to defend their right to overthrow the British colonial order.

We fight not to enslave, but to set a country free, and to make room upon the earth for honest men to live in. In such a cause, we are sure we are right; and we leave to you the despairing reflection of being the tool of a miserable tyrant (P.150).

The same vision is repeated when Paine addresses in *Crisis VII* "the People of England", and his hopes were that the American war would open the eyes of Englishmen to the realization that "Britannia" is not always right. These expectations can be read in his *Crisis VII* pamphlet where he not only aims at weakening the enemy by confusing the allegiance of its own citizens but also asserts an international program of liberation of the dominated peoples (P.193). When in 1780, Charleston was captured by the English troops and Washington appeared in a critical situation, Paine suggested establishing the first national subscription to cover unexpected military expenses. He was sent to Paris by the United States government in order to obtain a loan from France and he successfully carried out the task. The question of union returns as a leitmotiv in Paine's discourse advocating repeatedly the necessity of a solid union of the colonies: "It is not in numbers, but in unity that

our great strength lies, yet, our present numbers are sufficient to repel the force of the entire world” (P.353). This excerpt illustrates Paine’s discourse of faith in the unity of the American colonies to overcome the British forces.

4-Paine’s Finance Support of the American Revolution

The low point in the American Revolution occurred in 1780 because the finances of the Congress were in disarray and mutiny threatened Washington’s army. Paine was deeply involved in that crisis and wrote letters to merchants to call for immediate and decisive action to raise troops, money and supplies as the following passage illustrates:

Whatever is necessary or proper to be done must be done immediately. We must rise vigorously upon the evil, or it will rise upon us. Many a good cause has been lost or disgraced and many a man of extensive property ruined by not supporting necessary measures in time (P.299).

The words were effective on the wealthy Philadelphians who took Paine’s admonishment and created the Bank of Pennsylvania-the first bank in America- to handle the subscribed funds for the relief of the army. As its clerk, Paine read to the Pennsylvania Assembly a desperate letter written by General Washington on May 31, 1780, explaining the dreadful condition of the army due to the lack of money and supplies. The General criticized the Congressional requisition system, in which the states were asked voluntarily to pay a share of all federal expenses. Most of the states paid only a fraction of their quotas, some paid more and others such as Pennsylvania, stated that they would not pay at all. According to Washington, “The Crisis in every point of view is extraordinary”. Paine seized upon the need and paraphrased Washington’s language to write *The Crisis Extraordinary*, published in 1780 as a pamphlet at Paine’s own expense. In the pamphlet, Paine’s intention was to map out a program for raising revenue but suggested that Congress should levy a tariff. He exposed the necessity and the advantages of raising revenue by taxes and

“to form the disposition of the people to the measures which I am fully persuaded it is their interest and duty to adopt and which need no other force to accomplish them than the force of being felt” (P.300). Simply said, Paine wanted to instill in people a willingness to pay taxes, arguing that there was only one possibility i.e. to finance the war effort. Otherwise, this would result in a British victory in which Americans would be forced to pay for the entire cost of the war through confiscation of their property and even higher taxes.

After the publication of the *Crisis Extraordinary*, all opposition had ceased in the Pennsylvania Assembly. Aware of the financial difficulties during the war, Paine declined to write a petition that the army officers asked him to write on January 24, 1782 to General Washington requesting the officers' back pay. Paine declined to write the petition because the Treasury was unable to pay immediately. Paine asked the officers to be patient as the state of the Treasury was getting better and improving, mentioning “that the Taxes laid this year were real and valuable and that any pressing demands just now might rather injure than promote their interest”.

However, Paine's support of the American Revolution disturbed the aristocrats who opposed it because its success would mean a victory for democracy and the end of privilege. He fought to give a solid shape to the new born country by suggesting unity and sponsored a union of the states instead of a number of small independent republics. What follows proves the point:

The Affairs of each state are local. They can go no further than itself. And were the whole worth of even the richest of them expended in revenue it would not be sufficient to support sovereignty against a foreign attack. In short, we have no other sovereignty than as United States [...] Sovereignty must have power to protect all the parts that compose and constitute it, and as United States, we are equal to the importance of the title, but otherwise we are not. Our union, well and wisely regulated and cemented, is the cheapest way of being great- the easiest way of being powerful, and the happiest invention in government which the circumstances of America admit of (P.352).

Paine knows just what to say to arouse the indifferent and lukewarm, and to add fire to the enthusiasm of those who were already supporting actively the cause of independence. In addition to his promotion of a direct representation, he favors a continental unity as opposed to provincialism and also wished that the delegates to the Congress would “lay aside all private interest and connection, and consider themselves not acting Provincially and continentally, that they will think for Prosperity” (P.351). This can be considered as a foreshadowing of the warning in *Common Sense* that “the continental belt is too loosely buckled”. He adds: “Our strength is continental, not provincial” (P.352).

Paine’s penultimate *Crisis Papers*, written in April 1783, after the War had ended, can be considered as a happy ending to his call to Revolution. As the Enlightenment well-versed orators, who often reserve their most persuasive statements for the end of their speeches, Paine sets his revolutionary illocution by claiming his commitment to the American cause as an activist and a writer is by no means an allegiance to monarchy and the established church; he writes what follows:

It was the cause of America that made me an author. The forces with which it struck my mind, and the dangerous condition the country appeared to me in, by courting an impossible and unnatural reconciliation with those who were determined to reduce her, instead of striking out into the only line that could cement and save her, A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, made it possible for me feeling as I did, to be silent: and if, in the course of more than seven years, I have rendered her any service, I have likewise added something to the reputation of literature, by freely and disinterestedly employing it in the great cause of mankind, and shewing there may be genius without prostitution (P.359).

The excerpt summarizes Paine’s constructivist ideological and philosophical project through his return to arguments founded upon “natural reason” with which he refutes the success of reconciliation as the time for negotiation belongs to the past. To contest the filial relationship with Britain, he takes a full turn from reconciliation to return to religious argumentation to claim that passivity is the chief danger. His

commitment to the American Revolution follows the flow of ideals, which nourish mutual sentiments of good will between nations and to do away with mistrust and prejudice. He presents a formula for the structure of an American republic and offers this plan for government to enlighten the people who have hesitated to accept the notion of independence merely because they do not know how a new state should be organized. His proposals are simple; they clearly favor the popular elements of society, particularly a provision for a single, democratically elected legislature, a provision which repelled men of property and conservative instincts. He proposes that each colony should have an annual assembly presided over by a president of a continental body, the Congress which is chosen by a wide electorate. His proposal of a Continental Congress should be selected for the purpose of drawing up a Continental Charter. His call for a Constitutional Convention came into being in 1787 (P.298). Moreover, Paine's impact on the American and French Revolutions and his defense of the rights of the individual added to his trust in the legacy of reason are tremendous. The following excerpt is an illustration: "My own line of reasoning is to myself as strait and clear as a ray of light. Not all the treasures of the world, so far as I believe, could have induced me to support an offensive war for I think it murder" (P.97). As a man of reason, he provides the vocabulary and frame of reference for modern political thought and ethics.

For Paine, revolutions are not necessary in democratic republics because possible oppression can be rectified through various channels. The moral principle of revolution is to instruct, not to destroy. Yet, Paine's international revolution did not occur. What is known as the "Painite movement" was not totally successful as the threat of revolution worldwide was defeated, especially in Britain. Gregory Claeys (1989) explains the failure by three main reasons; first, Britain and France went to

war in 1793 and the new principles of reform became hostile because they sounded French. Consequently, this frightened off thousands of potential reformers. Second, the British government reacted quickly to the upsurge in popular radicalism. Third, the loyalist movement turned to a more massive and highly successful reactionary force. The revolution wished-for by Paine never occurred in Britain, not because it was not intended and could not have developed, but rather because repression, loyalists and war prevented the democratic movement from expansion (Claeys, 1989:139).

Paine believes in the rights of the individual, challenges the traditional authority of the king and the church. He writes in support of freedom and truth, and became the enemy of those who opposed liberty, equality, and justice for all. He was slandered, threatened, outlawed and imprisoned, but he never wavered in his fight for the oppressed. He served in America as a soldier, a diplomat, a journalist in France as a legislator and a constitution-maker, then became in both countries, as well as in his native England, a symbol of the rights of man and the struggle for democracy. The attachment to the human cause appears in *Common Sense*. In "Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession", Paine considers that men were originally brought forth as equals in the order of creation, and admits as valid distinctions only those between male and female, between good and bad, describing the first as distinctions of nature, the second as those of heaven.

It follows from what precedes that having given the American colonists the reason to fight, the *Crisis Papers* and *Common Sense* offered support when their backs were against the wall. But the question which imposes itself is: Can Paine's incessant belief in revolution be limited only to the American liberation war? Paine's fight goes beyond and bypasses the American war for independence. Though his

legacy has been marginalized in such a way as to exclude him from the hall of fame of traditional founders of America, his work remains essential to the worldwide revolutionary ideas and ethically-based thoughts. His call for both popular sovereignty and freedom of the individual, the universality and diversity of mankind, the absolute or relative character of value judgment, free or determined action, each of these questions Paine encourages the reader not to choose one term to the detriment of the other, but to consider both simultaneously. What is special and valuable for Paine is the fundamental ethical principles guiding the colonists as means of conveying a message, which enables them to give meaning to their lives by shaping their experience. He practices what he preaches; his actions result from his political project as a fully engaged thinker in the enterprise of the massive political and social transformation of his time. Paine, as a visionary, imagined a society built on the power of the people who were morally good and who, through useful education, would understand the issues, the political practices and principles of government. They could enact laws through representatives directly concerned with the same interests. It would be a society based on the notion of common sense. The latter is the understanding that it is the people who have sovereignty. Thus, Paine wanted to rid America not just of British soldiers, but of the entire British political system. It was a system of imperialism, of colonialism, of tyranny and slavery. He wanted to start up a new order, based on justice and rights, equality and reason. He argues that independence is both natural and beneficial for American states that would avoid entanglements in Britain's European wars. He denies societal links between America and Britain, arguing that nature has set the two peoples at such variance that Americans would develop customs, habits and ways of life distinct from

those of Britain. The same humanist values, commitment for the oppressed to get rid of all forms of tyranny form the central basis of Fanon's texts.

Section Two: Deconstructing Political and Cultural "Habitus" in Fanon's Texts

In an interview (1960), the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu wages a harsh attack against the works of Fanon, especially *The Wretched of the Earth*, which he considers strikingly false and dangerous. For Bourdieu, "what Fanon says corresponds to nothing; it is even dangerous to make the Algerians believe the things he says". Fanon's works, adds the French theorist, "would bring Algerians to a utopia and contributed to what Algeria became". Fanon and Sartre "told stories to Algerians who often did not know their own country any more than the French who spoke about it, and, therefore, the Algerians retained a completely unrealistic utopian illusion of Algeria. Their texts are frightening for their irresponsibility. You would have to be a megalomaniac to think you could say just any such nonsense" concludes the French thinker (Bourdieu [1960], cited in Le Sueur, 2001:282).

My argument in revisiting Fanon's texts and the concrete situation of war will not only go against Bourdieu's stance, but also aims to "deconstruct" one of his well established concepts, the "Habitus". I argue that the analysis of Fanon's political and cultural defense mechanisms remains the basis on which his fight against the colonial system and his humanist vision rest; this major view comes to sight right from his preface to *A Dying Colonialism*:

Colonialism is fighting to strengthen its domination and human and economic exploitation. It is fighting also to maintain the identity of the image it has of the Algerian and the depreciated image that the Algerian had on himself. Well, this has long since become impossible. The Algerian nation is no longer in a future heaven. It is no longer the product of hazy and fantasy-ridden imagination. It is at the very centre of the new Algerian man. There is a new kind of Algerian man, a new dimension to his existence (Fanon, 1965:30).

The passage indicates that Fanon does not explain the violent steps through which struggles to end oppression passes through, but also maintains that they are more than necessary. The five essays denounce the colonial oppression and highlight the transformation effected in the political and historical consciousness of the Algerian people by the revolution. Fanon performs the dramatic conflict, which engages the French colonial government and the nationalist forces of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN). He narrates the destiny of Algerians by reference to their colonial history of a doubled process of alienation and oppression. The first one tied forcibly Algeria to France through one hundred thirty years of military conquest and more than seven years war of independence. He evokes the French “civilizing mission” in Algeria as an integral part of its colonial project of “brainwashing the minds” of the local population through the colonial school, religion, and media. He then centers his argument on the collective conviction, expressed in 1954, which made the struggle for Algerian independence a bloody, brutal, and destructive war of independence. He explains that from 1954 to 1962 and even before, French authorities used lot of military, political, and psychological tactics to maintain its total control of Algeria; the intimidation of population, the practice of torture, and media propaganda were some of the most prevailing techniques of the French oppressive policy.

1)-Fanon’s Interpellation of the French Colonial Oppression

When Fanon published his *A Dying Colonialism*, the Algerian war had extended to rural areas and villages. It was a time when Algerians expressed more than ever their objection to colonialism, just three years before the independence of the Algerian state (P.23).The author starts by the political pressures imposed by France to maintain its total domination through its campaign against the insurgents. He refers to the failure of political negotiations and argues that under certain

circumstances, when nonviolent political protests are met with repressive state violence, people have no other alternative than armed struggle for self-defense and protect the basic human rights (P.23). He then draws the reader's attention to the victims of the war from both sides, which he firmly condemns "with pain in his heart". However, he maintains that French officers were guilty of atrocities unprecedented in the annals of war; he refers to mass arrests, public executions of defenseless people, and infliction of inhuman cruelties upon their prisoners of war. Unlike Paine, Fanon uses a confluence of frightening events created an environment of profound distrust and apprehension in Algeria. Anxieties over the future of the "wretched of the earth" prevail over Paine's use of sentiments of friendship and sympathy. What the two authors share is an inflamed language, which they use to perform the rising tension between the colonizer and the colonized.

In relation to the Algerian fighters' reaction through violence, Fanon puts the blame on the French use of cruelty and coercion through torture; he stresses the psycho-political factors that shape insurgents' experiences which push "those brothers have flung themselves into revolutionary action with the almost psychological brutality that centuries of oppression give rise to and feed" (P.24). The story of the little boy, whose parents were shot in front of his eyes, illustrates the horror of the war. The boy is then put in a detention camp with his grandfather, to whom he confesses: "There is only one thing I want; to be able to cut a French soldier into tiny pieces" (P.26).

Moreover, the author explains in *The Wretched of the Earth*, how the French appeal to a "moral" violence to deprive Algerian of their land, deny their citizenship, and denigrate their religious and cultural practices, which had deep and severe psychological implications in the shaping of their personalities. French school and

ideology foster a “racial inferiority”, which force Algerians to believe that they lack the economic and military power necessary to govern themselves while it represses any revolutionary counter violent urges; he writes: “The native’s back is to the wall, the knife is at his throat (or more precisely, the electrode at his genitals): he will have no more call for his fancies” (P.45). As a psychiatrist, Fanon puts emphasis on the damages, which result from an extended oppression and repression, which results in the colonized turning their anger, fear and frustration inward in ways that result in a high incidence of alcoholism, psychiatric disorders, stress-induced physical ailments, and native-against-native homicides. The ferocity of the French conquest is not only military, it is social and psychological. Its outcome diseases lead to “the wretchedness, the indignity, kept alive and nourished every morning experience of tyranny by the family members, which Fanon summarizes in his *A Dying Colonialism* in this way:

The more and more total character of the repression have inflicted grave traumatism upon the family group: a father taken into custody in the street in the company of his children, stripped along with them, tortured before their eyes; the sharply experienced brotherhood of men with bare, bruised, bloody shoulders; a husband arrested, dragged away, imprisoned. The women are then left to find ways of keeping the children from starving to death (P.99).

More significantly, Fanon exposes to the Western consciousness and puts on the stage the problem of the practice of torture. He bases his conclusions on a study, which he observed on French torturers and their Algerian victims. In addition to the nightmares of the French officers, their mental disorders, and their unusual misbehaviors, Fanon lists instances of the most awful and inhuman descriptions of the different forms of torture. This passage is only one instance among others:

Injection of water by the mouth accompanied by an enema of soapy water given at high pressure; Introduction of a bottle into the anus; the prisoner is placed on his knees, with his arms parallel to the ground, the palms of his hands turned upwards, his torso and his head straight; the prisoner place

standing with his face to the wall, his arms lifted and his hands against the wall (Fanon, 1990:226).

He also examines the different forms of discrimination within the Algerian society and what he calls "Algeria's European Minority" that the colonial system created to worsen conflict and deepen oppression. The following excerpt proves the point:

One of the most pernicious maneuvers of colonialism in Algeria was and remains the division between Jews and Moslems [...] The Jews have been in Algeria for more than two thousand years; they are thus an integral part of the Algerian people...Moslems and Jew children of the same earth, must not fall into the trap of provocation. Rather, they must make a common front against it, no letting themselves be duped by those, who not so long ago, were off handedly contemplating the total extermination of the Jews as a salutary step in the evolution of humanity (P.157).

What comes out from the passage is that like Paine, Fanon calls for the end of the colonial folly. He brings into being the ideas in which he believes, combining reason and compassion to convey his thought, which he expresses in a revolutionary language and action.

2)-Fanon's Expressive Illocution of Reason and Compassion

What I studied in the first section of this chapter in relation to the use of language for Paine can be applied to a certain extent to Fanon. When compared to the angry tone of *Black Skin, White Masks*, the narrative voice in *A Dying Colonialism* as well as in *The Wretched of the Earth* and *Towards the African Revolution* is rather inspirational than angry; it is a voice, which does not defend the revolution, but rather provides explanations assuming a protective voice and compassion, which calls for the reader's reason to question the violence of colonialism; it is a call to their feeling to sympathize with the Algerian people's dismayed situation; it is also a call for the end of the war carnages: "the colonized people must win, but they must do so cleanly, without "barbarity" (P.24).

In *A Dying Colonialism*, he expresses his first hand experience of the war by alternatively using the first person singular and plural points of view. The author's collective "we" voice identifies him as one of the described oppressed. Many passages where the writer displays his status of a participant involved in the action using the inclusive first person plural possessive "our" are singled out. This technique indicates his inclusiveness and shared identity, shared fight, and shared will to overcome the colonial system and its ideology. The reason for such an involvement, Fanon explains, lies in the fact that truth is that which dislocates the colonial regime, that which promotes the emergence of the nation. Truth is that which protects the natives and destroys colonial domination; the essence of revolution, Fanon suggests, "is not the struggle for bread; it is a fight for human dignity" (P.12).

Fanon's identity shifted and the locations of his own "I" was no longer "we Frenchmen", or "we Martinicans", but rather "we Algerians". This change is a choice of Fanon to take part in this new historical formation; it is also quest to recognize himself in its interpellation. This decisive and deep conversion in Fanon's personality is motivated by his close encounter with the ongoing war of liberation and his use of "we" illustrates his resolve to secure friendships and to fulfill a sense of belonging. Like Paine, Fanon does not dissociate truth from struggle for liberation. As a vociferous fighter against colonialism, he presents the revolution not simply as an anti-colonial war waged for a question of territory and land, but a struggle conducted by the colonized to regain their lost dignity and identity. He uses reason and elevation of feeling to express his revolutionary thought. He then calls for the reader's reason and the European rational mind to question colonialism, which he condemns in bitter terms by advocating its end:

Who can hope to arrest this essential movement? Is it not better to open one's eyes and see the magnificence, but also the naturalness, of this evolution?

Are we still living in the time when man must fight and die in order to have the right to be the citizen of a nation? Is anything more grotesque and humiliating and obscene than the appellation, "French-Moslems"? And the wretchedness, the indignity, kept alive and nourished every morning-is this not a sufficient pretext for the most far-fetched crimes? Are there, then, not enough people on this earth resolved to impose reason on this unreason? (Fanon,1965:30).

Fanon's revolutionary viewpoint is clearly rendered in the above excerpt and reflects in all his other works as an illustration of his commitment. He reinforces his arguments with a number of paradoxes of colonialism that denigrates the native on the one hand, and maintains the superiority of the settler on the other. He details the oppressive nature of the colonial system arguing that it can be overcome only through action. He states:

What then? An army can at any time re-conquer the ground lost, but how can the inferiority complex, the fear and the despair of the past be re-implanted in the consciousness of the people? How can one imagine, as General de Gaulle ingenuously invited them to do, that the Algerians will "go back to their homes"? What meaning can this expression have for an Algerian of today? (P.31).

Fanon's passionate style and his interpretation of the war events resemble Paine's. Both call for reason and emotion to denounce colonialism, which remains indifferent to the plight of the oppressed while it continues to preserve and justify its domination over the colonized. As fervent militants contributing with words and deeds, Paine and Fanon portray the military situation from an optimistic perspective. They scornfully reject "the imposed resignation" and exhort their fellow citizens to patriotic dedication and sacrifice. They maintain a tone of cheerful gloom, portraying potential hardships, disadvantages, and defeats as near disasters, but assuring the readers that American and Algerian will and reason would triumph in the end. Their essays consist more in exhorting people to put an end to the British and French oppressions to regain their dignity and emancipation.

The issue of language holds an important place in Fanon's work. For example, in *Black Skin, White Masks*, he insists that the ways through which the colonized suffer alienation of psychological violence is, first and foremost, through language. He explains that language is a means of communion and an expression of brotherhood. He wrote that to speak is to "exist for the other" (P.17). Though a means of communication, it is also a device for transmitting knowledge from one generation to another. In relation to colonization, he argues that speaking the language of the colonizer instead of one's own language is ipso facto to assume the colonizers' culture and to reject one's own culture. This promotes cultural and political domination. In *Towards the African Revolution*, Fanon situates language as part of a person's culture, which is defined as the habitus: "combination of motor and mental behavior patterns arising from the encounter of man with nature and with his fellow man". He, therefore, sees the use of foreign language as an instrument of alienation and cultural uprootedness (1965:32).

As an effective writer, Fanon gives prominence in his works not only to what he says, but also to the way he says it. The act of communicating is for him as important as the act of writing. In his writing style, one can note that his prose is not characterized by rigidly structured organized ideas expressed in complex sentences. One can also think that the tone and the clarity of Fanon's texts are done on purpose. He adapts these elements to the reading audience. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, he writes: "The problem is important. I propose nothing short of the liberation of the man of color from himself. We shall go very slowly, for there are two camps: the white and the black" (1967:8). This excerpt illustrates Fanon's effective and communicative style. His language is concrete and not verbose, and suggestive of a better future for his readership. Using a straightforward language, he expresses his message in as

few words as possible. Fanon manages to build his communicative approach on the principle of commonality with the reader because using an unfamiliar and complex language may hinder his objective and the message is likely to have less impact.

In his *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon applies what he clearly suggests in his definition of the role of the intellectual, saying: “If you speak the language of every day, [...] the masses are quick to seize every shade of meaning” (1990:152). He builds his communication in a constructive and positive way. His language is positive in that it provokes interest in the reader about the issues he discusses by giving legitimacy to his claims. Fanon does not deal with language in the abstract, but he frames it in a form of speech already spoken by his reader. Fanon's texts do not only articulate an approach or a theory of language, but they perform it. His argumentative style is also eclectic. He even leans toward a literary poetics in *Black Skin, White Masks*, referring for instance to Aimé Césaire and Paul Valéry (P.9). By turning occasionally to literary French and making academic references, Fanon widens the scope of his readership and offers a variety of sensibilities, literary in this case, in order to denounce the burden of colonialism.

Fanon's varied readership encompasses indeed his “comrades of struggle” within the FLN and the ALN, those who are outside Algeria and stood with the Algerian Revolution, and supported the on-going anti-colonial struggle within the African continent. Using a didactic approach, Fanon has defined a certain number of practical and political objectives, destined to liberate the oppressed people as a whole. His primary objective is to bring new members into the struggle and mobilize them for a better future. The effectiveness of his language emerges in his works which analyze and discuss individual and collective experiences of racism and colonialism that Fanon himself shares with his readers. If he actually privileges a

relatively simple writing style, it is done to meet his desire to make his language as a relational element to analyze the repressive nature of oppression and its traumatic and social consequences. What is particular to Fanon is that he not only theorizes revolution, but also takes part in its achievement. The clarity of his political thought goes with the simplicity of the language he uses.

As a committed thinker, he is totally engaged in a process of “decolonizing the mind”. He, for example, questions the dominant legacy of historical Eurocentrism. Unlike many authors, he avoids the dichotomies this question is reduced to. For him, it is not a matter of being for or against Enlightenment or Euro-centric intellectual tradition, or being a victim of that. He rather, proposes a critical alternative to Eurocentrism which is considered as a global system of domination. The role of the intellectual cannot be limited to understand and explain phenomena, but he should work to revolutionize the people in order to reestablish their cultural legitimacy (Khalifa.Young, 2014:462-67).

Fanon’s writings combine theory and practice to achieve his pedagogical objective as noted previously. In *Black Skins, White Masks*, he charts new areas of contemporary matters and asserts his own place as an intellectual whose role is to awaken people. As thinking is essential in this very role, he successfully manages to combine action and thought. For him, theory is important to clarify the tasks of action so as to transform the world for a better one. He says about action and theory: “ To educate man to be actional, preserving in all his relations his respect for the basic values that constitute a human world, is the prime task of him who, having taken thought, prepares to act” (1967:222). *Black Skin, White Masks* is written in a fluid manner. Fanon develops a forceful personal style where rhythm and poetry prevail. He writes: “The white man is sealed in his whiteness. The black man in his

blackness” (P. 9). This illustration shows Fanon’s tendency to break up grammatical rules and classic sentence structure. In addition, some parts of the book are theatrical. They can be read loudly as in theater stage because some instances of the text are constructed as dramatic scenes, full of irony. St Peter’s scene (P.49) illustrates the point. In the same book, in particular, Fanon narrates race relationships as a poet who composes prose texts. Through a phenomenological approach, he attempts to penetrate the senses and offers a lived reality of racism after he had acquired his political and philosophical style of phenomenology. As a doctor, the perspective he brought in his books, is that of the psychiatrist who, in a lucid way, worked to relieve the mental suffering caused by racism and colonialism. His prose addresses issues of medicine and freedom, which are expressed with eloquence.

A simple writing style also dominates *A Dying Colonialism* where Fanon describes the transformation of the Algerians to a revolutionary force and their struggle to repel the French colonial government. The book can be read as a philosophical discussion of the meaning of the Algerian Revolution and an open prospect of what might come after it. He states: “We want an Algeria open to all, in which every kind of genius may grow. This is what we want and this is what we shall achieve. We do not believe there exists anywhere a force capable of standing in our way” (1967:33). In a simple language, Fanon expresses thus his loyalty to the FLN, praising the popular mobilization during the War from which a new Algerian emerged. Faithful to his simple diction, devoid of semantic and syntactic complexities, Fanon indicts colonialism and praises anti-colonial struggle for the sake of man’s emancipation in “The Pitfalls of National Consciousness” essay, which is part of *The Wretched of the Earth*, he writes

It is true that if care is taken to use only a language that is understood by graduates in law and economics, you can easily provide that the masses have

to be managed from above. But if you speak the language of the everyday [...] then you will realize that the masses are quick to seize every shade of meaning. [...] Everything can be explained to the people, on the single condition that you really want them to understand (Fanon, 1990:152).

Fanon displays his engagement for total decolonization. His audience in *The Wretched of the Earth* is not only the wretched of the earth, but the book also targets the European consciousness and readership. The author of the preface, Jean Paul Sartre, explains: "Fanon speaks out loud; we Europeans can hear him, as the fact that you hold this book in your hands proves" (P.11). Addressing the Westerners, Sartre adds: "Have the courage to read this book, for in the first place, it will make you ashamed" (P.12). As a matter of comparison, Sartre's language in the preface appears more sophisticated and more abstract than Fanon's in *The Wretched of the Earth*. As a global thinker, Fanon addresses a wider variety of oppressed peoples within the confines of global capitalism and the possibilities for their freedom in a socialist order. His quest for a new man is essential in his thought, when saying: "We do not want to catch up with anyone. What we want to do is to go forward all the time, night and day, in the company of Man, in the company of all men" (P.254). According to him, the European Humanism pretends adopting a human perspective while it excludes the rest of people. Worse than that, it can be interpreted as a piece of cultural imperialism in its attempt to give falsely worldwide legitimacy to its identity which is a particular product of the Western liberal tradition which stipulates the rights not to be tortured or enslaved, the right to freedom of thought and expression.

More significantly, Fanon describes the colonized people's affective conditions that the Manichaeian mentality has created and this state of fact goes with racial and cultural discriminations set up in parallel with the economic divisions. He, thus, reflects the concerns of the colonized populations who are devoid of public voices that can express their anxieties and expectations and as reaction to

their blocked horizons, resort to dream and to a vocabulary of violence to overcome oppression. The subsequent excerpt illustrates the point:

To wreck the colonial world is henceforward a mental picture of action which is very clear, very easy to understand and which may be assumed by each one of the individuals which constitute the colonized people. To break up the colonial world does not mean that after the frontiers have been abolished, lines of communication will be set up between the two zones. The destruction of the colonial world is no more and no less than the abolition of one zone, its burial in the depths of the earth or its expulsion from the country (Fanon, 1990:31).

The notion of universalism that Fanon identifies can be distinguished from the form of universalism that he really promotes and wishes to defend. Unlike what Europeans define as their role to control the “Other” and even intervene in the affairs of other countries, Fanon insists that the colonized people have the right to claim and express their difference. So, how does he propose to bring about change?

3)-Fanon’s Directive Illocution of Defense Strategies During the War

Fanon suggests the main strategies, which will help the oppressed Algerian people to get rid of the colonial system. He urges them to shift from “the passivity” in which the colonialist ideology sealed them. Such transformations engender some strategy of defense to end the colonial domination. Among the means, which prevent the fading away of the revolutionary will is religion. However, Fanon’s position to religion is not easy to summarize.

a)- Religion: From an Anthropological and Colonialist Institution to a Means for Liberation

Though Fanon did not write about religion, his statements remain persistent throughout his texts. Two important ideas can help understand Fanon’s position toward religion. The first is his vision of the “new man” and his conception of the “national culture” and both are related to the historical and social context within

which Fanon developed these two ideas. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, he considers religion from the perspective of black assimilated to the French values and religion; his awareness of the damage it caused on the mind of the colonized Antilleans is expressed as follows: "We shall have no mercy on the former governors, the former missionaries" (Fanon, 1967:2). His dissent stance appears in his denunciation of the way colonialism uses religion to strengthen its domination. As a conscious colonized subject, Fanon maintains that religion is a reflection of the alienation that black people felt from their cultural roots. He becomes critical of the church's collusion with colonial racism. As already mentioned, he acknowledges that he was the "perfect" product of French assimilation. His education on the island of Martinique, reserved for the privileged beke and mulatto, was a direct result of French alienation. However, his passion to serve the allies against European fascism was fuelled by his dedication to the republican ideals of "liberté, égalité, fraternité", which revealed his relative youthful ease with the relationship among the colonized (Fanon, 1967:140).

In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon states that the church reinforces the imperial "God man" whose main purpose is criticized harshly: "The white man wants the world; he wants it to himself alone. He finds himself predestined master of this world. He enslaves it" (P.97). The author points to the complicity of Christianity with colonialism in creating and feeding racism. He writes that to be dealing with one is to be dealing with the other; both the established Catholic Church and Christianity are the mirror stage of each other. Fanon figures colonialism as an ecclesiastic order of alienation because the church reinforces the structure of violence, death and destruction (P.102). If colonialism destroys the economy of the colonized people, Christian religion annihilates them of their

humanity with the heretical idea of the Black as a figure of evil and death, which is opposed to the White's innate grace and goodness. The instance of the priest, who curses a faithful catholic student, Achille on the threshold of his church on a sacred and salutary Sunday is an illustration of the contribution of religion to foster racism. To be sure to clearly convey his message, Fanon puts himself in the place of the victim and utters it in the spoken form of the black people: "You go' way big Savannah; what for and come' long us" (P.19). In addition, he accuses the established church to align the colonized with the demonic; the black and colonized men symbolize death. The task of the church, in the colonial context, is to deepen the conflict and widen the gap between the white man and the inferiority of the colonized black man while it encourages the striving to turn into white, to be like Jesus. The relationship between life and death, the language of the church calls for more oppression (P.85).

Therefore, Fanon sets himself the task of unearthing the mechanism of the church oppression through his description of the black's internalization of his inferiority as the collapse of his/her ego and stresses the social neurosis that rises out of it. The logic governing the church is to convince the black and colonized that there is no escape for his situation: "This sexual myth, the quest for white man flesh, perpetuated by alienated psyches, must no longer be allowed to impede active understanding" (P.59). What remains for colonized is to overcome the Manichean and dichotomist vision of the church is taking the question of revolution as the clue. His interest is moving beyond the mere metaphysical degrading discourses of the church in order to overcome the history of misrepresentation and vilification, which has trapped the colonized in representational thinking and "habitus". In place of

depravity as representation, Fanon writes that religion should be an inquiry into the being through the prayer for the liberation of “the body” (Fanon, 1967:180).

The question which can be asked is how Fanon resolved and mediated the issue of religion in his reflections on the black psyche and oppressed collectives. He suggests two solutions. The first possibility to end with the long and strong religious “habitus” is to overcome the imposed religious way of thinking in order not only to humanize people, but also to restore the lost subjectivity to those who have been reduced to objects by the established church. Second, Fanon uses religion to call for a transformation of the colonized subject. In so doing, he deconstructs the religious “habitus” of redemption through being French and Christian. Instead, he calls through a prayer for the recognition of the self through the “body” as a site for the creation of the ‘new man’. He intervenes to change what he calls a “defect left over childhood” as an effective disalienation of black, which “entails an immediate recognition of the social and economic realities”. Fanon suggests bypassing the absurd drama that is staged on the black man. To achieve morality, Fanon adds, it is essential that the black, the dark, the Negro vanish from consciousness” (P.150).

In his *Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon stages the struggle of the common people against the colonial oppression and provides a framework for thinking in terms of the role of religion in the conflict. He claims that colonialism is the materialization of the Christian program; it is the new Christian logical problem. The author sees the Christian institutions as the other face of colonialism because they reinforce black inferiority and maintain the white man’s preeminence; he writes:

The church in the colonies is the white people's church, the foreigner's church. She does not call the native to God's ways but to the ways of the white man, of the master, of the oppressor. And as we know, in this matter, many are called but few chosen (Fanon, 1990:32).

It appears from the excerpt that Fanon criticizes the established church in its strengthening of colonial domination in endorsing the acts of the colonialists when it encourages total obedience and conformity from the colonized.

However, in Algeria, Fanon maintains the significance of Islam as a religion, which influenced the structure and direction of the Algerian society as it reinforced the morals and social norms held collectively by all within a society in its struggle against the colonial oppression. He recognizes the positive role of Islam in the anti-colonial struggle to resurrect the colonized self and national consciousness, which is necessary to liberate him from the shackles of colonialism. The first essay in *A Dying Colonialism*, "Algeria Unveiled", expresses Fanon's turn toward a more nuanced stance with regard to religion. According to him, Algerian patriarchy and religion oppress the woman by defining her without her consent; she finds herself initiated into a constellation of structures and values that she never helped to fashion. But, Algerian woman uses the veil as a cultural resistance against the feeling of awkwardness, nakedness and incompleteness. "The way people clothe themselves, together with the traditions of dress and finery that custom implies, constitutes the most distinctive form of a society's uniqueness" (P.35). The veil becomes a kind of "a liberating and empowering means" for woman to negotiate a space between the social limits and the French gaze and assimilation. It becomes "the bone of contention in a grandiose battle, on account of which the occupation forces were to mobilize their most powerful and most varied resources, and in the course of which the colonized were to display a surprising force of inertia" (P.36). The use of the veil is also a tool to reject the devaluation of the community and a wish to be recognized or to have the right to an identity.

During the War of Liberation, the veil was worn as “a passe-partout” allowing woman to become a highly effective guerrilla fighter “in carrying in her bag or in a small suitcase twenty, thirty, forty million francs, money belonging to the Revolution, money which is used to take care of the needs of the families of prisoners, or to buy medicine and supplies for the guerrillas” (P.38). For Fanon, the veil is an identity and a tool for resistance. This is why he argued that the French obsession with unveiling the Algerian woman was not intended to free her, but to objectify her. To bring the woman within his reach is one way among others. In other words, to make her a possible object of possession as the following excerpt illustrates:

The decisive battle was launched before 1954, more precisely during the early 1930's. The officials of the French administration in Algeria, committed to destroying the people's originality, and under instructions to bring about the disintegration, at whatever cost, of forms of existence likely to evoke a national reality directly or indirectly, were to concentrate their efforts on the wearing of the veil, which was looked upon at this juncture as a symbol of the status of the Algerian woman (P.37).

Fanon brings to the fore and denounces the European phantasmagoric dreams of a group of women in the harem-exotic themes deeply rooted in their unconscious.

It is from that premise that he urges and calls for women to free themselves from the ethos of the white supremacist, patriarchal, colonial, and capitalist world, which makes women's decolonization and liberation from patriarchy, from the yoke of the French colonizers, and that of the non-white colonized his main critical theoretical preoccupation. The first strategy to achieve such an objective in order to end the colonial oppression is the struggle of women. In the course of his entire “Algeria Unveiled” essay, the author explains how the revolution and the liberation struggle have destroyed the subservience of the Algerian women symbolized by the veil. In this vein, Fanon writes:

The officials of the French administration in Algeria committed to destroying the people's originality and under instructions to bring about the

disintegration at whatever cost, of forms of existence likely to evoke a national reality directly or indirectly, were to concentrate their efforts on the wearing of the veil, which was looked upon at this juncture as a symbol of the Algerian woman (P. 37).

Throughout the above lines, it can be understood that Fanon offers the reader several insights. As far as the issue of women is concerned, he demonstrates that the colonial position of supremacy and his superficial interests over the colonized non-white woman are false. He directs his criticism against the way “colonialism rearranges the gender and the political economy of the colonized, constantly dividing and conquering them” (P.39). The role of women appears important as he includes them in his dialectic of decolonization and liberation, seeing their decolonization and liberation as a means to highlight the distinction between what he defines as “true” and “false” decolonization. One of these strategies, “the phenomena of counter-acculturation must be understood as the organic impossibility of a culture to modify anyone of its customs without at the same time re-evaluating its deepest values, its most stable models” (P.42).

While colonialism has reinforced the traditional structures and “habitus”, which held the women under oppression, the unwillingness of the Algerian women to unveil themselves in the colonial context was a form of protest against colonial structures. Fanon denounces vehemently the colonizer's attempt to unveil the Algerian woman. The colonial hegemony did not simply turn the veil into a symbol of resistance, but also as an important instrument in the struggle for political independence. It becomes a technique of camouflage and a means of revolutionary struggle. “Despite the inherent, subjective difficulties and notwithstanding the sometimes violent incomprehension of a part of the family, the Algerian woman assumes all the tasks entrusted to her” (P.54).

The author goes further to observe that the veil that once secured the boundary of the home and domestic spaces is no longer valid since it contributes to mask the Algerian woman in her revolutionary activity; he argues that:

The unveiled Algerian woman, who assumed an increasingly important place in revolutionary action, developed her personality, discovered the exalting realm of responsibility. The freedom of the Algerian people from then on became identified with woman's liberation, with her entry into history (P.61).

Through this process of emancipation, the presence of the veil in the public sphere and spaces becomes the object of paranoid surveillance and interrogation. Every veiled woman, writes Fanon, "became suspect and that cloth represents women's claim for liberty but also a lesson taught by the veiled woman in the course of the revolution" (P.62). Fanon considers the veil as a device utilized to recover dignity and self-determination by challenging the Manichean lines imposed by the colonial order.

In sum, Fanon's siding with Algerian women's struggle adds another stone to the humanist edifice. This illustrates the itinerary of his mind in constant evolution, and that grows ever broader and richer while continuing to be true to himself. The clarity of his vision towards women does not only display undeniably the firmness of his open and precise commitment against oppression, but also makes of him to interpret the Algerian woman's experience of colonial oppression while marking her active participation in the struggle to end it.

b- Reversal of the Fixed Family and Cultural Patterns

In his essay entitled the "The Algerian Family", Fanon points out that when the colonized gain a consciousness of their distressed situation, they know that they have nothing to lose, given their worst lives under colonial yoke, they choose to transform their previously self-destructive identity. They make efforts to recover their sense of agency and dignity and become creators of history, rather than endorsing

the status of victims of historical conquest. They become aware that dignity and equality are more important than life itself. Therefore, they become willing to risk their lives for these values. "Each member of this family has gained in individuality what it has lost in its belonging to a world of more or less confused values. Individual persons have found themselves facing new choices, new decisions" (P.99).

Closely related to women's emancipation, the next self-protective tactic that Fanon develops in the third essay of his *A Dying Colonialism* is the family structure in its relation to the changing Algerian society. He analyzes the transformation of family patterns and relationships dominated by the patriarchal structures of the family that were challenged by the Algerian family participation in the process of liberation struggle. Fanon's immersion in the Algerian Revolutionary War reveals that the revolution brought out social transformations and contributed to a profound new mutation. Fanon mentions, for instance, how "the crystallization of traditional ideas suddenly proved ineffective and were abandoned" (P.100). This transformation led Algerian father, brother, and daughter to play a prominent role during the war. They enjoyed their right to exist as autonomous human beings. The war for liberation turns their "long erased" colonized identities and family relationships from passive, subordinated, and oppressed subjects into active participants that bypassed their confinement and challenge patriarchal traditions; what follows illustrates the point:

In stirring up these men and women, colonialism has regrouped them beneath a single sign. Equally victims of the same tyranny, simultaneously identifying a single enemy, this physically dispersed people is realizing its unity and founding in suffering a spiritual community which constitutes the most solid bastion of the Algerian Revolution (P.120).

Fanon lists the ways in which the Algerian women built up defense mechanisms which enable her to play a primary role in the family and in the struggle for liberation (P.106-8). He directs his criticism against patriarchy. The war transformed the

situation of woman towards her father and brother. Her status of living in a world where men force her to assume the status of inferiority comes to an end: "The woman ceased to be a complement for man. She literally forged a new place for herself by her sheer strength" (P.108). Fanon maintains that the time when man fixed her as an object and reduced her to immanence since her transcendence is to be overshadowed and forever transcended by another ego, which is essential and sovereign. "The militant girl, in adopting new patterns of conduct, could not be judged by traditional standards. Old values, sterile and infantile phobias disappeared" (P.110).

More significantly, Fanon as fully engaged in his humanitarian project, alters the image of the Algerian family where the girl that "is always one notch behind the boy; she has no opportunity, all things considered, to develop her personality or to take any initiative by a more positive picture of an Algerian, who resists both "violent incomprehension on the part of the family" (P.107). The Algerian family described by Fanon struggles against the forces reducing her to inferiority and confined in the dogmatic traditions. At the same time, if woman trespasses the borders of her life in the home, made up of centuries-old customs, the father, brother, and husband adapted themselves to such behavior and the values. This process does not only contribute to reverse the French view of Algerian feminine society, but also maintain the cultural identity and cohesion of the Algerian family during the political tensions and the colonial desire to force it to follow the European tradition.

c- The Changing Use of the Radio During the War

The other important way with which Algerian revolutionaries turned the colonial oppression into a means of struggle for liberation and with which they transformed the political habitus appears through the use of the radio. The second

essay of the book is concerned with the changing attitudes of the Algerians toward the use of the radio from a means of acculturation that sustains the occupant's culture to a basic tool which contributed to reinforce the Algerian will to gain their independence. At the outset, the radio was considered by the majority of the Algerian population as a technical news instrument; a means of cultural pressure on the dominated society. For the French settler, it was a mechanism of resistance to the corrosive influence of an inert native society, a society without a future, backward and devoid of value, writes Fanon using an ironic tone (P.72).

Therefore, the radio stands as a symbol of French presence, as a material representation of the colonial configuration (P.73). But during the war, it was with the press and radio that Algerians attempted to organize their news distribution system (P.76). Progressively, the radio played an important role of information. More importantly, its use had two important functions to reverse the political and cultural habituses. First, it was used to bring relief to people and is meant to underscore their deep and silent miseries (P.84). Second, it was regarded as a symbol to reproduce the necessary motivation for action. It served not only to express hope in spite of pain and misery, but it was also meant to move the audience to action and serve to arouse a war-like spirit. The broadcast voices aim to stir up public sentiments against the danger that threatens the community and stress the virtues of the fighting groups, strengthen their heroism and value their unquestionable patriotism. The following excerpt illustrates our argument:

The Algerian who wanted to live up to the revolution, had at last the possibility of hearing an official voice, the voice of the combatants, explain the combat to him, tell him the story of the Liberation on the march, and incorporate it into the nation's new life (P.85).

As an illustration, the emergence of the Radio Free Algeria which broadcast from Cairo, was adopted as the voice of the revolution, and voiced the community's power

and resistance. The extended transmission of patriotic songs looks to the end of imperial rule and voiced the Algerian resistance to colonial exploitation. The songs also celebrated the rebellion against colonial tyranny and incited its audience to shift from the old listening habits of the Algerian people to it. The radio programmes show mainly the brutal and mindless oppression inflicted on the colonised (P.85). “The Fighting Voice of Algeria”, as Fanon writes, recalls wartime and the period of colonial oppression; it glorifies the grandeur and heroism of the Revolutionary Commandants and people’s resistance to exploitation and domination (P.86). The radio functions, therefore, as a mode of empowerment for the oppressed and emerges as a locus of the struggle against the colonial violence. Radio at that time, maintains Fanon, also provides an alternative discourse and a cultural signifier which acts as one of the few means of political resistance available to the Algerian people. Prominent auditory elements include the voice of the singer who incites the freedom fighters to redeploy in the mountains, to gather their forces, and to come back more powerful than before (P.87). The radio then represents the voice of all people and functions as a national consciousness that not only sides with the freedom fighters but also incites them to continue their struggle for liberation. It functions in Fanon’s words as:

This voice whose presence was felt, whose reality was sensed, assumed more and more weight in proportion to the number of the jamming wave lengths broadcast by the specialized enemy stations. It was the power of the enemy sabotage that emphasized the reality and the intensity of the national expression. By its phantom-like character, the radio of the Moudjahidines, speaking in the name of fighting Algeria, recognized as the spokesman for every Algerian, gave to the combat its maximum of reality (P.87).

The radio served to raise consciousness; it turns from colonialism and imperialism means of propaganda to a tool of defense for armed struggle. It contributes to the emergence of a self confident “new man” whose will is no more than to end the colonial oppression.

4)- Fanon's Unitary Vision of the Algerian War of Liberation

What also links Paine to Fanon is the fact that the same background of oppression that shaped the former's ideas hardened the latter's thought. Fanon describes the Algerian war as a revolt of the whole people without any material division of sentiment on either side. The war waged by people motivated was intensified by their experiences of distress caused by the French colonialism in Algeria and by the violence exerted by the colonizing force should be deracinated. The author points out:

The new relations are not the result of one barbarism replacing another barbarism, of one crushing of man replacing another crushing of man. What we Algerians want is to discover the man behind the colonizer, this man who is both the organizer and the victim of a system that had choked him and reduced him to silence. As for us, we have long since rehabilitated the Algerian colonized man. We have wrenched the Algerian man from centuries-old and implacable oppression. We have risen to our feet and we are now moving forward. Who can settle us back in servitude? (P. 32).

The quote expresses Fanon's unitary thought and national consciousness, which aims, first and foremost, to debunk the colonial oppression; his passionate discourse calls to mind the vindictive and vehement denunciatory style of Thomas Paine. It is, therefore, the determination, the passion, and the sharing of grievances and oppression that forced Fanon to quit his job in Blida Joinville hospital to be a member completely involved in the Algerian Liberation War as one of its essential spokesman, who defended its cause inside and outside its territory.

Unlike Paine, Fanon did not express overtly his position against the opponents of the war. His criticism is rather very soft and veiled when compared to Paine's hate for the Tories. Yet, both Fanon and Paine stress the unity rather than division among the American and Algerian rebels. However, in *A Dying Colonialism*, Fanon criticizes the "cult of personality" through the clashing relationship between the

father and the son. Though it is veiled, many indications make it clear that Fanon addresses Messali Hadj (P.104). Fanon also criticizes the French Leftists and calls man to give up their double game of condemning torture in Algeria and refusing the FLN's legitimate demands for independence (P.23). Like Paine, Fanon's central interest is to denounce the colonial system. He maintains that the colonizer is an illegitimate "usurper" who maintained power by denying the basic rights of the colonized. Consequently, the important issue of decolonization is not reconciliation but the necessity of the colonized to reclaim his identity, dignity and power in his own country. A total rupture with the colonial system is due to its denials of the basic rights of the colonized. The radical destruction of the colonial system is not possible except through the destruction of the colonial society's ability to regenerate itself.

Fanon's revolutionary thought revolves basically on two main pillars: cultural values and land. He considers that the fight for liberation has the virtues of abolishing the adulterated Western values and beliefs. Repossessing the land opens up the opportunity for the colonized people to establish again a system of ethics and norms that are intrinsically linked with agriculture, an activity that the colonial order has attempted to destroy. The economic structure based on cultivating the soil is essential to the life of the Algerians who have built almost affective relations with the land that Fanon regards as a means to gain their self-determination. Like Paine, Fanon thinks that revolution will remain a permanent feature of politics until the world is totally transformed. In their vision of the future, reason, rights, peace, liberty and prosperity would reign everywhere. In *A Dying Colonialism*, he writes that colonialism and its derivatives do not constitute the only enemies of Africa, but the greater danger that threaten it is the absence of ideology. The triumph of socialism in Eastern Europe contributed to the disappearance of the old rivalries of the traditional territorial

claims. Fanon puts the African continent at the center of a revolutionary movement. Thus, the kernel of the legacy that he has left lies in the interlocked ideological and historical relationships. He sets Africa behind revolutionary principles that will result in its unification, establish a coherent ideology, compatible with Africa's historical and cultural structures and follow socialism as an operative social and economic system that fits the prospects of African peoples.

The colonists' policies, maintains Fanon, consist in negating the African soul, not only as a social act, but as an act of depersonalization. He focused on decolonization, which is a form of struggle, conducted by what he calls the "racially colonized peoples" (Fanon.1965:12). This can be seen as a twofold process of revolutionary transformation; the individual and the society that reject the cultural, racist and colonialist values and models imposed by the colonial system. Fanon believed that political independence is not enough to liberate people from colonialism, but it is merely the beginning of that liberation process that includes freedom from colonial, cultural, and intellectual values. In this vein, Fanon's vision of revolution does not differ from Paine's. Both consider revolution as not only a war of independence but mostly the overthrowing of the dominating orders; monarchy and the instauration of republicanism for the former and a total decolonization and the creation of a "new man" for the latter. The notion of "new humanism" coined by Frantz Fanon, originates, in fact, from his contention and apprehension that both "the European colonizing capitalists" and "the colonized African elites" could work hand in hand after the political independences of colonized countries, and consequently, establishing another form of colonialism.

It can be deduced that Paine and Fanon wrote effective essays on persuasion about War. Thomas Paine supports the War of the colonies against the British

Empire and Fanon is against the French colonization of Algeria; both reached beyond the polemical battles of their times, which make them superficially different. To show how Paine and Fanon are two intellectuals closely linked to their time while some critics have confined their works to their revolutionary aspects, others have overlooked the two authors' sensibilities as well as their humanist values, I suggest that there are certainly some significant points of agreement between Paine's *Crisis Papers* and Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism* concerning the necessity for the oppressed to renounce all compromise with their oppressors and to organize themselves by adopting some strategies of defense to get rid of colonial injustice and repression.

Paine placed emphasis on the compatibility of nationalism and internationalism when writing that his attachment is to the entire world and not to any particular part of it. He proclaims his belonging to all the oppressed nations by urging the Americans to rebel, acting from a sense of "duty to mankind at large". Such an attitude encapsulates Paine's revolutionary vision. Fanon holds a similar position as he grounds the idea of world revolution first and foremost in Algeria to advocate it to the rest of the world.

Conclusion

The foregoing examination of Paine's and Fanon's political and philosophical thoughts allows me now to suggest an extended convergence between the two authors' vision of man in time of war. From the cluster of illustrations listed above, I draw the following conclusions: first, Paine's political ideas are firmly grounded in the ethical guidelines he derived from the Enlightenment values of emancipation, liberation, justice, and equality. Politics, for him is simply an extension of ethics. A comparable reasoning appears in Fanon's texts, which mark a transition from a period in which he concentrated on psychiatric problems and work, to one in which

he dedicated himself to more direct action as a means for liberation and emancipation of the oppressed. His texts present a sociological analysis of the Algerian society during the War for Liberation. Fanon provides a representation of the Algerian conflict with the French Empire. He depicts the dramatic realities of the war and explains the necessity of resistance within the Algerian society. Though Paine's and Fanon's texts were produced in different periods and contexts, what links them are their "deconstruction" of the political, cultural, and religious established orders and their performance of a social drama. The major points of comparison between Paine's links to the American Revolution and Fanon's accounts of the Algerian War show that they draw similar conclusions about the military situation in America and Algeria in part because they have fundamentally the same theories about human relations in war time. Their social drama performance, their rational and emancipatory consensuses, their participation to the public sphere, and their national internationalist vision will be further examined in the next part.

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Part Three:
**Paine's and Fanon's Performance,
Communicative Action and Public Sphere**

We must learn how to listen and give detailed attention to the faintest cries of insult and oppression. This requires looking injustice in the eye and developing a capacity to listen to other voices as well as one's own, and cultivating a moral sensibility that goes beyond local thinking, self-interest, and greed.

(Richard. H. Bell)

The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims, have been born of earnest struggle. This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, and it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without demand. It never did and it never will.

(Frederick Douglass)

In the course of the previous chapters, I have underlined the reenactment of the Enlightenment humanist values in Paine's and Fanon's texts, which allowed them to create a theatricalized social construction, and a "liminal" space from which they express their ideas. It is from that space that they challenge the established colonial systems as a whole rather than trying to identify their failings; their reasoned reflections about the war are far from being spontaneous or revelatory. Their dissent oratorical revolution is the outcome of their lived experience and their involvement in conflict. This concluding part takes up the two authors' performative actions a step further by focusing on the way Paine and Fanon communicate the same humanist values to express their disagreement, not merely by attacking specific perspectives or actions, but by trying to get to the roots of the conflict and action in the social formation. Their texts with their rhetorical bent engage their authors in a form of criticism of social formations that do not articulate themselves for action. The moral implications of Paine's and Fanon's writings emerge through their awareness of the failure of political action in regards to human emancipation.

The argument is that Paine, the Liberal Democrat and Fanon, the Socialist meet in their basic concern with common and oppressed people. The two authors do not advocate simply defeating colonialism and uprooting its political-economic structures, but also with creating and renewing an ethical self corresponding to a de-

centered social democracy, which assures human dignity and liberation. This analysis leads us to new values developed by Jürgen Habermas in his *Critical Social Theory* of “Communicative Action”, “Discourse on Ethics”, and “Public Sphere”. The analysis revolves around the critical debates characterizing the late 18th century America, which shaped Paine’s vision of man in comparison and in contrast with the hot debates of 1940-1960 that form the basis of Fanon’s humanist thoughts.

Paine published his *Rights of Man* and *The Age of Reason* in a period of multifaceted debates. Critical discourses take the center stage of the American society with regard to woman’s emancipation with the publication of Mary Wollstonecraft’s introduction to *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792). Writers produced political, religious, social, and philosophical essays on the forms of government, social justice, equality such as William Godwin’s *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793) and Jean Jacques Rousseau’s essay “On Sentiment”, Joseph Priestley’s *Lectures on History and General Policy* (1788). These essays, among many others, dealt with the late eighteenth-century’s most democratic, egalitarian, and progressive ideals while contributing to enrich the American discourses about ethics and had a great impact on the public sphere discussions.

Produced two centuries later, Fanon’s *A Dying Colonialism*, *Towards the African Revolution*, and *The Wretched of the Earth* appeared in a crucial moment of intellectual debates envisioning a radical transformation of the social world of advanced capitalism that will bring freedom for all the colonized from such constraints. Fanon’s texts were shaped by this vision, which he shared with French and American radicals like Aimé Césaire, Marleau Ponty, Richard Wright, and Jean Paul Sartre among many others.

The present chapter focuses on a study of Paine's *Rights of Man* and Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* in dialogue with other works in order to highlight the necessity of revisiting their texts through the theoretical framework suggested by Victor Turner. I shall try to establish the "Liminality", Victor Turner defines as a "phase and a state" of these texts through a deep and mutually enriching dialogue between discourses and ideologies belonging to different periods. The first section is devoted to Paine's and Fanon's performance of the humanist values, which engage dialogues with philosophers of their times; it will provide further evidence that they had developed political philosophies that opposed many of the ideas of Edmund Burke and Octave Mannoni respectively. The aim is to show how Paine and Fanon unwrapped and revised the ideas of these thinkers, who had not shared their visions. The second section will be devoted to Paine's and Fanon's theories of "Agency", which encourage a new age of man: human beings identifying themselves not as subordinated subjects but free citizens whose free expression is based on choice through democratic representation, rule of law, and human rights. The last section, will illustrate the importance and impact of Paine's political philosophy in England around the 1790s and Fanon's the resiliency to change the universalized status quo by insisting that freedom is a function of one's determination to act in order to remove obstacles that stand in one's way. If Paine rehabilitated the Enlightenment value of liberty as an imperative and crucially indispensable natural right, Fanon candidly devoted and sacrificed his short-lived life to the social and political liberation of all colonized peoples by appropriating the Enlightenment values and abrogating its hidden colonial project. These ideas will be examined in relation to the question of humanism, which John, Anthony Cuddon defines as:

A philosophy which places human happiness as its central concern while seeking to dignify and ennoble man. Its spirit is flexible and non-

dogmatic since it refuses to sacrifice human happiness to any rigid orthodoxy. Humanism regards man as the crown of creation; it expects no finalities, but does ascribe value to human achievements of all kinds, from art and politics to friendship and love; it makes man realize his potential powers and gifts, to reduce the discrepancy between potentiality and attainment (Cuddon, 1999:402,403).

In the light of this definition, the humanistic significance of Paine's and Fanon's texts lies in their authors' achievement in rewriting ideological vulnerability into ideological resistance and dramatizing a revolution against alienating dogmas. If Paine's ideas lay bare the injustices of monarchy, Fanon denounces the racist justification in the colonizer's hypocrisy between their rights of man rhetoric and the realities of the colonial experiences of slavery, racism, and colonial domination. The two authors wanted to purge the colonial elements from the society of their new nations.

The purpose in the present chapter is to provide answers for subsequent questions: How can Paine's and Fanon's ideas be connected to the environment within which they worked? How do their portraits emerge as those of moralists and humanists who had a passionate commitment to humanity and to human condition and whose concerns are also those of social justice, equality and freedom? How can Paine's and Fanon's texts be analyzed as a performance of social drama? Equally important is to discuss how both Paine and Fanon criticize the European humanism as a philosophy of exclusion though claiming an ideal of "Man", which privileges status to them while relegating to second-rated status non-Europeans. Elevated status of human beings consists, according to the two thinkers, in their capacity for free political choice in order to make the world a fit place for a good life without oppression.

Chapter Five: Paine's Rehabilitation of the Enlightenment Values and Fanon's Revision of its Project

Section One: Paine's Re-staging of the 18th Century Humanist Values

Paine's *Rights of Man* was inspired by the birth of the first French Republic, in 1789, after the revolution against the crumbling monarchy of Louis XVI. It was written in reaction to Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, published in 1790. Burke's book, in its turn, had been a kind of a "writing back" to a scientist, moral philosopher, and member of the Society for Constitutional Reform (1780), Richard Price's sermon, which was published as *A Discourse on the Love of Our Country* (1789). It is erroneous, however, to limit Paine's writing of his *Rights of Man* to a mere reaction to Edmund Burke. The book is rather to be placed amid the heated intellectual debates, which characterized the 18th century Europe and America. It was written in an "Age of criticism when the rights of mankind were debated" during Paine's three months stay in London, from September to December 1787, where he met Edmund Burke. It was a period during which he renewed his acquaintance with Burke, visiting him for a week at his home. Burke helped Paine promote his project of Iron Bridge and introduced him to influential members of the Whig opposition (Blackmore, 1997:27).

However, by the 1790s, the two authors entered into a notorious conflict when Paine supported the French Revolution while Burke disagreed with its method of change. Paine advocated revolutionary change but Burke was opposed to revolution, which he considered destructive and violent. Burke celebrated the way English people kept their traditional political system of the monarchy and the church whereas Paine, as already mentioned, pleaded for the end of hereditary monarchy and the established church. Burke disavows Price's support of the French Revolution and considers the content of his "inflammatory" sermon dangerous. In defense of Dr

Price, with whom he shares a support for the two revolutions; Paine set himself the task to discredit what Burke wrote about the French Revolution by using a discourse which expresses both his political thinking and his philosophical ideas.

The Rights of Man holds an important place in Paine's philosophy and its content divided into eight subjects invite to two triangular comparisons. First, to grasp the meaning of the part of *Rights of Man* about the origins of the French Revolution and an account of human rights, it is useful to compare Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* and Price's *Discourse on the Loved Country* in relation to Paine's *Rights of Man*. Second, a comparison of the existing British government and class system with those intended to be created by the new French Constitution requires a triangular analysis of John Locke's notion of "Contractualism" in relation to the political and social contract provided in Paine's *Rights of Man*. The two comparisons will be followed by an analysis of the development of Paine's new and distinct political and revolutionary thinking.

1)-Paine's Performance of the Universal Natural Rights

Typical to eighteenth century texts was expressing the gradual emancipation of the individual, the democratization of institutional life and the progress of science, that is, of the relentless, onward march of freedom and the enlightenment. Shaftesbury, Butler, Godwin, Price, and Smith are moralists who stress the importance of love and fellowship. They consider virtue as "the doing good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness". Virtue has been divided by some moralists into benevolence, prudence, fortitude, and temperance. Benevolence proposes good ends; prudence suggests the best means of attaining them; fortitude enables us to encounter the difficulties, dangers, and discouragements, which stand in our way in the pursuit of these ends; temperance

repels and overcomes the passions that obstruct it. The point is that man approves benevolence towards some people as family members, friends and countrymen (Wiley.1965:88).

As a product of that age, throughout the opening pages of the first part of *Rights of Man*, Paine refers to the three interrelated principles of Richard Price's sermon: Enlightened knowledge, Virtue, Liberty, which represent the main features of the age of Enlightenment. He, then bases his arguments on the intellectual stance of choice in relation to the Declaration of Independence, and the French constitution to counterclaim Edmund Burke's *Reflection on the French Revolution*. He, then draws from the belief in the universal natural rights of mankind, makes use of the concept of the social contract to state his belief in the rights of citizens and actions of man to remove an unjust government. In so doing, he sides with Richard Price in sharing his argument about English people's right to reform and elect their own sovereigns while assailing Burke's statement that the same people should keep their traditional form of government integral.

"Liminality" is displayed in the way Paine dismantles Burke's assertions that: "The right starts with the institutions and norms that already exist, probably for good reason, and only reluctantly concedes that there might be a smidgen of room for improvement" (Burke.1790: 58). Paine creates a space for himself when he insists that power should be held by the people, who can at any time change their government, which echoes Victor Turner's idea of "communitas" or the "anti-structure". The same ideas were provided in the political essays of John Locke, Joseph Priestly, David Hume, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Paine writes:

There never did, there never will, and there never can exist men, in a country, possessed of the right or the power of binding or controlling prosperity to the "end of time" or of commanding for ever how the world shall be governed, or who shall govern it: and therefore all such

clauses, acts or declarations, by which the makers of them attempt to do what they have neither the right nor the power to do, nor the power to execute, are in themselves null and void (Ibid.P.438).

In addition, Paine invalidates Burke's point of view with regard to the persistence of English Parliament of the 1688 since he adds that "every generation is and must be competent to all purposes which its occasion require" (Ibid). His point of view stands in opposition to Burke as well as to the philosophy of Locke's ideas of the 'social contract', which he developed in his *The Two Treaties of Government* (1689). Paine situated sovereignty in people while he depicts government as an alien force and makes rebellion to it as a natural act.

Moreover, in the same line as Richard Price, Paine traces the origins of the Revolution in the works of some thinkers like Montesquieu and Rousseau, in the words of Price, have enlightened the world with their writings (Price.1790:4). Paine also refers to The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, with which "the dominion of kings changed for the dominion of laws, and the dominion of priests giving way to the dominion of reason and conscience"(Ibid.P.11). Paine uses the same argument to criticize the English existing form of unconstitutional government devoid of a written constitution (P.485), which is connected to the "structure" of power, according to Victor Turner.

In addition to this, Paine uses existing theories on natural rights and freedom which the philosophers and the encyclopedists had championed. He cites, for instance, Voltaire's satire of despotism, Rousseau and the Abbé Raynal's loveliness of sentiment in favor of Liberty, and Montesquieu's moral maxims, which aimed to reform the French administration (P.490). All their writings were of great political inquiry and had a good impact on their American readers. Paine also draws on the example of the American Declaration of Independence by transposing its ideas to fit

a French model, which ended with passive disobedience to arbitrary monarch and “recognized the natural rights of man, and justified resistance to oppression” (P.490). Burke for his part denies any progress brought by their works and states: “We [Englishmen] are not the converts of Voltaire and Rousseau” (Burke, P.72).

It is important to point out that in *Rights of Man*, Paine addresses questions about the practical success of Enlightenment aims when thinkers claimed that reason would emancipate mankind from their chains. For Burke, the French Revolution is led by "a sect of fanatical and ambitious atheists". He reduces the French revolutionaries and all the liberal voices that supported it to “speculators, stock jobbers”. He maintains: "It is not the victory of party over party". "It is a destruction and decomposition of the whole society” while he compares French activists to a person who "sets his house on fire because his fingers are frostbitten" (Pp.87,102). Paine opposes Burke’s arguments about the danger and terror of the French Revolution. He creates a “dramatic conflict” when he states that while the monarchy served only to increase its own power and authority at the expense of the disadvantaged, the French Revolution as represented revolves around freedom and equality; it is hence a “blessing to Nations”; it is bitterness and dread to the “Courts and “Courtiers” because it is credited with bringing about the downfall of aristocracy and threatens the overthrow of monarchy (P.533). Paine’s words praising the success of the American and the French revolutions have a similar tone to that of Price’s sermon:

Your labors have not been in vain. Behold kingdoms, admonished by you, starting from sleep, breaking their fetters, and claiming justice from their oppressors! Behold, the light you have struck out, after setting America free, reflected to France, and there kindled into a blaze that lays despotism in ashes, and warms and illuminates Europe! (P.11).

Paine puts his argument foreword by reference to the aristocratic structure of the English society to question its hereditary monarchy, which he regards useless and

even dangerous to people (P.516), whereas, Burke in his support of the political inheritance power affirms: "We are resolved to keep an established church, an established monarchy, an established aristocracy, and an established democracy, each in the degree it exists, and in no greater" (Burke, P.77). Paine glorifies a body elected by the aristocracy, the clergy and the commoners, who had existed since 1614, which then was transformed into the National Assembly in June 1789 while Burke claims:

By following those false lights, France has bought undisguised calamities at a higher price than any nation has purchased the most unequivocal blessings! France has bought poverty by crime! France has not sacrificed her virtue to her interest, but she has abandoned her interest, that she might prostitute her virtue (Burke, P:33).

In the first article, Paine does not only defend the French Revolution but also analyzes the principles of government. He, for instance, re-asserts that "men are born and always continue free and equal in respect of their rights, civil distinctions, therefore can be founded only on public utility" (P.505). Paine then revises the subsequent assumptions by Burke in the following quote:

They present a shorter cut to the object than through the highway of the moral virtues. Justifying perfidy and murder for public benefit, public benefit would soon become the pretext, and perfidy and murder the end, until rapacity, malice, revenge, and fear more dreadful than revenge could satiate their insatiable appetites. Such must be the consequences of losing, in the splendor of these triumphs of the rights of men, all natural sense of wrong and right (Burke, P:69).

Paine opposes Burke's statement by reference to the second article of the French Declaration, which he dedicates to La Fayette, a French aristocrat who, at the age of 19, went to America to help the colonists and their country. As a leader of the French Revolution himself, Paine notes that "the end of all political associations, is, the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man, and these rights are

Liberty, Property, Security and Resistance of Oppression” (P. 508). These principles nullify those of Burke who writes with prudence:

I should, therefore, suspend my congratulations on the new liberty of France until I was informed how it had been combined with government, with public force, with the discipline and obedience of armies, with the collection of an effective and well-distributed revenue, with morality and religion, with the solidity of property, with peace and order, with civil and social manners (P.8).

For Burke, “government, in a well-constituted republic, requires no belief from any man beyond what his reason can give” (P.144) while Paine explains that “the Nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; no individual, or any body of men, can be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it” (P.508). Paine also addresses one of the central issues of the emerging revolutionary dispute and its corollary, the nature of rights. It is shaped in a series of immediate comments on the revolution rather than a reflective treatise. Paine did not dissociate revolution from rights and it is from this perspective that he published *Rights of Man*. Paine notes that the French Revolution is the consequence of a mental revolution, previously existing in France. He explains that “rebellion consists in forcibly opposing the general will of a nation, whether by a party or by a government. There ought, therefore, to be in every nation a method of occasionally all ascertaining the state of public opinion with respect to government” (P.649). Paine also appeals to the religious ideas, which dominated the public debates of his time.

Paine’s *Common Sense* can be placed in the context of its political birth and the origins of a new revolution in America, France and Europe. By 1790, he saw the French Revolution as a repetition of the American Revolution, reproducing a series of world revolutions originating from principles he had already established in 1776 in *Common Sense*. From this perspective, Paine’s argumentative thought is based on his proposal of a worldwide Republican system. His distinction between society and

government helps to explain his vision of a republic without class conflict or economic domination. However, Paine's social and political thought had a wider scope; he considers himself a citizen of the world and was not concerned solely with America, France, or Europe, but first and foremost with mankind. For him, America offered an extraordinary experiment and exemplary model to the rest of the world in terms of revolutionary thought for struggle against oppression. The local and the universal, the self and the community constitute his method, as he states it in the opening pages of his book:

Many circumstances hath, and will arise, which are not local, but universal, and through which the principles of all Lovers of Mankind are affected, and in the Event of which, their Affection are interested. The laying a country desolate with Fire and Sword, declaring War against the natural rights of all Mankind, and extirpating the Defenders thereof from the Face of the Earth, is the Concern of every Man to whom Nature hath given the Power of feeling; on which Class, regardless of Party Censure (Foner, 1984: 5-6).

It appears from the above passage that Paine's communicative action relies on two points of view: the concept of providence which he borrows from Scripture with which he conceptualizes God's will and his participation to free human beings from the shackles of oppression and suffering (P.7). The second motif is ideologically internal which can be viewed as political expression of ideals and this seems of particular relevance to American and French revolutions. The human values such as the defense of various freedoms that Paine defends in his text emerge, first and foremost, from his religious convictions and it is from his deism that constitutes his philosophical and theological groundwork *The Age of Reason*, supporting his social and political ideas. As a deist, he rejects celestial revelation but worships natural religion, with an emphasis on reason and science. As a worshipper of humans, he helped to establish a church in Paris intended to make the love of mankind its basic belief and field of action. The church of Theophilanthropy, a name which is

compounded of three Greek words (God, Love and Man) was not a real church but an ethical society where lectures were made and had to do with the primary virtues and the relations of men and nations to one another. Their purpose was to encourage brotherhood, the liberation of humanity from superstition and illogical will in order to liberate science from restraints placed upon it by ignorance. Paine, himself, summarizes his deism in his *The Age of Reason*, thus: "I believe in one God and no more, and I hope for happiness beyond this life. I believe in the equality of men, and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy and endeavoring to make our fellow-creatures happy" (P.712).

2)- Paine's Re-enactment of the Enlightenment Acts of Divinity

The period of Enlightenment, as noted previously, was characterized by the ascendancy of reason over revelation with the cohabitation of science and religion. The great efforts of scientists like Copernicus, Galileo, Hume, Locke and Newton, Joseph Priestley, William Godwin and Richard Price, among many others, contributed to transformation in perceptions and understandings of religion, which had been the broker of truth and power. The spread of these new ideas about the order of the universe started in the 17th century and developed throughout the 18th century and Paine, himself a mathematician, sought to apply to the social and political domain, the discoveries and inventions brought about by new methods of thinking of the new age. He, for instance, maintains in his *Rights of Man*:

It is time to dismiss all those songs and toasts which are calculated to enslave, and operate to suffocate reflection. On all such subjects men have but to think, and they will neither act wrong nor be punished. To say that any people are not fit for freedom, is to make poverty their choice, and to say that they had rather be loaded with taxes than not. If such a case could be proved, it would equally prove, that those who govern are not fit to govern them, for they are part of the same national mass (P.547).

This progress was so critical to the established order and had a great impact on the conservatives in the Church, who had to face rough questions about the role of God in his creation of the universe. John Locke, for instance, calls into question the role of religion when he claims that moral behavior should be based in natural processes rather in laws of God. In addition, as a liberal Presbyterian minister and a moral philosopher, Price was selected to become a member of the Royal Society in 1765 for his work on the theory of probability as applied to actuarial questions. In addition, French Enlightenment thinkers like Diderot, Voltaire had a strong anti-clerical element and promoted religious tolerance. S.J. Barnett suggests that intellectuals were writing during a time of rampant reaction to Enlightenment liberalism and progressivism and wanted to stress that their looking to the past was emphatically not a conservative project, but one seeking a heritage of innovation- a word redolent, in the minds of conservatives, of revolutionary and un-British sympathies. They claimed that “morally just societies could exist and people could live happy outside Christianity and without the Christian clergy, which had affirmed its role as indispensable in the formation and maintenance of such societies” (Barnett, 2003:52).

Moreover, the resulting plurality of views and questioning over belief and non-belief contributed to the emergence of several movements such as, Rationalism, Empiricism, Unitarianism, Absolutism, Relativism, Liberalism in politics, Deism, among many others, which were belief systems accepting a divine creator, but a creator who set the universe in motion according to the laws of nature and then allowed it to develop naturally. This diversity can be found in two scientist dissenters, Richard Price and Joseph Priestley, who believed that people should overthrow the absolute power of the church and encourage free discussions as the route to scientific and intellectual truth. In his sermon, Price tells his audience: “The Deity is a

righteous and benevolent as well as omnipotent Being, who regards with equal eye all his creatures, and connects his favor with nothing but an honest desire to know and do his will; and that zeal for mystical doctrines which has led men to hate and harass one another, will be exterminated” (P.5). The same belief and vision of God appears clearly in *Rights of Man* where the author defines the “unity of man” while insisting that “every child born into the world must be considered as deriving from God”. Paine claims that “the divine authority of the Creator in the equality of man admits no controversy” (P.463). The revisionist move within Paine’s religious argument contradicts that of Burke in many aspects. First, his “fear of God and his reverence to priests” (P.72) is replaced by Paine’s love of God the Creator, his hatred of the established religion, and any sort of religious intolerance. Paine’s nonconformist stance against the established order induced him to take up in England the defense of Dr Price’s dissenting ideals against the declarations of Burke’s argument about the Anglican Church and monarchy. The following passage is an illustration:

The vanity and presumption of governing beyond the grave, is the most ridiculous and insolent of all tyrannies. Man has no property in man; neither has any generation a property in the generations which are to follow. The parliament or the people of 1688, or any other period, had no more right to dispose of the people of the present day, or bind or to control them in any shape whatever, than the parliament or the people of the present day have to dispose of, bind or control those who are to live a hundred or a thousand years hence (P.438).

To reinforce his arguments, Paine uses religious imagery and quotations from the Bible to advance his political and social agenda. For him, all known religions are justified, so far as they relate to man, on the unity of man, as being all of one degree, noting that: “whether in heaven or in hell, or in whatever state man may be supposed to exist hereafter, the good and the bad are only distinctions. Paine explains that even the laws of governments are obliged to slide into this principle, by making

degree to consist in cries, not in persons” (P.463). His motivations were based on his faith that his role in the world was God-given; he was to spread the gospel of democratic freedom and human rights everywhere. From his premises, two other conclusions will follow. First, that people live in “the age of reason” and in the “age of revolution”, but these were the means by which they would realize on earth what God demanded; the end of submission in all its forms; the downfall of corrupt and evil governments overrun by serpent monarchs and devil aristocrats, and government assistance to the poor and less unfortunate so that their lives would improve (Pp, 627, 632, 633).

Second, it is important to point out that Price calls in his sermon for “the overthrow of the priest craft tyranny” and considers King James II as “a fool and a bigot”. Similarly, Paine ridicules the monarchs and reduces the aristocrats to “saboteurs” of the human race. Both authors glorify the natural humanity of the people as opposed to the unnatural conditions of their rulers. They maintain that “those whose lives have been spent in doing good and endeavoring to make their fellow-mortals happy, for this is the only way in which they can serve God, will be happy hereafter”(P.483). Paine goes further by using the basic components of the French Constitution to reverse the discourse of Burke and to perform his total disbelief in the established church, which he discredits together with the aristocracy and monarchy. Paine believed that the greatest threat to the development of individual self-consciousness was traditional Christianity, to which he remained a critic to the extent that he abrogated its power and regarded it as instruments of oppression.

3)- Paine's Performing Reason and Utility in Politics

The next important feature of Enlightenment values, and the third principle in Price's sermon, is the legitimate liberation from oppressive and arbitrary authority with the right of individual to determine his own values. This principle adds another divergence between Burke's re-creation of peace and stability through the structural hierarchy and the institutional monarchy and Paine's view of an individual free from ties, obligations to an organic society, and of the burdens of the clergy. Like Price, Paine sees man in the "natural state" as equal and independent, using politics to form a social contract to set rules and protect rights, with much commitment to love, virtue and friendship (P.465). Paine's idea of love, sympathy to others, and sincerity in actions are essential part of man's duty. Benevolence should not be considered as the high merit, but it is the principle of duty to others. The love for others should be specific, "ought to have for its object their greatest and best interest and therefore implies wishing and doing them good". This individual interest in other members of the society echoes Adam Smith's social vision, which he develops in his *Theory of Moral Sentiment* (1790) where he states: "How selfish so ever man may be opposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it except pleasure of seeing it (Smith [1790]. 2006:02).

Paine takes on Adam Smith's sympathetic theory and sets it to his objective as an approach to morality. If Smith states that individuals should act on the basis of an independent view that a given situation dictates; "moral good should be a pleasurable experience, because the actor's sympathy toward virtue leads him to do what an independent spectator would suggest him to do. The sentiment of love is itself, agreeable to the person who feels it" (Ibid.P.34). Following the same reasoning,

Paine points out those moral subjects and the principles forming the basis for society are very important. The natural moral sense is derived from sentiment when individuals engage in life's activities to survive and thrive, essentially to maintain a sense of happiness. Paine's way of thinking can also be linked to that of his friend William Godwin, who writes in his *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on General Virtue and Happiness* (1793): "Virtue consists in a desire of the benefits of the species, that desire only can be denominated virtuous, which flows from a distinct perception of the value, and consequently of the nature, of the thing desired" (Godwin.1793: 255). Like Godwin, Paine was primarily interested in individual moral character; and one of his objectives in *Political Justice* was to marry social utility to a particular vision of rational and moral autonomy, one derived in large part from the Dissenting tradition. Paine insists that society should protect liberty in the first instance by recognizing property rights as foundational for government. He stresses the extent to which humanity's perceptual and moral faculties are, properly, emotional rather than merely rational. Of particular importance is Paine's rehabilitation of sympathy as an essential and productive element in moral life. Reason and sentiments can foster humanity's inherent momentum toward a standard of perfection in personal and social conduct while British history were at odds with the popularly-accepted version proposed by the conservative Burke. For Paine, Society's sovereignty over the individual has to be based on their consent and cannot be imposed by some authority from above; the following passage from his *Rights of Man* is an illustration:

Government is nothing more than a national association; and the object of this association is the good of all, as well individually as collectively. Every man wishes to pursue his occupation, and enjoy the fruits of his labors, and the produce of his property in peace and safety, and with the least possible expense. When these things are accomplished, all the objects for which government ought to be established are answered

(P.585).

The passage quoted above implies that government must recognize that its main objective is to care for the people's liberty, security and property because, he claims in *Common Sense* "the strength of government depends on the happiness of the governed" (P.8). Civil liberty depends on rule of law and the best constitution, according to Paine, is "not the act of a government, but of a people constituting a government; and a government without constitution, is power without a right" (P.572). Free government consists in the rule of law and therefore a constitutional republic remains the best governing with its mixed-form, separating the executive, legislative and judicial powers. Separation of powers provided the best protection for the people's liberty and property.

Moreover, Burke sees that each person is defined by "social ties and ligaments" that "always continue independent of our will". He denies the direct original rights of man in civil society and replaces it with what he calls "the civil social man" (P.51). The Revolution of 1688, according to Burke, contributed to restore order and peace in the English society as it linked the subjects to their sovereign and to their past. Contrary to Burke's longing for tradition and the noble chivalric force, which elevated England above other European forces, Paine argued: "The age of aristocracy, like that of chivalry, should fall" (P.447). The code of chivalry established the framework of societal relationships that were dependent upon "generous loyalty to rank and sex". It was the result of a "proud submission and dignified obedience that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom." (Burke, P.64). Such a vision is revised and replaced by another version of history by Paine about the monarchy in the quote below:

A race of conquerors arose, whose government, like that of William the Conqueror, was founded in power, and the sword assumed the name of

a specter. Governments thus established, last as long as the power to support them lasts; but that they might avail themselves of every engine in their favour, they united fraud to force, and set up an idol which they called *Divine Right* (P.466).

The excerpt illustrates Paine's reversal of Burke's nostalgic English "honorable past", which he turns into a shameful past of "fraud, horror, and animosity". All started with the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 and the same tyranny had been reinforced by the advocates of the kings' Divine Rights throughout the centuries that followed. However, Paine distinguishes the English rulers, whose uncontrolled passions to govern mankind force from the dignified European constitutional rulers, who rise out of society and governed by their heart (P.469). Paine goes on to say that:

Much is to be learned from the French Constitution. Conquest and tyranny transplanted themselves with William the Conqueror from Normandy into England, and the country is yet disfigured with the marks. May then the example of all France contribute to regenerate the freedom which a province of it destroyed! (P.472).

This passage provides a clear sense of how Paine sets to revise the History of England. By contrast with Burke, Paine draws upon his own sense of nostalgia for the past of the English society before the arrival of the Normans. It was a society of landholders, who had enjoyed security, equality, liberty, and propriety through the operations of a perfect constitutional system. They had an elective monarch who shared power with the elected representatives; justice was dispensed through the common law by elective recallable judges. People looked after their families and their lands, respected one another, and worshiped God freely in accordance with the dictates of their consciences (Pp.474-5). These characteristics are also the same for Victor Turner's description of the "anti-structure communities". Paine then refers to the way England had been conquered by treachery of the Normans, who imposed tyranny of an alien despotic king. With the help of his landlords, he imposed religion by force and an economic system of land tenure in exchange of military service. The

author expresses his stance against the “structure”; “It is from the elevated mind of France that folly of titles has fallen” (P.477).

Rights of Man can be regarded as the best and the most succinct expression of revolutionary political thinking. This influence can be related to three main reasons, which form the basis on which Paine’s book rests. First, if the levelers for Burke “pervert the natural order of things” (P.42), Paine rejects totally the hereditary monarchy of privilege, tyranny, and injustice while he supports the republican politics in disapproving institutions that do not function with the fundamentals of reason, and belief that humans could responsibly shape their own destiny (P.467). The same ideas are expressed by Paine in a letter he addressed to Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès concerning the issue of government, in which he writes:

I am the avowed, open, and intrepid enemy of what is called Monarchy; and I am such by principles which nothing can either alter or corrupt – by my attachment to humanity; by the anxiety which I feel within myself, for the dignity and the honor of the human race; by the disgust which I experience, when I observe men directed by children, and governed by brutes; by the horror which all the evils that Monarchy has spread over the earth excite my breast; and by those sentiments which me shudder at the calamities, the exactions, the wars and the massacres with which Monarchy has crushed mankind: in short, it is against all the hell of monarchy that I have declared war (Foner, 1984:381).

Second, Paine’s passionate life and thought were deeply determined and forcefully shaped by the experience of human brotherhood in which he strongly believed. For him, the true world citizenship could become possible to achieve through an alliance of nations. He believed in a global future where individuals could enjoy responsibility, and limitless opportunity, a future that could offer opportunities to shape one’s own destiny. The main objective remains to provide stimuli to bring about a new, just, and modern system of government in which the rights and freedom of all people should be preserved for the benefit of the world and across boundaries of national interests and concerns. Paine regards the rights and duties of individuals within society in all

their relations, but it remains to be considered what are the reciprocal rights and duties of countries too. In the second part of his *Rights of Man*, he maintains that the case is very similar between individuals and nations separate and independent states are, with regard to one another, in a state of nature; “the mutual dependence and reciprocal interest which man has upon man and all the parts of a civilized community upon each other” (P.551). For him, ethical virtue is founded on conscience and enlightened by reason and the experience of all mankind.

More importantly, however, is that Paine laid out with great clarity the new assumptions about politics and society that the American Revolution had previously made manifest. If Burke maintains that monarchy and the church are guarantees of peace, protection and tranquility, Paine replies that the age of hereditary monarchy and aristocracy was over; that people were citizens, not subjects and were born with equal natural rights, and that people created written constitutions that limited and defined their government. Following the Enlightenment’s central principle, thinking for one-self and questioning authority by examining the environment with one’s senses and reason, Paine re-enacts some strong morals, and critical thinking to show how important it was for society to structure the constitution and legal system in a way that encouraged freedom of thought, freedom of action, and protection of property. He claims that it was absurd to believe that a little island in Europe could rule over an entire continent formed from states of free people. After discussing the English monarch’s history in his *Common Sense*, he concluded, Americans could do well without the King’s yoke, for he was really nothing more than the descendant of a hooligan or criminal, William the Conqueror (P.17). Revolution to rid the people of the monarchical tyranny is thus necessary. Further, he argues that his common sense, which is based on observation leads to the conclusion that the King be replaced with

minimal representative government. He wrote: "Society in every state is a blessing, but government even in its best state is but a necessary evil" (P.26). Paine also points out that all men were created equal and their goal is life, liberty and happiness; he makes the case that: "To preserve the benefits of what is called civilized life, and to remedy at the same time the evil which it has produced ought to be considered as one of the first objects of reformed legislation (P.397). For Paine, every individual naturally seeks to understand other people's preferences and sentiments and so develops sympathy for other's thoughts. Every individual therefore should leave another's property alone; society should only take an individual's property after paying the owner just compensation (P.400). Paine makes all the above legitimate concerns conform to what conscience demands rather than to any imposed authority.

4)-Paine's Claim for Citizenship and his Philosophy of Agency

In his *Rights of Man*, Paine distinguishes natural rights from the civil ones. He explains that the latter comprise thinking and intellectual activity, religious belief, and acting as an individual for one's own comfort and happiness, provided that the resulting actions are not injurious to the natural rights of others. The role of society is to secure them (P.464). He makes clear that civil rights are all founded upon natural rights, but in the natural state, the individual lacks the power of enforcing them. These civil rights include all those related to security and protection. Paine illustrates the principles by reference to the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens which states that the Declaration of Rights is also by reciprocity, a Declaration of Duties, signaling "whatever is my right as a man is also the right of another; and it becomes my duty to guarantee, as well as to possess them" (P.465).

Critics such as R. R. Fennessy consider Paine's attempt to convert England to republicanism as a failure because it did not achieve its end while he reduces *Rights*

of *Man* to a piece of political journalism that brought politics to the people (Fennessy, 1963:244). The argument is that *Rights of Man* should be read in the way its author defends the common man because the language is clear and simple and the images and allusions are taken from common life. There are plenty of short phrases that may easily be remembered and quoted. The interest of the working-class reader is engaged by Paine's conviction that politics is the business of every man. The book did not, indeed, bring about a revolt of the workers, but it served them well as a sort of elementary political textbook which they could use as a basis for discussion and a starting point of their political education. Paine becomes then a kind of "pedagogue for the oppressed", to paraphrase Paolo Freire; his book was used in 1792 by working men's clubs which were just coming into existence. Indeed, one of the most important objectives set by Paine in *Rights of Man* was the creation of a popular political movement, and he succeeded to do so when writing *Common Sense*, which will be the concern of the subsequent chapter.

Next to his quest for recognition of the human being as a "subject" rather than an "object", Paine claims justice for all human beings. The basic definition of the new humanism relates to a repressed society or people by faith, capitalism, or a race with the intention of imposing its culture and rules on another for self-benefit. Such new humanism takes a strong view of the need for human dignity and freedom. Paine, for instance, sees that the role of government that he dissociates from society is to preserve primarily law and order among the citizens and to protect individual rights. Though it seems difficult to determine precisely the roots of his political thought, what seems obvious is that Paine came to be an intellectual with a revolutionary agenda to transform the world by ending slavery, torture, and tyrannies by church and state, and by promoting human freedom and natural rights, political

liberty and civil justice and with the separation of church and state. In short, by advocating a democratic order, Paine strove for the construction of a genuine republic where political equality before the law and equality of opportunity prevail.

The second argument which links Paine to humanism is that equality between men is omnipresent, and much of the appeal of the book lies in its focus upon rights. In his view, monarchy and the principle of inheritance are the fundamental constitutional errors embedded in the British system of government. The first and deepest problem with monarchy is its violation of the moral principle of natural equality. For Paine, men are originally equals in the order of creation, and the distinction between Kings and subjects is not acceptable. To reinforce his arguments, he asserts:

Man has no authority over posterity in matters of personal right; and therefore, no man, or body of men, had or can have, a right to set up hereditary government [...] All hereditary government is in its nature tyranny. An heritable crown, or an heritable throne or by what other fanciful name such things may be called, have no other significant explanation than that mankind are heritable property. To inherit a government, is to inherit the people, as if they were flocks and herds (P.559).

The passage is illustrative of the way that Paine denounces the failures of monarchy and hereditary government which he proposes to be inevitably replaced by a plan to improve the condition of the oppressed. For instance, he claims that equality and justice should be the main concerns of the government, which can be used as the basis of the new emerging republics such as the United States and France. The seeds of equal justice for all that he planted would grow after its ratification by the French electorate even though the convention was suspended by Robespierre during the Reign of Terror of 1793. Still, monarchy and aristocracy had been broken down and replaced by a republic based on a constitution. Paine's argument is that governments ought to be constructed so as to obviate all the accidents to which

individual man is subject. Hereditary succession, by being subject to them all, is the most irregular and imperfect of all systems of government (P.560).

More importantly, Paine insists that monarchy should be replaced by a civil government whose task, in his own words, “does not consist in executions, but rather in making that provision for the instruction of youth, and the support of age, thus to exclude, as much as possible, profligacy from the one, and despair from the other” (P.604). The following passage asserts Paine’s arguments:

Instead of this, the resources of a country are lavished upon kings, upon courts, upon hirelings, imposters, and prostitutes; and even the poor themselves, with all their wants upon them, are compelled to support fraud and that oppresses them. Why is it, that scarcely any are executed but the poor? The fact is a proof, among other things, of wretchedness in their condition (Ibid).

Paine believed that inequality is an artifice, brought into society by the exercise of muscular strength or political and military power. Natural rights are those that human beings possess simply by virtue of their being human, whereas civil rights comprise those more limited rights that result from the decision to enter civil society from a natural condition of life. Once in civil society, men relinquish some of their natural rights in exchange for greater security. His objective is to discuss the organization of a republican society that would eventually have world-wide ramifications; the following passage illustrates the strength of his conviction:

For the purpose of a distinct interest, all other interests should have the same. The inequality, as well as the burden of taxation, arises from admitting it in one case, and not in all. Had there been an house of farmers, there had been no game laws, or an house of merchants and manufacturers the taxes had neither been so unequal nor so excessive. It is from the power of taxation being in hands of those who can throw so great a part of it from their own shoulders that it has raged without a check (P.613).

For solutions or resolution, Paine reiterates, paraphrasing Rousseau, that man, were he not corrupted by governments, is naturally the friend of man, and that human

nature is not vicious in itself. He insists that mankind could be understood as belonging to one universal and fraternal community where all people possess equal rights and duties. Throughout the second part of *The Rights of Man*, he details a program of social welfare which would foreshadow the British welfare institutions of the nineteenth and twentieth century. It consisted in the good functioning of governments in relation to the issue of human rights. He indicates that the necessary implication of the need for government to secure individual liberty is a guarantee of general if not even universal and political liberty. A public share in government is the natural condition for securing rights, and for Paine, the individual share in government, is “the natural right”. He claims that the move from natural society to political society will result in a radical democracy, a parliament where “every man, by natural right, will have a seat” (P.465).

Paine’s statement of rights embodies three axioms, which he describes as universal as truth. He adds that the existence of man comprises moral, political happiness and national prosperity. The first axiom explains that men are born and always continue free and equal in respect to their rights. The second one refers to the preservation of the natural rights of man among which are liberty, property, security and resistance. Thirdly, the nation is not essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any individual or anybody be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it (P.465).

Having in the preceding section endeavored to establish a link between Paine and the humanist values of the Enlightenment, we shall proceed in what follows to find out the ways and means Frantz Fanon uses to continue the unfinished Enlightenment project, how he appropriates its principles in his *Black Skin, White Masks* and other texts, to denounce and condemn the European humanist project,

which gave birth to racism and colonialism. The aim in what remains in this chapter is to show the revisionist stance of Fanon to the mentioned humanist values through his performance of a social drama, which is not simply concerned with the liberation of a singular individual or particular community, but covers the entire transformation of political, social, and cultural structure of power.

Section Two: Fanon's Performance of Humanist Values

This section takes the idea of performance a step further to examine how Fanon continues the “unfinished” Enlightenment project aiming at man's progress and emancipation. It focuses first on how he appropriates its main humanist features while insisting on the way they have been adulterated by the West. Second, it is concerned with how he uses values such as liberty, equality, and justice to abrogate and debunk the colonial discourses of racism, exploitation, oppression and domination. Third, it deals with how Fanon invites his readers to a long lasting, complex, and ongoing journey in quest of the truth about the Black man in relation to the white man. In the course of his discussion, he engages in dialogues with other intellectuals of his time such as A. Césaire, J. P. Sartre, W.F. Hegel, J. Lacan, O. Mannoni among many others. Finally, we shall examine the parallels that can be drawn between Paine and Fanon in relation to their performative critique of the colonial domination. The task is to display the way Paine subverts and reverses all discourses on the established oppressive orders of the monarchy, aristocracy, and the established church. The same analysis will be applied to Fanon's texts, which can be read as a scathing critique of European Humanism in its failure to end oppression and subjugation.

1)- Fanon's Performance of the Enlightenment Unachieved Project

Right at the start of his *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon sets his performance pronouncement of Enlightenment in writing a disjointed, incomplete, and unfinished text; he informs his readers about the reasons forcing him to write the book. He attacks the European reductive and exclusive humanist tradition, which generated racism. This argument remains profound, relentless and explosive all along his unconnected narratives. What Fanon reacts to is mainly the ambiguity that existed in the West because of the hypocritical pose of freedom and equality that was legally in existence but, in no sense, part of the social fabric of the non-western countries. His discursive critique of Empire with its fixed categories, his performing of culture as an outcome of his lived experiences can be compared to Victor Turner's analysis of culture as a social drama, which is divided into four sections: fragmentation, conflict, liminality, re-aggregation, and re-integration.

Through a multilayered and fragmented narrative style, Fanon presents a tension in the established order through polyphony of "assailing voices, rolling down the stages of history" (P.8), which impose themselves on the author. By using these anguished voices, Fanon addresses the problems of identity and racism pleading for a new vision of humanism, which is based on brotherhood and men's mutual understanding. The author's inquiry sets a stage for the binary oppositions, the stereotypes, the contradictions, and dogmatic arguments of the Western thought, which continues to reproduce black inferiority and white supremacy. Fanon's condensed and angry voice addresses an anonymous audience and re-acts the Enlightenment's interest in man to perform the racist strategies and discourses, which forces the Black man to suffer from an identity crisis. The following passage is an illustration:

Man is a yes that vibrates to cosmic harmonies. Uprooted, pursued, baffled, doomed to watch the dissolution of the truths that he has worked out for himself one after another, he has to give up projecting onto the world an antinomy that coexist in him. The black is a black man; that is, as the result of a series of aberrations of effect, he is rooted at the core of the universe from which he must be extricated (Fanon, 1967:2).

Through a critical inquiry and reason, Fanon turns to Freud, Hegel, Lacan, Young, but also to other central figures of the 20th century figures to examine the impact of the racist ideologies on the shaping of the black psyche. He calls for the rational Western reason by combining the “images of the Negro”, which results from what the author considers as “aberration of the effect” in creating a psychological complex that lessens the personality of the black man. In his depiction of the impact of racism, he employs a cultural dialectic, which is based on the “self” in relation to the “other” rather than the “self” versus the “other”; he calls it a “dual narcissism”, which makes ‘Negro’ enslaved by his inferiority and the ‘White’ by his superiority while both behave in accordance with a neurotic orientation (Ibid).

2)-Fanon on Colonial Cultural Obstruction

Fanon’s *Black Skin, White Masks* opens with a quotation from his mentor, Aimé Césaire’s *Discourse on Colonialism* (1955), translated into English by Joan Pinkham (1972): “I am talking about millions of men in whom fear has been cunningly instilled, who have been taught to have an inferiority complex, to tremble, kneel, despair, and behave like flunkies” (Césaire, 1972:7). The statement reflects the thinking of its author on race relations between French colonial Africa and Metropolitan France. Fanon uses Césaire’s ideas on colonialism and his violent writing style to express his own deconstructive anger for the racist constructions by the “former governors, the former missionary, to whom he has no mercy” (P.2). He

then re-enacts the Enlightenment's interest in the discovery of truth and knowledge, love and happiness, which echoes the humanist values of 18th century Age of Reason to claim that "what matters is not to know the world, but to change it" (P.8). The author stresses the ways in which racism and colonialism devastated Black people's lives, imposing restrictions, thwarting their aspirations to happiness, filling them with guilt, and erasing their indigenous cultures. He then restages an offensive speech, which is according to Judith Butler, "undercut by the position that the offensive effect of the speech act. It is necessarily linked to the speech act, its originating or enduring context or, indeed, its animating intentions or original deployments" (Butler. 1979:14). Fanon's discomfort appears in the way he addresses identity and liberation for the black man: "Every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and the burial of its local cultural originality" (P.8). This quote displays Fanon's eclectic and dialogic method with reference to W.B. Dubois's idea of "double consciousness" to explain the process of being at the same time a "Negro", Black and non-Black in the Antilles. He emphasizes the process of "Separation" and the problem of the existence of the colonized Negro who lives in a distressing inferiority complex as he is seriously wounded by his situation, which he expresses in what follows: "I am starting to suffer from not being white" (P.8). The word "alienation" best summarizes this state of mind. To support his arguments, Fanon refers to his own experiences to explain the hereditary racial prejudice through his encounter with racism in different situations. He tells about the Martinican reality, the colonial hegemony of Europe, the oppression of France to soldiers, mainly Senegalese black officers, who served first of all, "to convey master's orders to their fellows"(P.9). These encounters were determinant and had deeply shaped his thought and perceptions of the world. The author's speech act does not

establish a relation of social domination; it rather performs domination to become a tool through which that social structure is re-established. Such an illocutionary model, Judith Butler maintains: “constitutes its addressee at the moment of its utterance; it does not describe an injury or produce one as a consequence; it is, in the very speaking of such speech, the performance of the injury itself, where the injury is understood as social subordination” (Butler.1979:18).

More importantly, Fanon performs Dubois’s notion of “doubling personality” to explain the mental disorder associated with having a dual identity. He states that such a conflict derives from the white man, who created the black man’s “resentment” of himself and his race. “The white civilisation and European culture have forced an existential deviation on the Negro” (P.6). This hatred forces him to endeavour to be a white man. Through a horrific litany, Fanon denounces the European erasure of his culture and language in creating a kind of collective “amnesia”. He tells this “denial” through his story when he grew up in a society where Creole was scorned at school; it was either banned by some families or used by others to ridicule their children when using it (P.10). With Césaire and the Negritude philosophy, Fanon learned the various impacts of colonialism and the loss of value that culture of the colonised suffered makes Fanon share with the Negritude writers a desire to recover African values and to share those values with the world. He uses some of its forms to develop his own vision of a transition beyond negritude when he writes: “The discovery of the existence of the Negro civilization in the fifteenth century confers no humanity on me. Like it or not, the past can in no way guide in the present moment” (P.175). In contrast to the Negritude project, Fanon claims to bypass the binary opposition as a necessary cultural condition for decolonization and the enfranchisement of the colonized from the racist features prevailing in the colonialist

thought. The Black pride as a counterbalance to the assimilation and the essence of race, the essentialized identity, and the notion of blackness remain an inadequate solution to the problem of racism. Fanon argues that “the theoretical and practical assertion of the supremacy of the white man is its thesis; the position of negritude as an antithetical value is the moment of negativity. It is insufficient by itself” (P.102). Therefore, Fanon argues that the Negritude started the emancipation struggle, but it cannot be considered as an end in itself (P.144).

The next dialogue in relation to the analysis of the origins of European racism against blacks is engaged with the theoretical concerns the psychology of “self” and the “other”. The precise nature of this division can be classified by considering the use Fanon makes of the psychological tradition of Freud, Lacan, Jung, and Adler on which he draws in order to shape his own theory of “racial division”. As a psychiatrist, Fanon addresses the problems generated by a “cultural imposition” and colonialism, which make the “Antillean a slave of the white man and of himself” (P.148). He examines the effects of racial difference and put them at the center of the stage. Through a series of critical analyses, Fanon creates a sort of lens through which social relations and theories of his time are judged.

3-Fanon’s Appropriation of Nature in his Philosophy of Environment

Fanon reacts against the Eurocentric dimension of the discourse on human rights, which he criticizes because of the noted contradictions between the Universalist ideal of humanity shaped by the Eurocentric development of the humanist legacy, on the one hand, and its maintenance of the racism it seeks to overcome on the other hand. Fanon’s vision of man is evidenced by his quest to untie the structure of the black-ego by his formulation of the oppression of black man by white man, especially within the colonial experience. The author maintains that the

European civilisation and its best representatives are responsible for colonial racism because the black man is not naturally black but is a cultural creation of the white man (P.97).

In the course of his critical analyses, Fanon writes back to various writings: novels, plays, classical works of Western philosophy, psychology, and highly influential works of anthropology. He approaches these works by using a very incisive style, which does not fit any genre. The author appears objective, detached, meditative, subjective, and auto-biographical at the same time. Through a challenging style, Fanon tries to show that the problem of racism has multiple and contrary sources as it impedes the other of seeing it. Therefore, he constructs a kind of false starts and failures, which together bring about the problem of power and racism. Fanon explains that people can suffer from some forms of distress and anxiety, which result from racism. He makes two arguments; one is therapeutic while the other is political.

Fanon relies first, on Sigmund Freud in his analysis of colonizer and the black colonized; he performs the psychoexistential complex and explains its psychological effects on the dreams of the colonizer as well as on the psychic life of the black man, who imagines himself white (P.69). Basing his experiment on psychoanalytic theory, Fanon examines the origins and causes of the dreams through the behavior of the colonized. He discovers by transposing Freud's formulation: "What does a woman want?" into "What a Black man wants" to explain all the desires of a colonized Black man is to be white (P.1). Fanon maintains that these great desires are mainly caused by sociopolitical and cultural environment that construct the white as a powerful subject while reducing the black man to an inferior object. He then shows the black's yearning to be white through language, sexuality and dreams (P.32). He illustrates

his assumption with the determination of a Black wife to have a white sexual partner, the effort of skin whitening, and hair-straightening (P.32). These desires create an identity crisis and pathologies of a “Black skin, white masks”. Fanon adds that such conflicts occur through unconscious processes and insists that they are cultural in form since they are caused by the inequalities of social structures of the racist and oppressive colonial society rather than internal psychical workings of individual subjects (P.18). These pathologies driving from a social and political strong “habitus”, make the colonized black man suffer from emotional disorder or “neurosis of blackness”, which leads to abnormal behavior and unusual actions, which is caused by what the author calls “the myths of blackness” that devaluates and denigrates black people. For Fanon, “since the racial drama is played out in the open, the black man has no time to make it unconscious” (P.101).

However, Fanon departs from Freud in two aspects: first, he insists on the links between psyche and society in the process of internalization and “epidermalisation”. Second, he remains unbending on socio-historical, economic, and political environment, which fosters these neuroses because “racism is a methodological construction of experience” (P.101). To reinforce his arguments, Fanon conceptualizes the relationship between individual and social self-consciousness to claim that domination is not merely physical or economic: it is primarily psychological and linguistic. As an illustration, he cites imposed European languages as instruments of domination, dislocation, separation, and as being responsible for the alienation of Black intellectuals (P.14). In so doing, he rejects Freud’s ontogenetic concept and replaces it with his sociogenic model. He writes: “What I want is to help the black man free himself of the arsenal of complexes that has been developed by the colonial environment” (P.19).

When Fanon challenges Freud's approach, he turns to Carl Jung and appropriated his terminology about "a shared culture", to assume that racism is not just about difference in culture or in race; it is rather about superiority and inferiority because the colonial power presents people superior to others (P.114). The idea of superiority and inferiority spreads through the "shared culture" and what Fanon calls a "collective unconscious". The author illustrates his arguments with children in the Antilles French colony, who grew up with the same story books and films, which shape the white as a hero while the black is totally absent from the stories and films (P.113). He is either invisible or presented in a demeaning and belittling ways to make them inferior. The kind of superiority of the white hero becomes associated with whiteness while inferiority with blackness (P.23). Children grow up with this outlook of superiority for the white and inferiority for the black, which will be reinforced by education both at school and at home. In addition, with adult groups, society identifies white man as superior while black remains inferior. For Fanon, the idea of superiority and inferiority is embedded from childhood and causes lot of problems. The following passage substantiates my claim:

The black schoolboy in the Antilles, who in his lessons is forever talking about "our ancestors the Gauls, [...] he identifies himself with the explorer, the Bringer of civilisation, the white man who brings truth to savages-an all-white truth (P.114).

It is important to point out the ironic tone of the last sentence, which turns the white's truth into a 'big' lie for the black man. Fanon does not agree totally with the theory of Jung because the notion of "shared culture" for Fanon is not an innate or internal; it does not drive from the invariable structure of the brain. It is rather a common culture and a cultural medium; it is an "alienation from an environment" (P.59), produced by the "interaction" between the family, school, and society. Racism comes through upbringing (family and school); it is reinforced by the wider culture during adult life to

create a kind of sedimentation to paraphrase Simone De Beauvoir. Fanon does not mention this Feminist theorist, but the idea of sedimentation of values of the white “collective unconscious” through unnoticed racism of the “sinful”, “lazy”, and “evil black man” resembles De Beauvoir’s “collective social unconscious in the construction of gender. Sedimentation appears right with the title of the book, *Black Skin, White Masks*, which can be interpreted as follows. The use of different masks to hide one’s identity, the various ways with which black people try to become white form a kind of layers. The performance of what lies beneath a mask is a surface for a next mask, which is constructed in a multiple ways through repetition of many themes. The fact that black man and white man are held in bounds forged by racial prejudice from which they cannot escape. As a social protest, Fanon stages the interplay between masking (hiding) and discovering (unmasking) to show that masking makes the one who puts it empowereful. Unmasking becomes a therapy and a way of healing; it is a “collective catharsis” (P.112) or a kind of ritual process according to Victor Turner.

All through the way of the black man’s disalienation, Fanon appeals to Jacques Lacan’s theoretical concepts of “mirror stage” and his notion of “female sexuality”, published in volume 8 of the *Encyclopédie française* in 1938 to explain the traumatic social and cultural encounter with difference; he explains the different manifestations of racism and proposes another model for his examination of the importance of culture. He claims that the Black man is not only objectified by the white gaze, but he also sees himself from the angle of that gaze. His internalisation of the white gaze creates a disastrous shift from his “corporeal” to the “racial epidermal schema”. The black becomes unable to live his body normally; he lives it rather as a racialized, assailed, and layered body (P.115).

Fanon reverses Lacan's imago to explain the problem of difference; this "negrophobia" in creating attraction and repulsion impulses characterized by fear and anxiety of an object (P.117). He then inverses the phobia by recreating the child as a "liminal figure", who is unaffected by the desires of his parents. The centrality of the family as a site of cultural knowledge becomes the center of the "identification process", with the child growing up in an environment, which shapes his world of inferiority and superiority. As an adult, his traumatic socio-cultural encounter with difference will shape his character (P.146).

To distinguish between the various kinds of racist strategies, Fanon uses the "mirror image" as a way to retrieve the black man from his alienation. He describes the traumatic experience of discovering the reality, a reality of denial; his own reality of a black man. He narrates his social and cultural encounter with difference; he tells his own story of an experimented doctor and soldier with many other achievements in his life, but does take much to trigger his sense of inferiority. However, Fanon disagrees with Lacan on the fact that the "unconscious" is a fantasy while racism is a lived experience. It is a real story of betrayal, murder, and enslavement (P.154). He uses the body to express the atrocities done by racism on black man. He relies on the white man's desires without love, which aims to fulfill his perverse and projected paranoid fantasies (P.143).

4)-Fanon's Abrogation of Racism Beyond Sartre's Existentialist View

Fanon continues his eclectic stance and dialogic approach with Sartre, with the idea that the Jew is merely a construction of the Anti-Semite, which he published in his *Réflexion sur la question juive* (1946). He draws some parallels to reach the conclusion that "the black man" is merely a construction of the white man, with whom he does not share the same vision of man. Fanon agrees with Sartre's idea of radical

freedom, but he disagrees with his idea of a pessimistic future for mankind and maintains an impossible universal brotherhood, arguing that the slave would remain dependent with a tendency to reproduce the same situation that he was attempting to get rid of. Unlike Hegel and Sartre, Fanon continues to assert the dream of universal brotherhood; he states:

Man is motion towards the world and towards his like. A movement of aggression which leads to enslavement or to conquest; a movement of love, a gift of self, the ultimate stage of what by common accord, is called ethical orientation. Every consciousness seems to have the capacity to demonstrate these two components, simultaneously or alternatively. The person I love will strengthen me by endorsing my assumption of manhood, while the need to earn the admiration or love of others will erect a value-making superstructure on my whole vision of the world (P.28).

Fanon believes in the possibility of love and his optimistic vision of the future of mankind springs from his observations, particularly in *Black Skin, White Masks*, where he examines the alienation that black people from the West Indies experience when transfixed in the colonial context. He examines circumstances in which white people consider themselves as superior to black people while he advocates equality between people (P.48). He also explores the colonizer's attempts to legitimate the colonial project under the guise of the "civilizing mission", a fact that necessitated for him the destruction of the colony's history and culture. In the colonial situation where the world is Manichean, for the white settler, the Negro represents evil, and the black people who are confronted to such a situation have to choose between two situations; either to accept the fate of "the civilizing mission" imposed on them by the colonial rule or to defy it. It is from that perspective that Fanon seeks an answer to an existentialist question: what does man want? Throughout his work, he tries to shape man's challenges. By the concluding part of the book, the reader has a concrete idea of what human beings want, or, at least, from his perspective, what

they should want, and especially racially colonized humanity. The passage below provides a perfect illustration:

I found myself suddenly in the world and I recognize that I have one right alone: that of demanding human behavior from the other. One duty alone: That of not renouncing my freedom through my choices [...] No attempt must be made to encase man, for it is his destiny to be set free [...] I, the man of color, want only this: that the tool never possess the man; that the enslavement of man by man cease forever. That is, of one by another; that it be possible for me to discover and to love man, wherever he may be (P.180).

An attentive scrutiny of the excerpt shows that it begins with incantations dedicated to humanist values. Furthermore, he reiterates his optimism when asserting the possibility of disalienation to find a way to freedom, which requires an effort to recapture the self and to scrutinize the self. It is through the lasting tension of their freedom that men will be able to create the ideal conditions of existence for a human world.

It is clear that Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* is not only an analysis of the impact of colonialism on colonized societies but also a work that has a major influence on the question of civil rights, anti-colonial struggle, and also black consciousness movements around the world. The author's arguments are clearly stated: white colonialism has imposed a mock existence upon its black victims and has degraded their image. Fanon explores that contention and shows that the colonized is not seen by the colonizer as a human being. He attempted to show more about the human being through an examination of the lived experience of the black men and an analysis of the multiple relations that occur among blacks and between blacks and whites. The writer demonstrates how the problem of race and color is connected with a large range of words and images; he examines race prejudices from two points of view; as a philosopher and as a psychologist. His text has a

diversity of tones; it varies from outrage and indignation to cool examination and scientific analysis.

The distortion of the situation created in him a passionate desire to unmask the hidden and false assumptions of the Western history. He insists that if the drive for mastery over men is the outcome of a faulty political economy, the same drive for mastery is a by-product of a world view which contains the belief in the absolute superiority of Europeans over the others. For Fanon, the French civilisation is reduced to empty rituals whose force of human greed and violence has found new legitimacy in progress and science. Therefore, he uses multilayered narratives to uncover the “History” of the struggle for self-affirmation and self-determination for the oppressed people against the project of France’s policy of assimilation. Fanon’s ideological conception of the “Past” engages him to perform some concepts of Negritude.

Fanon's personal experience as a black intellectual elaborates the ways in which the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is normalized. His standpoint from his early life, his schooling and cultural backgrounds that made the young Fanon conceive himself as French and the profound change of his perceptions after his initial encounter with French racism was a turning point in his life that shaped his psychological theories about race. It is through his medical and psychological practice that he states the problem of justice; he wonders: “how is it possible that there may exist a racism, which generates harmful psychological constructs that subvert the black man and subject him to a universalized white norm” (P.123). For him, this alienates his consciousness, and furthermore that speaking French means that one accepts the collective consciousness of the French. Blackness is thus obviously identified with evil and sin. Tolerating and recognizing

difference becomes one of Fanon's humanist dimensions, which he develops fully with his analysis of the basic confrontation between colonialism and the struggle for liberty. The intermingled relations between colonialism and racism are denounced by Fanon and served as a basis for him to defend human rights, putting into perspective the racially colonized person's inferiority complex to point to the profundity of the racial colonial predicament.

5)-Fanon's Revision of the Constitutionalist's Premise of Colonization

The next dialogue between Fanon and Octave Mannoni's is based on the latter's publication of his *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization* (1950), which came as an outcome of its author's explorations in psychoanalysis after twenty years of residence and work as a colonial functionary in French controlled Madagascar. As a French psychoanalyst, Mannoni compares the mind of the Malagasy and the white colonial, which is based on his experience and study of Madagascar under French rule in the 1930s and 1940s. In his *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon devotes the whole of chapter four to criticize Mannoni's defense of French culture, evident in his attempt to demarcate divisions between benevolent Frenchmen and the racist kind of its ideology. For Fanon, racism cannot be limited to an individual's attitudes and behaviors; "it is not inborn; it has to be cultivated" (P.37). It is a set of structural social mechanisms, which the colonial authority uses to legitimate its use of force to maintain its supremacist patriarchal colonial capitalist ideology over the colonized people.

Fanon insists that Mannoni's two concepts of "dependency" and "inferiority", by which he means that the African natives need a paternal figure to look after them and provide for them are fixed labels, which function as a sort of standing insult to the colonized. By beginning the chapter with an epigraph from Aimé Césaire's *Et les*

chiens se taisaient (1962) where the author maintains: “In the whole world, no poor devil is lynched, no wretch tortured, in whom I too am not degraded and murdered”, Fanon suggests that Mannoni does not present a well-argued examination of European colonization because the French theorist lacks the basis on which to ground any conclusion applicable to the situation, the problems, or the potentialities of the Malagasy (P.61). Although Mannoni has devoted 225 pages to the study of the colonial situation, writes the author, [he] has not understood its real coordinates; persisting that the fact that when an adult Malagasy is isolated in a different environment, he can become susceptible to the classical type of inferiority complex, and this proves almost beyond doubt that the germ of the complex was latent in him from childhood (P.62).

Mannoni fails to understand “the real coordinates” of the colonial situation, “for lacking the slightest basis on which to ground any conclusion applicable to the situation, the problems, or the potentialities of the Malagasy in the present time”, adds Fanon (P.62). He persists in his claim that while Mannoni writes: “When black men with guns appear in children’s dreams at night it is not because of the terror of French rule: no, the guns stand for penises” (Mannoni,1950:75), it is not only a misinterpretation of dreams but also a devaluation of the mental abilities of the colonized. Fanon answers that the French psychoanalyst misreads the dream of children to excuse the terror of French rule and how it was affecting his patients. Fanon underscores how France was racist while Mannoni remains blind to it in his attempt to look past it in undermining the violence done to the native psyche by colonialism (P.64). Violence on the psyche of the black man is responsible for encouraging the complex where it does arise.

To debunk Mannoni's examination, Fanon refers to colonial hideous statements and racist tropes in the white-ruled Madagascar which he links to Prospero's complex, which he defines as the total of those unconscious neurotic penchants that explain at the same time the 'picture' of the paternalist colonial and the portrait of the racist whose daughter has suffered an imaginary attempted rape at the hands of an inferior being, Caliban (P.66). So, in essence the Prospero Complex is in fact all the vain imagination and stereotypes of the colonialist/racist vis-à-vis the 'victims', which refers to White women being constantly raped by men as an excuse for lynching (P.67). Jock Mc Culloch is right when he explains that the riots broke out in March 1947 while the behavior of both the Europeans and the Malagasy was determined by the psychology of their relationship. In order to frighten the Malagasy during the riots, Mannoni said, the Europeans resorted to a "theatrical kind of violence". The "theatrical violence" to which he referred cost as many as eighty thousand lives and was followed by a cruel repression in which torture was widely used. That repression, which saw a large number of rebels imprisoned in France, lasted until the eve of independence in 1960 (Mc Culloch.1995:100).

Fanon uses Jean Paul Sartre's idea of the construction of the Jew combined with Césaire's expression of "the old courtly civilization" to reiterate that "dependency" and "inferiority" are fixed labels that function as a sort of standing insult to the colonized. They serve to hide the tyranny of the colonial rule, which pretends that "France is unquestionably one of the least racist-minded countries in the world" (P.68). Fanon supports his argument with reference to French rule of Madagascar was cruel as it does not only stand for a justly creditable response to the enormity of the historical material consequences of Western racism, but also as that of the "other", posited in the philosophy of Western humanism. The French

government and all those committed to colonial ideology used all means to create the complex of inferiority in the unconscious of the Senegalese, to make it possible, and make the society in which he lives perpetuate it (P.74).

Fanon insists, however, that Freud is of no interest to understand why Senegalese soldiers strike fear into the hearts of natives. In 1947, the French put down an uprising, killing 80,000 natives. As if that were not enough, the French practiced torture in Madagascar. Fanon calls the use of black soldiers to force French rule on people of color “the racial allocation of guilt”. His indignation and anger become obvious when he comments on Mannoni’s book to say: “We uncovered, in certain of M. Mannoni’s statements a mistake that is at the very least dangerous” (Fanon, 1967:69). What seems certain is that Fanon wanted to break the stereotypes and the prison walls to liberate the colonizer imprisoned or hiding behind the walls of the colonial prejudices.

The process of revolutionary thought helps the native to transcend the ego-personality forced by the colonial environment. The fundamental error committed by Mannoni, Fanon believes, is grounding his claim that “most natives are content to put whites above them and be dependent on them because it fulfills a deep need in their hearts, one that was there long before whites showed up”. Mannoni calls such act a “dependency complex”, which he links to the fact that “a few natives are unhappy because they suffer from an “inferiority complex”, which makes them want to be the equal of whites”. For the French psychoanalyst, “not all peoples can be colonized: only those who experience the need”. Fanon notes that for Mannoni, “European civilization and its agents of the highest caliber are not responsible for colonial racism. It comes from lower-level whites who blame their unhappy lives on the natives” (Ibid.P.91).

It is important to point out that Fanon does not only criticize Mannoni's Eurocentric point of view, but also rejects the way the "White colonials suffer from a "Prospero complex". He explains that the colonizers cannot accept others as they are, but want to dominate them. The following passage expresses clearly Fanon's indignation:

I begin to suffer from not being a white man to the degree that the white man imposes discrimination on me, makes me a colonized native, robs me of all worth, all individuality, tells me that I am a parasite on the world, that I must bring myself as quickly as possible into step with the white world (P.98).

We understand from the passage that Fanon targets the Europeans for their "evil projects", which they make up to maintain their supremacy. He considers, for instance, "European civilization and its best representatives as the responsible for colonial racism" (P.88). If Mannoni distinguishes colonial exploitation from other forms of exploitation, and colonial racism from other kinds of racism, Fanon answers vehemently: "when one tries to examine the structure of this or that form of exploitation from an abstract point of view, one simply turns one's back on the major, basic problem, which is that of restoring man to his proper place" (P.88).

Fanon uses his text as an awakening call to raise his consciousness about the reality of being a black man. He dismisses Mannoni for his incapacity to really understand the plight of the colonized peoples of the world, for uttering such statements as "France is unquestionably one of the least racist-minded countries in the world" (P.92), or that "European civilization and its best representatives are not responsible for colonial racialism" (P.91). For Fanon, Europeans remain blindly indifferent to the black state of subordination. He reinforces his arguments with reference to Francis Jeanson's article, published in *Esprit* (1950), to denounce the French exploitation and oppression. In his "Cette Algérie conquise et pacifiée", Jeanson condemns the way Europeans keep "distance from realities of a certain

kind”; he disapproves “how they [Europeans] succeed in keeping themselves unsullied, it is because others dirty themselves in their place. They hire thugs, and, balancing the accounts, it is they who are the real criminals, for without them, without their blind indifference, such men could never carry out deeds that damn them (Jeanson.1950:624, cited in Fanon, 1967:92).

In sum, Fanon demystifies the colonial myths provided in Mannoni’s analysis of mental disturbances of the “So-Called Dependency Complex of Colonized Peoples”. He notes that at a certain stage, the colonized has been led to wonder whether he is indeed a man, a human being; it is because his reality as a man has been challenged. In Fanon’s thought, asserts Reiland Rabaka, it is necessary to make free the colonized and the colonizers alike, and this means for him, a need to decolonize the whole humanity. This is an attempt to deconstruct the overwhelming consideration of the supremacy of the white who builds up a world where only white men are seen as humans, denying the identity and the dignity of the oppressed. The trauma of French colonialism on the colonized as identified by Fanon is a “massive psycho-existential complex” that involves questions concerning identity and inferiority complexes derived from economic inequality, racism and cultural prejudice that Fanon identifies as “a feeling of non-existence” (1967:139).

6)-Fanon’s Call for an Active Agency Beyond Hegel’s Logic

Hegel’s account on the structure of love, though very complex, remains useful as it forms the point of departure to the analysis of Fanon’s concept of love and to understand its ethical significance for Hegel and its “abrogation” by Fanon. In the third part of his *Philosophy of Right*, Hegel discusses the notion of love and links it primarily to the family unity. Love for him remains the highest category of knowing because it is situated above reflective thought; it is based on this dialectic:

Love is in general the consciousness of the unity of myself with another. I am not separate and isolated, but win my self-consciousness only by renouncing my independent existence, and by knowing myself as unity of myself with another and of another with me (Hegel, 2001:139).

In the Hegelian dialectic, love expresses the unity of existence, a harmony of self and other, consciousness and being, finite and infinite, which is excluded in reflective thought. As such, for Hegel, love cannot be just limited to “emotion”, which is the basis of the reflective understanding. It rather embodies the possibility of a lived harmony of mind and body, of thought and being, of consciousness and existence, of reason and emotion. As the higher unity of the universal and finite being, it is neither based on domination nor a response to an external command; love stems from a unified self, at peace with itself. This self is not repressed in the name of moral achievement, but is engaged as precisely the motivation for that fulfillment (Ibid.145).

Through marriage, love, according to Hegel, is achieved when two persons “give up their natural and private personality to enter a unity, which may be regarded as a limitation, but, since in it they attain to a substantive self-consciousness, is really their liberation” (P.141). The extension of the family and the transition into a civil society passes two phases. First, it is through peaceful expansion of the family into a people or nation, whose component parts have a common natural origin. Second, on the other side, it is by the collection of scattered groups of families in their voluntary association to satisfy by co-operation their common wants (Ibid.154).

This dialectical model comes into view in *Black Skin, White Masks*, but in a different way because Fanon’s objective is to prove that ethical love is denied by the injustices of a racist colonial system. The dialectical view, however, can make sense of the concept of pathology by revealing how different behaviors and social structures relate to each other, which allows Fanon to use Hegel’s model then to take distance from it. Fanon shapes love through three important theses: first, he shares Hegel’s

idea that love needs a “normal” structure to be unified. Second, unlike Hegel, the link between love and the social environment is dialectical and permanent. Finally, love relations and society cannot be understood in isolation. Fanon examines the concept of love in a colonial context through two opposed situations, which represent Hegel’s thesis and anti-thesis. He points out that racism and racial difference make up man’s life, cares and thoughts. In the same situation, lovers are opposed solely because they cannot refrain from reflection on this aspect of relation. Hence, instead of harmony and unity, this relation creates conflicts and mental disorder.

To support his assumption, Fanon refers to a well acclaimed novelist, Mayotte Capécia’s *Je suis Martiniquaise* (1948), which tells a story of a black woman in love with André, a white man. To trace the imperfection of this type of love, Fanon stresses Mayotte’s total submission to her white “lord”, her physical attraction to André’s blue eyes, his white skin, and her strong desire for becoming white (Fanon, 1967:30). The author explains instead of unity and harmony, Mayotte’s relation with André is based on superiority and inferiority categories, which creates an acute conflict, that she tries to overcome by her tireless efforts to become white (P.32). She “consented to run the risk to have whiteness at any price” (P.34). Fanon then outlines the origins of the pathology of this troubled black woman with her color, which she inherited from her childhood spent in the Antilles. Central to Fanon’s argument is that family and education, in the Antilles, did not breed unity and harmony, as it is described by Hegel. It rather increased the black child’s alienation through language and cultural obliteration. The instance of the mother, who “sings French songs in which there is no word about the Negroes or that of the child, who is told “stop acting like a nigger” when he disobeys or makes too much noise, reinforces the point (P.148). Fanon argues that, in the colonial context, love loses its ethical aspect and

morality because of the feeling of inferiority, which is caused by the contact with the white man and reinforced by the society. Like racism, Fanon insists that love is “sociogenic and confirms Hegel’s dialectic between “being” and “having” or social position and property, which causes the clash of love. However, Fanon maintains that Mayotte feels excluded from the white society not because she lacks a social position or property, but rather because she is a woman of color. It is only upon contact with the white man that she suddenly understands herself to be black. This discovery causes a reversal of her situation. She depressed and directs her resentment inward. She feels resentment because of her perception of the world in a Manichean form. The world of the white man is characterized by beauty and virtue while the world of the black man is totally its opposite. Therefore, she works hard to please her white customers and overcome her inferiority complex by feeling proud and relief in having a dead white grandmother and by transforming her shattered body to become or at least to resemble the white man through “lactification” (P.31). An ethical love cannot be reached by Mayotte because her traumatic experience of the gaze of André’s white friends, who “keep watching” at her becomes unbearable (P.30).

Fanon departs from Hegel in rejecting any possibility of reconciliation through the birth of the child. Hegel claims that the unity of marriage is sealed by the birth of children, who “wax in strength; besides they have their parents in a sense behind them: but parents possess in their children the objective embodiment of their union” (Hegel, 2001:149). Fanon, on the contrary, maintains that the child can in no way be a solution for the problem of racism because the image of the mother remains unsuited to the white society while that of the father, André, as a superior white man will let his child reproduce the idea of superiority (P.36).

In addition to Mayotte, Fanon selects many sexual instances of racism that arise at various moments; he cites examples of women, who refuse to marry blacks (P.33). Some attitudes are mixed with the narrator's ironic tone. As an illustration, Fanon constructs a scene from the messiness of the everyday life of a student's clear-cut attitude when saying: "I would not marry a Negro for anything on the world", which is followed by a comment wondering about such a stance: "In a few years, this young woman will have finished her examinations and gone off to teach in some schools in the Antilles. It is not hard to guess what will come of that" (P.33).

An even more revealing and comic instance occurs when Fanon constructs a dramatic conversation to display the nexus of social, political hierarchy through religion with an anecdote of St Peter, who meets three men on the doorstep of heaven. When he asks them what they want, the white man requests "money"; the mulatto desires "fame" while the negro answers that he was "just carrying their bags" (P.34). The key point on which Fanon's diagnosis of colonial psychopathologies is the direct result of an unjust political structure, in which domination and racial difference are internalized. In addition, the outlook of society and its contribution to create a lack of fit in black man or woman by exhorting him or her to refashion his/her life while religion strengthens such social way of thinking.

The second case study of love failure is that of a black man's love to a white woman, which creates conflicts rather than a mutual understanding of the self and the other. By using Hegel's syllogism, Fanon presents an anti thesis to explain the origins of love failure, which are internalized and lead the black man to devastating psychic consequences. The author examines René Maran's auto-biographical novel entitled, *Un home pareil aux autres* (1947) to point out that an ethical love between a black man and a white woman is not possible largely because he cannot imagine

himself as someone capable of offering or receiving love. It is a story of Jean Veneuse, who was born in the Antilles, but established for longtime in Bordeaux. The main character tries to better integrate into his environment with studies and readings. His first attempt is made to have a love relation with a white woman goes with a fascination of the woman's body, most notably "restless hands caress those white breasts" (P.47). It becomes a symbolic desire for whiteness, an embrace of the very hierarchies that were potentially challenged by such relationships. The pathology of this unsuccessful love is expressed in this way: "A Negro? Shameful. It's beneath contempt. Associating with anybody of that race is just utterly disgracing yourself" (P.47). For a black colonial subject, interracial love is impossible. Therefore, he remains unfulfilled because of the imaginative grip exerted by a dominant racial imagery. The impossibility for Jean Veneuse to live his love forces him to dream of it through his readings of European authors. He dreams by producing verses (P.48). His love underlies the pathological his fragmentary subjectivity, which situates him at a far distance from an ethical love or a "normal" subject. But without a meaningful notion of his subjectivity, he remains essentially fragmented and love does not present synthesis, but some kind of bad consequences. Jean Veneuse's experience of the violence of being torn from his historic resting place introduces the question of suffering. Finally, as central to Hegel's dialectical approach, Fanon suggests a solution, which can be linked to Hegel's idea of "cancellation" as a way to liberation. In this sense, Fanon's idea of love differs from the mere "celebration of family unity". It goes with recognizing the political realities, which allow people to act in the world. This point is significant in the sense that it should be understood as a process of comprehending, making use of, and appropriating what appears to be other in search of evolving intersubjective relations. This process of liberation which seeks to make

itself a space in the given and often colonial and racist world comes to an end. Fanon calls for the refashioning of the concept of love in a way that makes the world more comprehensible and open to successful action within it. Fanon makes his argument that subjectivity is organized around the activity of freedom and that all human activity must be evaluated as to its ability to further such freedom.

In sum, Fanon performs Hegel's dialectic of love; he applies it to the colonial condition and opens up the practical possibility intrinsic in it. Fanon was interested in the pathologies, which emerge from love between either a black woman with a white man or between a black man and a white woman. *Black Skin, White Masks* displays what such a failure means for the colonial subject who, lacking self-authorization, lacks agency, and cannot see himself as an accomplished because he lives under the gaze of the white man. Fanon's claim must be taken in two ways. Colonial society makes subjectivity for the colonized impossible so there can be no such thing as a black man. This also means, however, that the black man has no experience of himself as having ontology, because he is not an authority for himself. Fanon's account of interracial relationship between Mayotte and André is that the colonial within its strict racial hierarchies makes marriage and a "political relationship" rather than a family union (P.143). This social perception creates troubling fissures in the black woman's psyche. As illustrated by the two case studies undertaken by Fanon, neither a humanist desire to free sexual and emotional relationships can be possible in a colonial racist environment where political concerns and ideological desires to frame them solely within the compass of such concerns can ever be completely successful. In such circumstances, any sense of emotional love is provisional because subjects are dominated by the social and political pressures.

It appears from the above analysis that Hegel's description of the clash between the world of Christian love and the world dominated by private property relations is transposed by Fanon into a colonial racist environment where there is no space for love to express itself. The chief cause of the failure of ethical love in this environment is the pressure to which the interracial couples are subjected. Fanon reformulates Hegel's three theses with regard to the concept of love. However, he reverses the dialectic in insisting that love is not only an individual issue; it is related to society. While it is perhaps clear in Hegel that the three basic categories that form his syllogism are independent, this is not so obviously the case for Fanon. As one of the most important critics of enlightenment universalism, Fanon claims that love is something that develops, is achieved, and can be lost, over time and in history. The dialectical model itself is an attempt to understand some of the factors that constitute each individual's and each society's limits and possibilities of articulating freedom for themselves.

However, Fanon's concept of liberation goes beyond independence. He argues that one's freedom is a function of one's determination to act in order to remove obstacles that stand in one's way. This struggle is continuous until one attains the good life. It is a search for the truth and part of the continuing process in which man's potentialities are forever enlarged. Thus, Fanon writes that he has "one duty alone: that of not renouncing my freedom through my choices" (1967:229). Within the context of colonialism, liberation becomes for Fanon decolonization or political independence, which will involve bringing to an end a colonial government and the transformation of the colonial situation in such a way that the numerically superior, though sociologically inferior may now become the numerically and sociologically

superior. Thus any decolonization that does not change the structures of colonialism is a false decolonization.

In the concluding chapter of *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon presents his view on the notion of agency and provides his reflection upon the Hegelian paradigm of recognition using the White and the Negro as the substitute for the Lord and Bondsman. Yet, Fanon differs from Hegel as his thesis stipulates that the recognition that occurs in the classical Hegelian slave-master paradigm fails to happen in the exchange between the White and the Negro due to the absence of struggles, which are necessary for the recognition of the humanity of the Bondsman by the Lord (P.169). Fanon explains that some obstacles prevent the recognition of the Negro by the White because, as he maintains, he did not take any risk and action for the sake of the realization of consciousness. Fanon presents his view of human interaction on the basis of Hegel's paradigm of recognition where one can read:

Thus human reality in-itself-for-itself can be achieved only through conflict and through the risk that conflict implies. This risk means that I go beyond life toward a supreme good that is the transformation of subjective certainty of my own worth into a universally valid objective truth (P.170).

The ideal for overcoming the black man's inferiority complex involves a struggle for recognition. Because of the absence of conflict between the white and the black as the former opposes the latter by not recognizing him as equally human and worthy of consideration, the white man's feeling of superiority over the black is interpreted as an offence against the humanity of the black man, and this offence can only be repaired by violent confrontations, ultimately. In the same perspective, Fanon writes: "He who is reluctant to recognize me, opposes me. In a fierce struggle, I am willing to accept convulsions of death, invincible dissolution, but also the possibility of the impossible" (P.170). Through the notion of "impossibility" the author refers to, is the achievement of what Hegel calls the "pure being-for-self of consciousness" that

happens through labor, as the means through which the bondsman acquires the consciousness of his worth. On this very point, Fanon elaborates another theory that opposes Hegel's viewpoint in the way that individuality or pure being-for-self of consciousness can be realized through the external world and radical action. The reason is that the White colonizer is only interested in the production of the Negro's labor and does not recognize the self-realization the Negro achieves. Fanon, thus, rejects the fact that labor may not be considered as an opportunity for mutual recognition and clearly claims:

The master differs basically from the master described by Hegel. For Hegel, there is reciprocity; here the master laughs at the consciousness of the slave. What he wants from the slave is not recognition but work [...] In the same way, the slave here is in no way identifiable with the slave who loses himself in the object and finds in his work the source of his liberation (P.172).

This paradigmatic passage illustrates Fanon's insistence that the outcome of the Negro's labor deepens the inferiority complex and, consequently, violent struggles become the only means that can force the colonizer to recognize the colonized individual's humanity. Fanon's appropriation of Hegel's recognition as a paradigm of violent struggles becomes the necessary avenues for the internalization and expression of the colonized people's humanity. Hence, Fanon calls for humanity where "the tool never possess the man. That the enslavement of man cease forever. That is, of one by another man. That it be possible for me to discover and to love man, whenever he may be" (P.180). His view of the relation between humanity, love, and dignity shapes Fanon's philosophy of agency. The constitution of the body becomes an act of recognition for the body animates the subject into existence.

Fanon complements and balances the attention given by postcolonial theory to the revitalization and recognition of the agency of colonized peoples. He introduces new conceptual scaffolding to those who have inherited the legacy of colonial culture,

and who now seek to responsibly transform this historical injustice. To bypass the “Western unilateral thought”, Fanon suggests bypassing Hegel’s dichotomy to attain reciprocity and agency. This achievement comes only when man ceases to impose his existence on another man. What is important for this establishing human agency is language and culture. Because the coloniser erases the colonized’s culture and language by denying his cultural originality and his language. Fanon insists that the only correct way to see the world is to overcome the idea of race and racism. Such achievement comes through action. He states: “I should constantly remind myself that the real leap consists in introducing invention into existence” (P.179). In the part entitled “The Negro-Hegel”, he insists on the participants to the dialectic. He writes: “In order to win certainty of one self, the incorporation of the concept of recognition is essential. Similarly, the other is waiting for recognition in order to burgeon into the universal consciousness of self” (P.177).

Fanon has already rejected “neurotic” and recommends the construction of a new environment as “a change of air” because “man cannot be limited to “negation”; he is rather a “yes that vibrates cosmic harmonies” (P.59). He provides arguments, which would legitimate self-recognition as an essential means to shape the black man and decolonize his mind in order to reach a new humanism and a human recognition. He suggests that each man as only a man, not seeing color at all; it is provided by the end of the book, when Fanon writes: “My final prayer: O my body, make of me always a man who questions!” (P.180). Fanon counters the arguments that legitimated colonialism and slavery. His critique of racism is sharp and runs consistently through claim to a universal humanity. He maintains that existence precedes essence; there is no fixed ethnic identity, no fixed property, no fixed individual, no fixed personality, no fixed human nature, no essence of language, no

essence about white or black man. In an existentialist tone, he affirms: “In the world through which I travel, I’m endlessly creating myself” (P. 179).

Fanon offers an alternative mythology of history which denies and defies the values of history. In rejecting the model of the gullible, the hopeless victims of colonialism trapped in the hinges of history, he insists that the oppressed should be fighting their own battles for survival in their own way in order to be defined, not by their skin color, but by their political choices. What follows sums up Fanon’s main ideas:

In no way should I drive my basic purpose from the past of the peoples of color. In no way should I dedicate myself to the revival of an unjustly unrecognized Negro civilization. I will not make myself the man of any past. I do not want to exalt the past at the expense of my present and future (P.177).

The excerpts display Fanon’s call for an emancipator struggle through action. What can help a society to survive is the reconfiguration of its experience with and its selfhood because the color is not “the wrapping of specific values” while “the moral law is not certain in itself” (P.177). The quest for freedom is another essential element that binds one human being to another, one human group to another; he calls for “not renouncing to freedom through choices” (P.179). Fanon’s project is based on the construction of a world where human beings live without domination, enslavement, and hatred. Coherence can be attained by action, not self-reflection: “we become by doing”. The message of Fanon is clear; the human being’s essence is only created by his own projects, their own creativity, and the values they choose. Understanding this kind of truth is based on two things: first, overcome racism itself, overcome essentialism, which is a kind of view by some ethnic groups define themselves superior to others. Second, understand that essentialism about race black or white is the core of racism. Rabaka is right to point out that Fanon “envisioned a world where human beings behaved like *human* beings, sincere and

loving kind” (P.217). The denunciation and even the destruction of anyone who dominates the other is justified, especially when the right to self-determination is denied (Rabaka.2009:217).

Fanon’s performance of the Enlightenment values can be summarized in six features: the importance of dignity and recognition, the supreme value of freedom, values of justice, love and peace, the search for an authentic universalism and the emergence of “a new man”. Fanon is a resolutely humanist thinker in the revolutionary sense because of his emphasis on freedom, human aspirations and the interconnectedness of human beings in quest of human values. The notion of humanism has to be endowed with the revolutionary spirit, and this means that Western imperialism has to be condemned and Eurocentric anti-humanism questioned. In his analysis of colonialism and racism, Fanon maintains that they were grounded in the values of Western humanism, which allows the colonizer to speak of universal “Man” when in the same time the proponents of the same vision commit genocides everywhere. Fanon notes further in *The Wretched of the Earth* that it was an absurd gamble to undertake, at whatever cost, to bring into existence a certain number of values, when lawlessness, inequality, and the daily murder of humanity were raised to the status of legislative principles (P.34). Such humanism is perverted because it cannot bring about universal equality because its vision of humanism is restrictive. Therefore, the “value of a society is the value it places upon man’s relation to man”; the re-creation of the humanist values happen in the context of a revolutionary action (P.39).

From what precedes, we can synthesize our study of Paine’s and Fanon’s performance of the humanist visions through the following final points. Though Paine was labelled as a modern “Liberal” democrat while Fanon was a socialist “Marxist”,

the two thinkers understood that the supreme goal of human existence is the complete liberation and any attempt to oppress human beings is, for them, a negation of their humanity, their being-in-the world as free agents. First, both relate social happiness to humans' need for the right to express their expectations. Paine's texts display his ardent protest against the institution of hereditary monarchy, noting that monarchs are insolent and oppressive and ignore the true interests of mankind. If Paine is seen as an idealist because he holds a faith in the ability of human beings to shape his world, Fanon sees human progress as inevitable, but he recognizes the need for direct action to motivate that progress. He looks to a better future shaped by human action and will.

Paine's and Fanon's practical proposals combine breathtaking visions, a humble respect for peasants, and a sober recognition of the complexity of human affairs. Paine was closely associated to the Age of Enlightenment, during which humanism, like many ideologies, developed and was identified by what it was against but did not indicate its primary goal. Similarly, Fanon cannot be dissociated from the tradition associated with humanism which has provided the philosophy for a framework on human rights that is linked to European colonization and the struggle for independence in colonial Africa and Asia in the twentieth century. Paine and Fanon, as previously noted, witnessed the traumatic events of British and French domination, which according to Judith Butler, "is an extended experience that defies and propagates representation at once" (Butler.1979:26). Their social trauma takes the form, not of a structure that repeats mechanically, but rather of an ongoing subjugation. They restage the lived injury through signs that both occlude and reenact the scene through the repetition of the way that trauma is continual. Their speech challenges the colonialist attitudes towards the people they have colonized.

Both, each in his way, dare to destroy the notion that European superiority and lordship is a fundamental or an irreducible fact of life. They advocate a revolutionary universal humanism that they develop in their theories of action. As a contribution to the political and moral debate, Paine's and Fanon's common concern with man individually and collectively, which stands as another aspect of their thoughts, make them participate in the public sphere where personal and political freedoms are closely intertwined, the relationship between resistance and ethics, and universalist vision, which will be developed in the course of the next chapter.

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Chapter Six: Paine's and Fanon's National Internationalism

This concluding chapter follows the development of the previous one, which illustrated how Paine's and Fanon's writings contain numerous references to the 18th century Enlightenment describing human nature, morality, and government structure. Like Paine, Fanon believed that historical experience provided patterns of human behavior that illuminate the meaning of human nature and from which democratic government derives laws and policies that can serve and sustain justice and total freedom for all. By appropriating Habermas's concepts to which I referred earlier, I examine how Paine's and Fanon's texts can be interpreted against the tradition of rational ethics of colonialism, against its core idea of grounding ethics in reason rather than in experience. In the remainder of this chapter, I thus attempt to address the following questions: How did Paine and Fanon shape their utterances insinuating into action while their speech is taken up as motivation to their audiences to act. How the two authors contribute to the sociology of media and express their communicative actions, which helped them enter the field of politics? What are the crucial ways with which they created their "ideal situation speech act" as a "Lifeworld" model of the public sphere? To what extent does Paine's and Fanon's contribution to public sphere help build "a rational consensus"? How can their insights be built upon to the emancipation of human being?

Section One: Paine's "Presupposition" of "Legitimation Crisis"

The possibility for a speech act in Paine's texts aims to revalue a prior context depends, in part, upon the gap between, what Judith Butler call "the originating context or intention by which an utterance is animated and the effects it produces" (Butler.1979:35). Hence, in "Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession" essay in *Common Sense*, Paine sets his communicative argument that men were "originally

brought forth as equals in the order of creation”, and admits as valid distinctions only those between “male and female and between good and bad” (P.12). He describes the first as distinctions of nature, the second as those of heaven. Meanwhile, throughout the world, many countries in Asia, Africa and Europe suffered from tyrannical governments that established themselves over the minds of people and no beginning would be made to reform the political conditions of man. The subsequent excerpt displays the author’s denunciatory tone:

No one by birth could have a right to set up his family in perpetual preference to all others for ever, and though himself might deserve some descent degree of honors of his contemporaries, yet his descendents might be far too unworthy to inherit them. One of the strongest natural proofs of the folly of hereditary right in kings, is, that nature disapproves it, otherwise she would not so frequently turn it into ridicule by giving mankind an ass for a lion (P.16).

Paine affirms that freedom had been hunted around the globe and reason is considered as rebellion. He maintains that men become slaves of the fear, which make them afraid to think. The assumption that monarchies and aristocracies place the common man in a deep slumber is formally challenged by the Americans and the French had so far emerged thanks to their revolutions. For Paine, Kings and Lords create what Habermas calls “legitimation deficit systems” that denature human beings and are “apostate from the order of manhood, who hath not only given up the proper dignity of a man, but sunk himself beneath the rank of animals and contemptibly crawl through the world like a worm” (P.47). This universal concern with different freedoms can be found in the different parts of the pamphlet, which affirms and confirms the significant relevance of Paine’s thought as it is clearly expressed in what follows:

Our plan is peace for ever. We are tired of contention with Britain, and can see no real end to it but in a final separation. We act consistently, because for the sake of introducing an endless and uninterrupted peace, do we bear the evils and burthens of the present day. We are endeavoring, and will steadily continue to endeavor, to separate and dissolve a connexion which hath

already filled our land with blood; and which, while the name of it remains, will be the fatal cause of future mischief to both countries (P.55).

Paine advocates a total rejection of any reconciliation with Britain. The reasons for his position are further explained by the fact that the injuries and drawbacks sustained by the link of America to Britain are many. The duty of Americans to other peoples and to themselves is to reject the bonds tying them to the Empire. Such rejection is motivated by the fact that reconciliation means ruin while subordination and dependency on Britain leads inevitably the continent to conflicts, disputes, and incessant wars (P.24). Throughout the third part of *Common Sense*, the author calls to rational reason to understand the disadvantages of reconciliation and the weaknesses inherent in the structure of the British Empire. He transforms his argument into a theoretical system advocating the end of Britain's authority over America and the other continents; he insists to say that such form of government, sooner or later must have an end (P.25).

However, *Common Sense* can in no way be limited to America's separation from the British Empire; its purpose is rather larger. It is a call for a progressive revolution on a global scale. Paine's foremost objective was to put an end to the British monarchy in America and then experiment it everywhere. But what is particular to Paine is his straightforwardness and effective words which were designed to appeal to a global audience to motivate it to overthrow monarchies and create democratic republics (P.11). Paine's universal assault on monarchy is further evident in his condemning of the British monarch in what follows: "In England, a king hath little more to do than to make war and give away places; which in plain terms are to impoverish a nation and set it together by the ears" (P.20). The following excerpt reinforces the author's abhorrence the tyranny of its monarchs:

We fight neither for revenge nor conquest; neither from pride nor passion; we are not insulting the world with our fleets and armies, not ravaging the globe for plunder. Beneath the shade of our own vines are we attacked; in our own houses, and on our own lands, is the violence committed against us. We view our enemies in the character of Highwaymen and Housebreakers, and having no defense for ourselves in the civil law, are obliged to punish them by the military one, and apply the sword, in the very case, where you have before now, applied the halter. Perhaps we feel the ruined and insulted sufferers in all and every part of the continent (P.55).

The above passage can be linked to the third and the fourth parts of the book, entitled respectively “Thoughts on the Present State of American Affairs” and “Of the Present State of America with Some Miscellaneous Reflections”. Not only Paine presents an analysis of the political situation in the colonies, but also draws perspectives by calling for interactive action with social rules. The author’s concern with practical matters expresses his reasonable opinions requiring the colonists to act. He stresses the importance of the transition from abstract reasoning to practical considerations. Paine clearly explains that he offers “nothing more than simple facts, plain arguments and common sense” (P.20). His use of a “natural language” stresses the necessity and urgency of immediate action in proclaiming independence. “The structures of action-orienting world views must satisfy a rational conduct of life” (Habermas,1981:44). Such interactive action, according to Paine requires organization and radical shaking-up of the political structures.

1)- Paine’s Practical and Democratic “Consensus”

The century of Paine, as pointed out earlier, was that of the Enlightenment, a period in which rational inquiry into all aspects of human knowledge was initiated by philosophers. For instance, Montesquieu’s *Spirit of the Laws* (1748) and Voltaire’s *Essay of Manners* (1759) were devoted to the issue of government which was recognized as being the most influential source of social change. Paine devotes most of his discussion to the last-named accepting the hereditary principle, but not that of

divine right. He states that the ruling dynasty is chosen by the people and that its reign may be dissolved when a prince acts contrary to his trust or to the laws of the land (P.49). He argues that “the authority of Britain which is a form of government, which sooner or later must have an end” (P.25). Though Owen Aldridge assumes that such a view appears nowhere in *Common Sense* (1984:119), the following statement illustrates the contrary when Paine writes that “every quiet method for peace hath been ineffectual” (P.27).

Part of the 18th century tradition, as mentioned earlier, in Europe and later in America, was that people engage in a variety of debates. Merchants, farmers, sailors, churchmen and artisans, most of them were educated and they display their learning by participating in group discussions. Coffee shops, taverns, churches, schools, and even trading centers became areas where people shared their opinions. Debating societies spread hand in hand with the development of new ways of thinking about politics, society, government, and religion. Paine began to utter his opinions in debating societies and to local people in London and Lewes. While watching, listening, and thinking about the events, he reached the conclusion that he was rejected by the men of the center of government, but he was embraced by the common people outside of it such as Oliver Goldsmith and Benjamin Franklin, who recognized the quality of Paine and helped him to quit England for colonial Philadelphia. What Paine brought with him to America was an emphasis on history, an empirical epistemology, natural morality, and a theory on mixed but limited government to protect individual liberty and property (Kaye, 2000:22).

Paine’s consistent argument about the form of government in *Common Sense*, focuses mainly on the principles of government by consent, stating that individual liberty based on natural rights derived from natural law and the idea that revolutionary

change must be undertaken to persuade those in power that they have oppressed their people for too long (P.10). The appropriate structure of a good regime is a republic with a government seeking the common good of all rather than the individual interests of a corrupt few. It should be based on a “representative system” of government with the consent of the governed (Ibid.P.32). Paine insists that men have always been part of social groups. For him, civilization is the natural state for people and natural affection for other people engenders sympathy for fellow men; accordingly, the way men treat each other should reflect that natural sympathy: “Society in every state is a blessing, but government even in its best state is but a necessary evil” (P.06). According to Paine, individuals can live together, respect each other, and preserve both self-preservation and sympathy. They are able to create societal regulations to encourage freedom and liberty of action for all provided it does not result in harm to another human. The regulations are the pillars for laws protecting each individual’s non-harmful freedom of action. Paine indicates that the purpose of government is to protect individual liberty for “the strength of government depends on the happiness of the governed” (P.08). The political power should be invested in representative bodies at the national level and in institutions of direct democracy. Such a government implies both civil rights and liberties. Paine defends what can be called “shared human virtues” and the ultimate value is that of the human well-being, the achievement of his happiness and the prevention, and ultimately the elimination of human pain and suffering. The author expresses his inspiring ideals by “Securing freedom and property to all men, and above all things, the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience [...] whose peace and happiness, May God preserve” (P.34). He also describes a trading process whereby man renounces part of his rights to safeguard the rights of others (P.137).

As a man of convictions, Paine also advocates religious freedom. He points out, for example, that once the Americans achieved separation of the colonies from England, they could form a constitution that preserved, above all things, the free exercise of religion. Paine's propensity to love others is just one specific expression of the universal principle aiming to do good in the world, to promote the well-being of one's fellow human being (P.28). Nonetheless, the author does not advocate merely moral concern for others. In his defense of the rights of man, he urges his readers to force their governments to create Constitutional Conventions to prepare written documents that have to define how governments should be organized so as to secure people's rights and liberties. For him, there should be no king; the president, senators, and representatives are ordinary people who serve limited terms and have the responsibility to encourage the fundamental liberties. All of these rights should be protected by the Constitutions, which he considers as the property of a nation. He also asks for political but also social reforms and a social policy, which must include the government's financial support for the poor and the elderly in what was an early-modern version of the contemporary welfare state (P.55). His argument for a more responsible government for the American colonies stands inconceivable without the principle of consensual bases of government. His Universalist and egalitarian tendencies can be compromised if they were to work in societies with enslaved populations. Thus, as a libertarian and humanitarian proponent, Paine was the first to propose American independence, foreseeing a Continental Union, which he believed, would make tyranny tremble throughout the world and instate a new political system that meets the needs and aspirations of the governed (P.32). He insists on the creation of annual assemblies with equal representation under the authority of a

Continental Congress. The president should be chosen by the ballot of the representatives of different colonies (P.33).

2)-Paine's Alternative "Lifeworld"

More importantly, Paine as mentioned earlier was a public citizen and a scientific observer in the eighteenth century. In his *Common Sense*, he engages in the processes through which men entered the Republic of Letters by "avoiding everything which is personal" (Foner, P.5) in order to build his objective and scientific arguments. In his examination of natural philosophy's role in shaping the intellectual landscape of the Republic of Letters in eighteenth-century America, Jay Fliegelman points out that "language is not a stylistic ornament, as Aristotelian topics, but as topically generated argument in the service of proving and disapproving a point against opposition" (Fleigelman, 1993:30).

Paine uses a natural philosophical vocabulary and a useful knowledge to help shape the unofficial rules of conduct and the practices of public discussion, which can be divided into three consistent arguments. His performative style, as mentioned earlier, developed within club settings in England, America, and France. It is then displayed through his literary demonstrations of frankness and impartiality. His views in his texts often served his critical way of thinking, which are destined to reach a wide audience. They express the author's self-assurance, passion and wit. His style is bold and clear, his arguments are well ordered and carefully signposted, and he shows a rare gift for combining rational arguments with the ability to touch the heart and stir the imagination (Dickinson, 2011:21).

His political "communicative action" starts with arguments developed in *Common Sense*, focusing on the debates around Britain's control of the colonies, her exercise of imperial power, and her increase of taxes. He addresses the Loyalists, who were

deeply opposed to a complete breach with Britain, who were convinced that despite its imperfections, Britain and its constitution assure people's security, stability, and prevent the establishment of a republican form of government with more democratic institutions. For them, Britain guarantees safety and protection for the colonies against the French and Spanish threats. Paine replies:

But she has protected us, say some. That she hath engrossed us is true, and defended the continent at our expense as well as her own is admitted, and she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, viz. the sake of trade and dominion (P.22).

Paine reinforces his support for the colonists' separation from Britain with patriotic sentiments of universal, democratic friendship in competition with a transatlantic obsession with conspiracy and faction. He bases his second argument by calling for an immediate political action throughout the American continent; his *Common Sense* can be read a summary of the ideology of the American Revolution as well as a substantial contribution to it. One has nevertheless, to consider that the body of beliefs which Paine sets forth should not be seen as a global ideology in a sense of an integrated series of doctrines which, unified together, represent a unified intellectual system. As an advocate of universal revolution, in 1795, he wrote a *Dissertation on First Principles of Government*, which develops and reaffirms his commitment to democracy, republican government, and equal civil and political rights; his wish is that: "Men enjoy every civil and religious right and the means of securing it to others; but that example which ye have unwisely set, of mingling religion and politics" (P.59). In addition, he calls for the instauration of a democratic system based on a republican government which could nurture and create a uniform, shared public interest and citizen self-control in different parts of the world. Tsamzei.P.I. Klobbe is right to suggest that Paine's generous and modernist standpoint favors the advance of the rule of reason and maintains an ethic of self-

sacrifice for the public good. The author points out to Paine's resentment of oppressive systems and leaders, who use power and coercion to force compliance. They were established on false principles and it was "forbidden to investigate their origin or by what right they could exist". A government can enslave, plunder and impose upon people (Tsamzei, 2005:94).

From this point of view, Paine's model of a "rational lifeworld" is based on two beliefs; his attachment to the common good and individualism, which situates him as a model and an iconoclast thinker as he destroys all the immovable pillars of his time such as kingship, aristocratic hierarchy and established religion. In so doing, Paine brought newness to the mode of thought of his and other times. He provides a "free space" of communication between government and society. He addresses his readers and asks to set up people to form a Parliament to represent them and have a voice in lawmaking (P.31). He urges for the building of a democratic consensus through representatives will to be elected to express the will of all the society members. He affirms that elections should be held at frequent intervals to assure the regular return of representatives to learn the will of their constituents. He suggests:

In the next Congress, let a colony be taken by lot from twelve only, omitting that colony from which the president was taken in the former Congress, and so proceeding on till the thirteen colonies shall have had their proper rotation. And in order that nothing may pass into a law but what is satisfactory just, not less than three fifths of the Congress, to be called a majority (P.33).

What Paine proposes, further to this, is a project based on the value of the individual, endowed with all natural rights and a society based on the social contract. He appeals to reason and nature against the authority of traditional beliefs and existing institutions. Such proposal springs from his deep belief in a new age of Enlightenment, which would result in complete political and religious reformations throughout the world. After articulating his moral and political convictions, Paine

suggests a complimentary “practical and rational plan” that would further illustrate his faith in a man’s individual capacity to develop reason and benevolence with other men, but without the various institutions of oppression that the monarchy, aristocracy, and the Church state create.

3)- Paine’s Consensus for Social Stability and People’s Interests

As a progressive thinker, following Godwin, Ferguson, and Smith, Paine participated in current debates over the desirability of establishing a universal basic income for all citizens. He writes in his *Agrarian Justice*:

Instead of preaching to encourage one part of mankind in insolence . . . it would be better that Priests employed their time to render the general condition of man less miserable than it is. Practical religion consists in doing good: and the only way of serving God is, that of endeavoring to make his creation happy. All preaching that has not this for its object is nonsense and hypocrisy (P.397).

Following the Enlightenment’s central principle, thinking for one-self and questioning authority by examining the environment with one’s senses and reason, Paine uses strong morals, and critical thinking to show how important it was to society to structure the constitution and legal system in a way that encouraged freedom of thought, freedom of action, and protection of property. As many Enlightenment thinkers, Paine believed that people could bypass their self-interest through reason to alleviate the grievances of “three classes of wretchedness and to end the greed and ambition that motivate the monarchs and their lords for unequal riches and dominion over others” (P.398). By concerning himself with the preoccupations of farmers, tradesmen and professional men, he claims that democracy means that every person must have equal rights as citizens in a society ruled by laws of nature. His social and economic consensus is based on his natural philosophy, which he expresses clearly in the second part of his *Rights of Man*: “In all cases she [Nature] made his [Man] natural wants greater than his individual powers. No one man is capable without the

aid of society, of supplying his own wants; and those wants, acting upon every individual, impel the whole of them into society, as naturally as gravitation acts to a center (P.551). Concretely, Paine argues that what was needed was not equality alone but a form of equality consistent with liberty. In *Agrarian Justice*, he proposes a rational consensus as a reaction to the reforms of the Poor Laws, which he approaches with resentment:

There could be no such thing as landed property originally. Man did not make the earth, and though he had a natural right to occupy it, he had no right to locate as his property in perpetuity any part of it: neither did the Creator of the earth open a land-office, from whence the first title-deeds should issue (P.399).

Hence, he argues that each owner of cultivated land should pay to the society a ground-rent for the land which the person holds because it is common property. This land is considered as a tax per year of 10 per cent on inheritances. It is this ground-rent that provide the payments to every person based on some age restrictions.

More importantly, Paine suggests the creation of a National Fund to pay every twenty-one years old person 15£, as a compensation for the loss rather than a charity, to all the dispossessed of their natural land property (P.400). He reinforces the consistency of his argument for his proposed plan by stating: "What I offer on this head is more the result of observation and reflection. It is not charity but a right-not bounty but justice that I am pleading for" (P.402). As many intellectual radicals of his time, Paine claims that poverty is not natural; it is mainly caused by the prolonged unemployment and the absurdities and the selfishness of an unwise and wasteful monarchy, which spend enormous expenses on unnecessary wars. It is due to the monarch himself, and his courtiers, who form a:

Despotic government, which supports itself by abject civilization, in which debasement of the human mind and wretchedness in the mass of people, are chief criterians. Such governments consider man merely as an animal (P.410).

In the same book, Paine also calls for a granting those who are unable to work and the aged persons the means of their livelihood. All persons over sixty deserve pensions because they are unable to support themselves. As an enlightened thinker, Paine argues that aged laborers should be preserved from direct necessity. As a humanist, he believes that it is not normal to see old age working itself to death, in what are called civilized countries, for its daily bread (P. 627). He reiterates that poverty is not something natural; it is caused by "Civilization, therefore, or that which is so-called, has operated, two ways, to make one part of society more affluent, and the other part more wretched, than would have been the lot of either in a natural state" (P. 397). The earth in its natural uncultivated state is the common property of all human kind. The author reinforces his arguments that natural rights allow all members of the society to get the same amount of products of nature during their lifetime from the "Common property of human race" (P.398). The natural rights principle was built on the assumption that no person is to be considered as naturally superior to another; there cannot be a reason for one person's claim to nature to be superior to another's. Because no person's claim to nature is superior to another's, no one will have a right to exclude another from nature.

The rights of all to nature are accordingly equal. He writes: "I advocate the right, and interest myself in the hard case of all those who have been thrown out of their natural inheritance by the introduction of the system of landed property" (P.400). To prove his point, he refers to the natural way of life in American Indian tribes to claim that:

There could be no such thing as landed property originally. Man did not make the earth, and though he had a natural right to occupy it, he had no right to locate as his property in perpetuity any part of it: neither did the Creator of the earth open a land-office, from whence the first title-deeds should issue (P. 399).

Paine insists that land property is a creation of man since land is offered by the Creator to all human kind, as it is stated in the biblical account of Creation. Hence, every person should acquire property by taking into consideration his society: "Separate an individual from society, and give him an island or a continent to possess, and he cannot acquire personal property" (P. 408). The positive aspects of the suggested plan, adds Paine are: it would augment land prices and avoid any violence against property; it would also prevent the poor from calling into question property rights since they would be rightly justified. It would stop the poor's hate to increased wealth by the rich, as increased wealth would result in increasing the national fund proportionally; so, if people become wealthier, the living standards of the poor also increase (P.403). To decrease poverty, Paine proposes a total eradication of the church, aristocracy, and royal institutions with their accumulation of wealth and land. Giving importance to commerce, property and personal rights would permit expansion of productive enterprise. Paine suggests a welfare state and the market, the equal rights of the poor against the burden of a non-productive aristocracy and parasitic church. In *Rights of Man*, he explains that "the poor as well as the rich, will then be interested in the support of government, and the cause and apprehension of riots and tumults will cease" (P.633).

Moreover, he pleads for the abolition of all the burdensome imposed taxes on the poor. He calls for small and medium sized incomes, starting with the poor rates, most of the indirect taxes, and other non progressive taxes. Instead, he proposed to introduce a progressive inheritance tax based on to his calculations, would be adequate to fund his entire design of public welfare (P.616). Paine extends his social consensus and proposes a family allowance to every poor family of four pounds a year for every child less than fourteen years of age. He urges the parents of such

children to send them to school “to learn reading, writing and common arithmetic; the minister of every parish, of every denomination, to certify jointly to an office, for this purpose, that the duty is performed” (P.626). Paine also suggests a maternity allowance of twenty shillings for to every woman, who give birth to a child. He maintains that “All women should ask for it to lessen a great deal of instant distress” (P. 631). Women allowance is followed by a marriage allowance of twenty shillings to every new-married couple.

Paine was even preoccupied by the lot of the death of people. He suggests an allowance of 20,000£ for covering the funeral expenses. Under the Poor Laws, each parish had to pay for the burial of persons without means who died within their boundaries; Paine advocates the suppression of the Poor Laws and the humiliations it afflicted to old and sick persons. The twenty thousand pounds will be appropriated to defray the funeral expenses of persons, who, travelling for die at a distance from their friends. By relieving parishes from this charge, the sick stranger will be better treated (P. 631). Paine stresses that his social consensus aims to replace the poor laws and prevent “the wasteful expense of litigation while the hearts of the human will not be shocked by ragged and hungry children, and persons of seventy and eighty years of age begging for bread” (P.633).

It is important to point out, however, that Paine does not limit his social consensus to England; he rather addresses all “the most affluent and the most miserable of the human race to be found in the countries that are called civilized” (P.397). It is important to notice that the ideas articulated by Paine in the 18th century help focus the essential elements of liberalism at the international level. His *Common Sense* looks impressive in so far as it is a rejection of the partialities of race, sex, and class, which he regards as exceedingly ridiculous (P.10). Paine addresses the

concerns of the common people, the working poor rather than aristocrats, in language that does not require a classical education. Thus, it is understandable that his thinking is universal rather than parochial and his fame lived on as a result of his existential quest, which opened the way to a humanitarian, spiritual, and revolutionary attitude; this is the root of his worldwide call for justice and its corollaries, liberty, and peace.

4)- Paine's National Internationalism

The universality of Paine's texts is, first and foremost suggested from their titles, whether *Common Sense*, *Rights of Man* or *The Age of Reason*; all hold a universal connotation and can be applied everywhere. The first pamphlet was originally titled "Plain Truth" and in both titles, the key word is plain or common, both of which in the eighteenth century meant coming from ordinary people. The notion of plain truth or common sense, in the eighteenth century, was a radical idea. It was linked to a way to understand government, familiarity with law books, with Latin phrases and with Greek philosophy. Paine's *Common Sense* cannot be confined to North America. Its importance abroad fostered its French translation within four months after its publication. Some 13 years later, a Spanish translation was to appear, and soon there was another Spanish translation in Central and South America. Those editions exerted a tremendous impact on the independence movements in Latin America which finally destroyed the Spanish Empire. Paine's tremendous influence through *Common Sense* was attributed to its circulation in newspapers in Philadelphia. The press put within reach of artisans, farmers, and men of all classes. Paine calls the press "the tongue of the world" but it was *Common Sense* that gave him the proof of its power and range.

With his *Common Sense*, Paine inaugurated prodigious beginnings in the world of American politics and started his career as a national and international voice. The pamphlet became sensational and its author turned into more than a significant figure in the Revolution worldwide. His vision as a Universalist thinker emerges from his vision of the issue of revolution when believing that by declaring independence, the rest of the world would see America as a separate country, and other countries would then help the colonists and treat them as equals and then propagate the ideal of liberty and change (P.21). It was with that ideal that he wages a war against the “British paternalism” with its tendency to confine people’s well-being on their behalf and thereby restrict their freedom to make their own decisions; it is with that ideal that he gained his popularity in Europe. The innovation in Paine’s pamphlet presumed an audience of politically interested common men, not masters of business. In addition to its convincing style, its use of vocabulary of rights to all human beings, the publication of *Common Sense* benefited from historical coincidences and its triumph lays in pressing that choice at the very moment when circumstances were forcing a decision (P.16).

More importantly, however, Paine’s thought, which embodies a new system of government contributed directly to the ideologies of later revolutions in France and Latin America. Paine sketched the form of a new government and also suggested social reforms to promote and sustain the common good. His radical political ideals go hand in hand with concrete schemes, and reforms of everyday life were a theme he would return to. Yet, for Paine, the American Revolution was not to be undertaken for its own sake only. He sees it as an opening space for liberty in a world, giving persuasive voice to his belief, which he expresses as follows:

O! ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose only the tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom

hath been hunted round the globe. Asia, and Africa, have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! Receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind (P.36).

Paine reiterates that America will become the base for the liberation of humanity and he considers that reason, revolution and the rights of man were important in the struggle to achieve global political and social progress. The pamphlet reflects the moral even religious enthusiasm which raised the struggle above a simple rebellion against taxation to a great human movement; the war for an idea to which he gives a worldwide dimension. The American struggle serves as a stand against the forces of darkness and an overture to attain the earthly paradise. To weigh his arguments, Paine gives a political dimension to his vision, arguing that democracy means a government by representation. He also viewed human rights as the basis of life and politics. He hoped that a European Congress could be installed and would challenge monarchy and aristocracy that dominated each country's subject citizenry (P.44).

Paine believed that the years to come would be known as an era of "the permanent revolution", a global condition of constant upheaval until the rise of a universal civilization of reason, science, and democracy. He developed his idea that this new state of affairs came to being in all nations, the world would see the end of warfare, because war reflected aristocratic domination while democracy did not. Universal peace would result only after global revolution had succeeded, when monarchy and aristocracy had been abolished forever (P.21, 22). It is notable that his 1776 argument for America to separate from the Empire was intended to gradually evolve into a global revolutionary stance with a crusading spirit, a cause to which he had intensively taken part at the end of the eighteenth century. In his humanist devotion, Paine was, in November 1792, a member of British Republicans in Paris, called the "British Club" which was planning a world revolution that would overturn all

oppressive governments. In that perspective, Steven Blackmore reminds that Paine was thinking of drafting a universal republican Constitution and argued that universal principles would spread inevitably throughout the world. In 1793, he had even suggested to his Club to address the French National Convention requesting a war to liberate the British people (Blackmore, 1997, pp, 32, 33).

While in France, Paine attempted to convince people throughout the world that the rights and liberties he had advocated first for America and then for France could be applied throughout the world and, for him, the only way to achieve them was through revolution. In his *Rights of Man*, he states that nations everywhere can establish a democratic order based on the people's consent and their natural rights and liberties, and national loyalty and true patriotism must come from within each citizen: "Nations, like individuals, who have long been enemies, without knowing each other, or knowing why, become the better friends when they discover the errors and impositions under which they had acted" (P.651). Consistent themes in Paine's political philosophy included his long-held belief, as he writes in *Common Sense*, that human beings possess certain natural rights and civil liberties, which a written constitution can protect (P.34). Paine worked to frame a common American identity drawn not only from crisis and war, but also from shared interests, common democratic principles and a love of liberty. For him, the new identity derives not only from one ethnic origin, but also from the rest of Europe and the world. He envisions, in his *Common Sense*, a new form of continental citizenship in which "all Europeans meeting in America, or any other quarter of the globe, are countrymen" (P. 20).

In Paris, Paine was considered as the "incarnation of liberty", "the symbol of freedom", and "the apostle of mankind". The execution of Louis XVI gave him a good opportunity to break the chains of tyranny from the minds of the French people. It

was evidenced when he wrote the famous manifesto, urging the French to overthrow their royalist government and set up a Republic based upon the representative system. Paine was confident that the future of the world was strongly linked to the rejection of not only conservative convention in politics, but also social structure and religious culture; his vision appears in Paine's reply to Bonaparte:

The empire is vulnerable. Make peace, promote franchise, reassert the principles of the Republic and proclaim them throughout Europe, cry out for the rights of man, win back the glory of Republican France and ally yourself with Republican America [...] Glorify France? Establish old-age pensions, lower the working hours, raise the pay of the poor, and proclaim the revolution far and wide. Then, English people will rise up and join you. England can't be conquered, but she can be won (Fast, 1943: 320).

The epistolary exchange between Bonaparte and Paine is another illustration of the extent to which Paine's thought and dimension can, in no way, be confined to the American war for liberation. In his words, Paine maintains that the "Cause of America is the cause of mankind"; it is a universal cause for America that remains the asylum for liberty while Europe of those times was crumbling into despotism (P.13). Paine outlined a breathtaking vision of the meaning of American independence:

We have it in our power to begin the world over again. A situation similar to the present hath not happened since the days of Noah until now. The birthday of a new world is at hand, and a race of men, perhaps as numerous as all Europe contains, are to receive their portion of freedom from the event of a few months (P.52,53).

The above lines express the way Paine transformed the struggle over the rights of Englishmen into a contest with meaning for all mankind. He, thus, creates a lasting bond between America, France, and the rest of the world. He inspired the US Declaration of Independence and wrote the French Declaration of Rights. Nonetheless, his ideas and principles were also incorporated in the American and in the French Constitutions.

More importantly, however, Paine's thought remains his fundamental commitment to the ideal of universal revolution as he saw the American Revolution as an act of liberation that freed America from all ties to the Old World and indeed to the past itself, revolution is for him more than simply a regional event, American or French. His advocacy of active participation in revolutionary action and constitution framing as global phenomena that concern all people of the world are repeatedly stated in *Common Sense*. Paine can be regarded as emotionally American and intellectually internationalist. He focused his mind always on the entire world cause, as the concluding paragraph of *Common Sense* insists on:

I bid you farewell. Sincerely wishing that as men and Christians, ye may always fully and interruptedly enjoy every civil and religious right; and be in your turn, the means of securing it to others; but that the example which ye have unwisely set, of mingling religion with politics, may be disavowed and reprobated by every inhabitant of America (P.59).

The excerpt shows clearly how Paine gave a renewed impetus to what it meant to be an American with a cause designed to transform the entire world into a liberal democratic order. For him, the recognition of a shared human nature, a shared propensity of human beings to identify with one another's feeling and experiences, give rise to a universal morality which acknowledges the needs and interests of all. His life is the history of his time as was not only that of a spectator of history, but more than that, he was an active actor in the great dramas of his era.

Paine's *Common Sense* suggests a variety of philosophical and political notions, which range from the state of nature through the distinction between natural rights and civil rights as means to attain a wide-reaching freedom, peace, and progress through the development of social structures. Liberty requires responsibility and when nations are free, either in matters of government or religion, the truth will finally and powerfully prevail. Though this universalism is linked with Paine's analysis of American nationalism, his advocacy of human liberation is situated firmly within a universal thought. Human life, according to Paine, is animated by four goals: love, prosperity, love and prosperity to govern the majority of people, ethical obligation or duty and spiritual enlightenment or "liberation". They are of central importance to Paine's thought generally, and to his *Rights of Man* in particular.

Therefore, Paine deserves a universal consecration for his thinking in that it served humanity and, even might well be honored as the father of modern republican governments. He wanted to make the American Republic the pattern upon which all future governments in the world were to be founded. By the end of the American Revolution, Benjamin Franklin addressed him by saying: "Where liberty is, that is my country," Paine replied, "Where liberty is not, that is mine." His *Common Sense* anticipates the social philosophy of his later works by defining a good citizen as an open friend and virtuous supporter of the Rights of Mankind and of the free and independent states of America (P.54). If *Rights of Man* was written in defense of the French Revolution and as a reaction to Burke, it can be considered as a referential book on the rights of the individual in society. It can be read as an advanced statement of democracy in action produced in the 18th century. Its impact on the British Crown was so crucial that its author was tried for sedition. Even the London publisher, Thomas Williams, was arrested for selling copies of the book. The question

of censorship after Paine had petitioned the Crown for suppression of his works, particularly *Rights of Man*, saying that it is dangerous in any government to say to a nation, “Thou shall not read”. Thought, he asserts is got abroad in the world, and cannot be restrained, though reading away. Paine’s conclusion was simple and straight: “My religion is to do good”, he writes. For him, God “speakth universally to man and speaks a universal language, an ever-existing original, which every man can read”. His suggestions of reformation all around the world would be ignited with “a small spark, kindled in America” from which an entire “flame has arisen, not to be extinguished” (P.614).

Paine’s republican values and egalitarian sensibilities in his fellow human beings, his siding with the working men against the power of the privileged and the landlords, his questioning of social, economic and political inequalities, and his repudiation of the dogmas and bigotries in favor of tolerance, his commitment and struggle for freedom, for democracy, and equality can be read in a letter sent by Paine to his friend, John Innspeek on February, 1806 where he writes:

My motive and object in all my political works, beginning with Common Sense, the first work I ever published, have been to rescue man from tyranny and false principles of government, and enable him to be free and establish government for himself, and I have borne my share of danger in Europe and in America in every attempt I have made for this purpose (Paine, cited in Klobbe, 2005:324).

The passage summarizes Paine’s deepest and extended arguments provided in his works that influenced the British and American radicals as well as the working class political parties of 1820s and 1830s. Though in 1888, Paine was charged by religious fundamentalists and by Theodore Roosevelt with being a “filthy little atheist”, his writings remain a source of inspiration for Feminists and socialist leaders. In Great Britain, Paine remains a hero for artisans and the new industrial working class. His ideas were also used in the British colonies as a challenge against the British

imperialism in India by the Prime Minister, Jawahar Nehru. Paine's *Common Sense* stands for all the ideals that the informative, passionate interlocutor of the American and worldwide revolution cherished throughout his life. Thus, it is understandable that his thinking is universal rather than parochial and his fame lived on as a result of his existential quest, which opened the way to a humanitarian, spiritual, and revolutionary attitude; this is the root of his worldwide call for justice and its corollaries, liberty, and peace.

The same principles form the basis of Fanon's political and philosophical thought, which he develops from a different context and perspective. What follows is an attempt to draw some parallels between Paine's ideals and values and those displayed in Fanon's texts. The argument is to show how Fanon shifts from the false contriteness of blackness as skin color and the abstraction of colonialism to suggest a world free of oppression and domination.

Section Two: Fanon's "Communicative Action" and "Public Sphere"

Fanon's postcolonial thinking on a form of "social and rational consensus" differs from the Liberal Universalism that dominated the Western philosophies with its polarization and unilateral ideology. The model proposed by the European liberal democrats tend to be wrapped in their "monologic" mentality based on binary oppositions in excluding individuals by denial of their rights. The view Fanon promotes and on which he grounds his arguments in relation to freedom, justice, and equality in a shared perspective on human nature rejects the partial pretence of the Western Universalism that serves only to disguise and mask reality and further marginalize, enslave, and exploit human beings.

However, Fanon's vision of man, as the subsequent sections will show, is comparable in many aspects to that of Paine. The analogy of their thought

begins with the necessity for all human beings to get rid of all oppressive and repressive dogmas. Fanon stresses the way individual and social relations were transformed during the struggle for liberation. Because the older culture became “close and fixed in the colonial status” and had undergone a “cultural mummification”, which Habermas refers to as “cultural pathologies”. Such pathologies are useless as the basis for any kind of revolutionary culture, but they are obstacles for its achievement. What is needed is a “national culture” and “a cultural and rational consensus”, which unite human beings as integrally subjects connected in an interactive way to the natural social world.

1)- Establishing a “Cogent Argument” in Fanon’s Texts

Fanon communicates his argument through a historical exploration of an active process of desalienation and a global vision of decolonization. Such a standpoint is developed in *Black Skin, White Masks*, where the author examines a society fraught with cultural tensions and through which he describes his experience of racial and colonial desire to be recognized in the anti-black colonial capitalist world. Like Paine, Fanon is among the intellectuals who remain unwilling to repudiate the ideal of liberty and self-determination and to forgo their rights and dignity as men. The wide dimension of his *The Wretched of the Earth* can make it as a uniform interest to all its readers in different times and places. By extension, the similarity in the goals of Paine and Fanon were based on their commitment to freedom and democracy. The parallel between the two thinkers starts with the similarity in strategy and tactics in forming their vision and their ideological emphasis and of course objectives of constructing a new sense of self and of culture.

In his *Black Skin, White Masks* Fanon injects a dose of psychiatric analysis and social exploration within a world of “legitimation crisis”. He begins with the material moral culture of France that presupposes the exploitation of the colonies with its essentialist principles that accepts domination, but also requires violence through a systematic negation of the other person and a determination to deny his and her qualities of humanism. Fanon states that colonialism forces the people it dominates to ask themselves the question constantly: “In reality, who am I?” The rational answer to the inquiry is provided from the outset of the book’s preface where its author invites his readers to listen to his argument (P.8). He maintains that the racial colonial problem, the confused identity, and the inferiority complex of the colonized lay in Europe’s indifference and lack of concern to the plight of Man. At the heart of Fanon’s analysis is the conviction that since the experience of colonization is characterized by an ubiquitous atmosphere of violence which takes different forms ranging from military oppression and physical repression to racial hatred (P.27), the multiform cruelty infects the sensibility of the colonized by pushing him directly or subconsciously to the desire of liberation; his frustrations appear first in his will to an “auto-destruction” in his violent acts against members of his own race. Later, the acts will be transformed into a constructive political activism, which targets the end of the colonialist ideology of oppression and repression.

Throughout *The Wretched of the Earth*, the author adds his philosophy of history shaped as an arena of collective action where social individuals and group formative projects could be realized. He communicates his primary concern with the project of decolonization with a process of “re-conquering identity and reconstructing the self” since “the native’s challenge to the colonial world is not a rational

confrontation of point of view". It is also a starter of that "cleansing" perspective, including the push for national independence (Fanon, 1990:31). Fanon's definition of the "new man", initiated in his first book, *Black Skin, White Masks* is repeatedly restated in his concluding remarks on the question of national solidarity and resistance to colonialism.

The continuity of ideas is striking; he translates much of his earlier personal transformation of the "new man" in *Black Skin, White Masks* to the development of a national consciousness in *The Wretched of the Earth*, arguing that a new vision of the worldview is required. Judging from history and by everyday events, Fanon provides a formula for the concrete analysis of society that no idealist argument can call into question. "Rational consensus" rests on a political and historical vision through a progressive movement of human becoming through collective action. Spiritual alienation, material exploitation, and dehumanization turn the colonized into an animal (P.34). Fanon analyzes the psychology of the colonized peoples and their path to liberation, reflecting the inner resentment of those nations who suffered from oppression. He avowedly writes:

It is true that we need a model, and that we want blueprints and examples. For many among us, the European model is the most inspiring. We have therefore, seen [...] to what mortifying set-backs such an imitation has led us. European achievements, European techniques and the European style ought no longer to tempt us and to throw us off our balance. When I search for Man in the technique and the style of Europe, I see only a succession of negations of man, and an avalanche of murders (1990:252).

The author refutes such negation claiming that the colonized had nothing to lose by adopting it otherwise, no liberation is possible. He rejects all moral injunctions which have similar basis as the European ones; the colonized needs to regain his identity, the psychological and material resources to win his struggle against domination. For him, the value of a society appears in the value it places upon

man's relation to man. It is not individual knowledge that matters; it is rather what in reality is done by Europe. This passage illustrates the point:

The West saw itself as a spiritual adventure. It is in the name of the spirit, in the name of the spirit of Europe, that Europe has made her encroachments, that she has justified her crimes and legitimized the slavery in which she holds four-fifths of humanity. Yes, the European spirit has strange roots. All European thought has unfolded in places which were increasingly more deserted and more encircled by precipices; and thus it was that the custom grew up in those places of very seldom meeting man (P. 252).

The passage exemplifies the author's highly critical position of Western civilization and its universal claims, which lock people in situations of negation that demands a struggle for liberation. Fanon's claim resembles Paine's point of view about the drawbacks of civilization.

Fanon, according to R. Lewis Gordon, realized that the more he asserted his membership in Western civilization, the more he was pathologized, for a system's affirmation depends on its denial of ever having illegitimately excluded him; he is, as in theodicy, a reminder of injustice in a system that is supposed to have been wholly good (Gordon, 2000:4-5). Gordon R. Lewis is right to the point because Fanon's primary concern was to deal with the place of the oppressed people of Africa in history and the project they have undertaken to achieve their freedom and that of the larger Pan-African community. The success of a revolutionary action goes hand in hand with the identity reconstruction, the knowledge of the past, and a clear vision of the future. Analogous to Paine, Fanon locates his ideas of the value of life and the right to life within the wider context of care for people's well-being and respect for their autonomy and free choice.

2)-Fanon's Communication of his Ethical Arguments

Throughout his books and articles, Fanon calls for the recognition of man by man. He uses the oppressed people to challenge the discourse of European Liberal

Universalism upon which the French justify their “civilizing mission”. In his *The Wretched of the Earth*, he maintains that the mission founded its principles on the assimilation and integration of the colonized but the practices were different. In reality, the right to emerge as “French citizens” was denied to the populations as they did not enjoy equality in rights in the public sphere of their own cultural and ethical making. As an interpellation to European consciousness, Fanon refers to Monsieur Meyer, who states “seriously in the French National Assembly that the Republic must not be prostituted by allowing Algerian people to become part of it” (P.32). To reinforce his argument, Fanon gives importance to the national culture that has to pass through a “national stage” on its way to found a world-system based on the ideals of global equity, dignity and peace.

The same situation supplements his intellectual analysis of their social, economic and political conditions. For Fanon, since peoples are under the colonial yoke, humanity, as a whole remains constrained. In his attempts to map out the necessary ways to get out of that labyrinth of inhumanity, he uses a methodology to reach his goal, which represents the ethos of an ethical way of life that the people of the Third World nations must embrace to find their way to universal citizenship and the creation of a “new man” (P.198). He proposes a system which will be the embodiment of free action in concert with the revolutionary tradition. The path can be achieved through the decolonization of the mind and the advocacy of revolutionary action that can be reclaimed by the consciousness of the colonized. Decolonization can be understood as the veritable creation of a “new man”, which is conditioned by the discovery and encouragement of universalizing values (P.199). To achieve such a purpose, Fanon proposes a plan of changing radically the political and social structures from the bottom up by the withering away of the colonial state (P.27), a

system which goes beyond the Manichean vision in which the black or the colonized is seen as bad and the white or the colonizer is considered as good.

This is why he sustains that making a new world is necessary in order to overcome the colonial system. His thought can be labeled as a Universalist desire as the author works to break up all relations with the past. To attain that objective, he sees that it is necessary to defend the values of liberty and conscience, which do not serve the interests of imperialism. Fanon considers practical freedom, which exists only in its practice, as a remedy to purify the Manichean system and destroy the superiority and inferiority complexes. The following lines tell more about Fanon's call for the end of the colonial oppression:

The immobility to which the native is condemned can only be called in question if the native 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 (1990:40).

The above excerpt can be located within a broader project that Fanon wishes to implement for the imperative necessity to end colonization. The reasons for the need to end colonialism are linked to the colonized people's desire "to begin to go forward again, to put an end to the static period begun by colonization, and to make history" (P.54). Fanon first explains his understanding of the inhumane conditions and harsh realities of the colonial world. He speaks of the "colonizer" and "the colonized", "the national struggle", "national consciousness", and "African consciousness". This is to say that he does not limit his concern to the Algerian case or the North African situation. He rather reminds the reader that the colonial order devalues the colonized and his intention is to focus attention on the fact that Europeans represent the natives as irrational and primitive, when he refers to local traditions which are associated with superstition and fanaticism (P.45).

He also points out that colonialism sought to affect the natives' mind that if the settlers were to leave, they would "at once fall back into barbarism, degradation and bestiality". The importance of a radical change of political, social, and cultural structures are more than important in the process of rehabilitation, which can be launched through the interventions of native intellectuals who can reinvent new structures through which may revolve the struggle for liberation. But how does Fanon transfer his outlook into the daily politics?

Motivated and informed by the nationalist struggles of many African countries, particularly Algeria whose war for liberation was in progress, *The Wretched of the Earth*, stands as the basis for the new humanism that Fanon preaches. It rests on the fact that to be human means to live in a world in which one is recognized as a subject and in which that recognition should be gained through the fulfillment of freedom of thought and understanding the self within others. The various meanings of individual and collective freedom as they appear in the rhetoric and thinking of Fanon, as an important participant and an advocate of human rights, focus upon how anti-colonial revolutions could succeed through specific political, social, and cultural strategies.

The other important goal of the author is his tireless effort to create and make a new sense of individual and collective identity, self-respect among the colonized people through political and social organization. Both types of organization lead to the attainment of individual liberty through the dismantling of the colonial system. By extension, *The Wretched of the Earth* displays the project that Fanon seeks to achieve; one that will end the colonial domination so that the individual can live free in society. To achieve that purpose, the author stresses the importance of the social practices, values, goals, and discourses around which identities take shape and self-respect and dignity are regained. For, in his words, "there is no use in wasting time

repeating that hunger with dignity is preferable to bread eaten in slavery” (P.167). Without the social organizational elements, there can be no self, no freedom, and no “new man” (Ibid).

The foundations on which Fanon’s argument rests is both on the individual and the collective identity of the historical revolution, which he sees as an arena of struggle where domination is overthrown, and a social order is destroyed and a new one constructed. He perceives a progressive trend in history endowed with a high level of political consciousness, a movement toward political, social, and cultural orders that maximize freedom, self-realization for people. Fanon’s project seems important for two reasons: first, it is the starting point of African liberation from colonial domination as it is the drive for racial equality. Its capacity for historical action in the interest of racial liberation defines the modern world Fanon aspires to. More significantly, it can also be a site of resistance to French colonialism, which leaves the colonized oscillated between revolt and passivity; he suggests a process of achieving freedom and self-realization through an indivisible network of human will and economic and cultural facts (P.157).

Fanon’s approach to African people in terms of the political, social and cultural plan with its well-developed ontological and ethical dimensions points to a pattern of the specific historical challenges that his project of selfhood permitted him to undertake and which he, then, extends to all the oppressed peoples of the world. Such structural changes seem quite similar to the ones suggested by Paine in his *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man*. Like Paine’s, Fanon’s project calls for the rise of a consciousness of the colonized. He asserts:

During the period of national construction each citizen ought to continue in his real, everyday activity to associate himself with the whole of the nation, to incarnate the continuous dialectical truth of the nation and to will the triumph of man in his completeness here and now” (P.163).

In articulating the nature of this existence, Fanon adds a variety of discourses in his examination of the self developed from European existentialism which he grounds in the socio-historical forces that were interacting with dynamics of the self. His portrait of the Algerians was constructed from their revolts, their contributions to the war of independence, the struggle for democracy, and the struggle for Socialism, which he oriented in the direction of democratic, social, and cultural reconstructions.

3-The Social and Democratic Aspects of Fanon's "Consensus"

As a theorist and a fervent advocate of free and participatory democracy, Fanon converges with Paine in his total rejection of an authoritarian style and its strategies of governance. As an alternative, Fanon suggests a form of government whose people really participate in the business of governing their nation rather than obeying passively the established laws. The governors should invite their people to take part in the management of the country. It is a government which takes responsibility for the totality of the nation, whose work contributes to the unity of that nation rather than to its tribalization (P.147). In other words, the author refutes racial or tribal conceptions through the crystallization of the caste spirit, which should be avoided by the political leaders. Instead of seeing the masses, by which he means people who battled for independence, as a blind force that must be kept in check either by mystification or by the fear inspired by police forces, the adequate government, Fanon insists, should welcome the expression of popular discontent. The party should play its role of serving people by putting away their ethnic differences (P.150). The same party should not have mere links with people, but should be the direct expression of the masses (P.151). The fundamental tasks of political parties are summed up in the following passage:

The political parties start from living reality and it is in the name of this reality, in the name of the stark facts which weigh down the present and the future of men and women, that they fix their line of action. The political party may well speak in moving the terms of nation, but what it is concerned with is that the people who are listening understand the need to take part in the fight if, quite simply, they wish to continue to exist (P.167).

Fanon establishes a link between the duties of the governors with what he calls “a revolutionary culture” which serves as a strategic means to urge people to create a national policy of the masses who have struggled for independence as well as for the betterment of their existence. It is by means of a “revolutionary culture” and a “political education of the masses”. Fanon’s interest in culture is unquestionable. He has abundantly referred to the issue in 1956, when he wrote an essay entitled “Racism and Culture”, an address to the first Congress of the Negro Writers and Artists in Paris. In the essay, he intended to unite the dominating cultural patterns of the European imperial countries in many Third World countries. From then on, for him, the revolutionary principles of social transformation become indissolubly tied to the political principles of cultural liberation and emancipation. The revolutionary principles should expel all forms of domination from colonialism to neocolonialism from an integral component of the national liberation and that the working class and the peasantry should form a class alliance against the regimes of oppression. It should constitute a revolutionary “avant-garde” to inform the politics of Pan-Africanism to form a unity of economic interests and political aspirations of Africa that ought to be represented in a single central government: the United States of Africa. It was towards these tasks and aspirations that Fanon spent the last years of his life, represented by his book, *The Wretched of the Earth*.

However, while advocating a national culture, Fanon does not lay claim to nationalism in its narrow sense; by nationalism Fanon means the creation of an authentic culture combined with a new revolutionary self, which is the outcome of the

struggle, and not inherited values. Nationalism is not a political doctrine, nor a program, reiterates the author. The psychological connection between race and sovereignty demands the creation of a “new man and woman” with a psychology of consciousness that differs from the idea of an African personality suggested by the Senghorian Negritude with its philosophic divide, which makes man regress into racial essentialism. To avoid regression, Fanon proposes a dialectical new humanism in which the future of every man and woman has a relation of close dependency with the universe. It consists in a rapid step that must be taken to move from national consciousness to political and social consciousness, and thus to seal the African continent in its customs and culture. It begins not with the emancipating project of decolonization, but rather with the humanity of Africa, its authenticity, and the particularity of her humanity as a universal factor. National consciousness alone, according to Fanon, is not enough if it is not enriched and deepened by a very rapid transformation into a consciousness of social and political needs, in other words into humanism, it leads up to a blind alley (P.164,165).

Among the types of humanism, Fanon lists the corrupt European form of humanism which justified racism even as it advocated universal ideals; he underlines its contradiction embodied in the teaching of values in colonial schools which consider the colonized people as Europeans with black color and at worst as “natural resource beings”. For Fanon, the new revolutionary humanism would speak without incoherence or self-contradiction. The colonial domination has to be destroyed and be replaced by the “fraternal” contract among revolutionaries, a kind of connection that Neil Lazarus calls a “unisonant” of a decolonized state in distinguishing categorically between bourgeois nationalism and another would-be hegemonic form of national consciousness; a kind of liberationist, anti-imperialist nationalist

internationalism, represented in the Algerian arena by the radical anti-colonial resistance movement as the following passage from *The Wretched of the Earth* illustrates:

The Algerian people, that mass of starving illiterates, those men and women plunged for centuries in the most appalling obscurity have held out against tanks and aeroplanes, against napalm and “psychological services” but above all against corruption and brain-washing, against traitors and against the “national” armies of General Bellounis. This people have held out in spite of hesitant or feeble individuals, and in spite of would-be dictators. This people have held out because for seven years its struggle has opened up for it vistas that it never dreamed existed (1990, 151:152).

It appears from the excerpt that Fanon’s ideology was distinguished by two traits: it is not an abstract racial ideology, but a description of a lived reality. He develops these positions with great erudition, brilliant argumentation, and unfaltering courage; hence his towering figure, his personal dedication, and eloquence made him one of the founding figures of the Pan-Africanist tradition.

Fanon’s vision of nationalism and the creation of new forms of cultural and political life converge with Paine’s as there is no doubt that mass participation is the critical ingredient in their productions. It is at the heart of national awareness that international consciousness lives and grows. Fanon’s national project also has the capacity to become the vehicle and the means of articulation of social demands which extend beyond decolonization in the merely technical sense, and which calls for a fundamental transformation rather than a mere restructuring of the prevailing social order. “The building of a nation is more than a necessity when it is accompanied by the discovery and encouragement of universalizing values” (P.199).

Fanon refers to the substance of village assemblies as a public sphere; he stresses the cohesion of people’s committees, and the extraordinary fruitfulness of local meetings: “self-criticism has been much talked about of late, but few people realize that it is an African institution”. He writes that whether in the “*djemaas* of

Northern Africa or in the meetings of Western African tradition, quarrels which occur in a village should be settled in public" (P.37). The author considers the communal self-criticism that also contains notes of humor, because everybody is relaxed, and because in the last resort, the same thing is wanted by everybody.

More importantly, Fanon establishes a link between national culture and post-colonial liberation. He warns that a revolutionary consciousness needs to be formed, as the newly independent countries have filled him with doubt because he has foreseen a menace on the sovereignty of those countries as colonialism was paving the way to neocolonialism. He explains his vision by stating many reasons; lack of ideology, the eagerness of the national middle classes who believe that they can conduct political affairs as if they were their own business, the overwhelming nationalist parties and finally, the militarist policy (Pp, 121,122). Put together, these elements form oppression comparable to the one happening before independence. Therefore, the author persuades Africans that they have no reason to put up with the degrading interpretation of their past, that they can and must reinterpret it in a way consonant with their pride and interests. The purpose of the return to the source, Fanon writes, is to show:

There was nothing to be ashamed of in the past, but rather dignity, glory and solemnity. The claim to a national culture in the past does not only rehabilitate that nation and serve as a justification for the hope of a future national culture. In the sphere of psycho-affective equilibrium it is responsible for an important change in the native (P.169).

The passage expresses Fanon's "little interest in the history of Africa, Négritude or any assertion of racial or cultural specificity, except in so far as it created symbols of anti-colonial determination". According to Frederick Cooper, "the only history Fanon knows was that of oppression. His sociology of struggle was deterministic" (Cooper, 2005:42).

4)-Fanon's Involvement in the Public Sphere

Jürgen Habermas defines public sphere as an intellectual activity, public debates, nurtured generally by critical intellectuals who use their oral and written performances and skills to denounce oppression and abuses of power, and seek to defend progress, respect of human rights and other universal values. As a medium of permanent criticism, "it alters the condition of the legitimation of political domination" (Habermas.1984: 371). The duty of the intellectuals then is to write and speak within the public sphere to defend their ideals. In his article "Intellectuals, the New Public Spheres, and Techno-Politics", Habermas asserts that a critical intellectual's task is "to bear witness, to analyze, to expose, and to criticize a wide range of social evils in order to restore the lifeworld". The sphere the critical intellectual is "a process that exerts an influence on everyday communication by way of the differentiation of knowledge systems, and that affects the form of cultural reproduction, social interpretation and socialization" (Ibid. P.341).

Considered as an illuminating torch, the classical critical intellectual, represented by the Enlightenment ideologues like Paine, was the voice that spoke out against oppression and fought for justice, equality, and the values of the Enlightenment. As a discourse and movement, it assigned intellectuals key social functions, though attacked by some conservative intellectuals. In contemporary politics, it is essential that critical intellectuals like Fanon intervene in public debates and occupy public spheres in their need to participate in anti-colonial struggle on the one hand and attempt to shape the future of societies and culture, on the other.

Habermas writes that the media make possible the differentiation of sub-systems of purposive rational action (1984:342). His idea can be applied to Fanon, who contributed to the public sphere of his time by exploring all the possibilities

presented for democratic discussion and intervention. He entered the world of communication in his quest to defend his ideals of human liberation from all sorts of domination. For such a cause, he occupied the public sphere through direct speech and public participations in the different conferences held by the end of the 1950s and also through the media that he invested as a journalist and press commentator. His interventions in the public sphere were not marginal; he participated in the first Congress of African Writers and Artists of 1956, and the second one in 1959 and also attended the Conference of Independent African States that took place in Accra in 1958. In addition to his participation in public debates at the international level, Fanon worked as a journalist in the FLN's newspaper *El Moudjahid*.

The public sphere of that period, when the media systems were not as developed as today's, served to Fanon to express citizens' concerns and public will to influence political decision-making. For such a purpose, he invested the "free market place for ideas" to defend the cause of man. Fanon devoted some of his writings to radio in *A Dying Colonialism* and in print media as a discursive space through which he attempted to refashion the course of events in the colonial world. As a committed and critical intellectual, he made provisions to shape both the colonized and the colonizers' future through action. He comments the rejection of French radio shows by the Algerian public because they were considered as a western culture and technology which is associated with colonization, noting that : "That technical instrument [...] is essentially the instrument of colonial society and its values" (1965:69). The French entertainment media is seen as a carrier of multiform distortion of the Algerians' daily life. In Algeria and in Martinique, French news devices vehicle racist and hegemonic culture that became in the normal order of things in the colonies. Fanon adds: "On the farms, the radio reminds the settler of the

reality of colonial power and, by its very existence, dispenses safety, serenity” (Ibid.71). The role of that technical news device, widely available among the dominant society, was twofold; it served as an instrument of resistance for Europeans and a tool to exert cultural pressure on the native. Fanon explains: “The radio was broadly regarded as a link with the civilized world, as an effective instrument of resistance to the corrosive influence of an inert native society, of a society without a future, backward and devoid of value” (P.72). Yet, the dislike of that media and European technology would wither with the beginning of the FLN radio programs. Radio, which had been that arsenal of colonial domination, had become a means of communication for the Revolution, after tracts had announced in 1956 the creation of the “Voix de l’Algérie”. Radio which was undergone profound mutations, became a device in the service of Revolution and to serve the cause of the new Algerian man. From that colonial technology which was perceived as an instrument of domination, it has been transformed to a collective medium utilized by the people involved in shaping their society, and engaged in the politics of the revolution. Years before, listening to a program in French was considered as a vehicle for Europeanization and cultural alienation, but it had become an activity linked to the emergence of a new Algeria. Critical to the power the media have in the public sphere, Fanon points to their capacity to deform and structure the reality in the colonized world.

“The loss of meaning and freedom” according to Habermas has been experienced by Fanon as a young student in France, where media reproduce the image of white superiority that would traumatize him for years to come. The power of the media lies in the “reification” and “disassociation of reason and morality in all of its implications” (Habermas, 1984:347). Such a process can be linked to the political traumas are possibly to move through time and space, which Fanon encounters first

in America, then Europe which made the trauma of slavery a part of the social contract and he experiences a similar situation in Africa, in the colonial context. He asserts in *Towards the African Revolution*: “It is not possible to enslave men without logically making them inferior through and through. And racism is only the emotional, affective, sometimes intellectual explanation of this inferiorization” (Fanon, 1967:40). Hence, the author seeks to deconstruct and respond to that demeaning vision which reduces the black man to an inferior status and the colonized native to an eternal minor person.

Fanon maintains through a certain number of articles he published in *El Moudjahid* that justice, equality, happiness, toleration, all the concepts supposed to be inherent in Western humanism have lost their roots, there is no rational agency to appraise and link them to an objective reality. Fanon urges African people whom to think of themselves as neither inferior, isolated, nor as oppressed individuals, but as newly empowered citizens. This would then materialize in a collective and public process of liberation and action. They should no longer feel so dependent upon the benevolence of the colonizer and not fearful about his hostility. They should rather embrace the specifically political meaning of taking responsibility for their own lives, a meaning which has nothing to do with the economic or moral individualism which characterizes the dominant Western culture. Fanon’s assumption of responsibility can be regarded as the modern democratic form of political virtue.

The aftermath of the Second World War was at the same time that of optimism and disillusionment. Tyranny, Stalinism, Nazism and massive destruction and repressions silenced expression and freedoms and a great number of intellectuals lived in full despair. Fanon emerged in that context. The late fifties would be an opportunity for him to participate to debates that help shape and determine the future

of man, particularly, the colonized. In 1956, during the Congress of Black Writers and Artists in Paris, the Pan-African Congress in Accra in 1958 and a year later in the Second Congress of Black Writers and Artists of Rome, Fanon found himself at the heart of global debates about the black condition and profoundly involved in the liberation and emancipation of man from colonial domination.

During the First Congress of Black Writers and Artists, Fanon took part actively in shaping the project of giving a status to the Black world, its culture and civilization. The Congress held a decade after the Second World War offered a context for foregrounding emancipatory principles and contributed to expand issues of identity and movements of liberation, in Africa particularly. Participants such as Aimé Césaire, Richard Wright and Leopold Sedar Senghor defined the meeting as the “cultural Bandoeng”, a year after the Afro-Asian meeting of 1955, though it gathered West Indians and Africans. Culture, identity and politics were at issue two years later in Accra where the newly African independent states held the All-African People's Conference. Fanon stood as an intellectual and a participant on the behalf of the Algerian government in exile, which was formed in Cairo in September 1958. In that conference, he defended the cause of Algeria that became the symbol of many emancipator issues which then convulsed the world. Considered as symbolic, the Algerian War of Liberation and all what was at stake in the country was not only a question strictly linked to colonial freedom, but it is situated beyond that as it encompasses various aspects of life whether political or socio-economic. He writes in *Towards the African Revolution*: “The Algerian delegation composed of five members has received an enthusiastic welcome in Accra. The warm reception testifies to the importance that African peoples attached for several years to Algeria's struggle for independence” (1967:150).

Fanon raised the problems that shaped the Algerian situation which were the prospects of self-government and the re-appropriation and control over the resources and pleaded the cause of Algeria as that of all colonized peoples throughout the world, confronted to the European imperialism. The situation in Algeria was illustrative of a wider model of exploitation and domination that extended throughout the African continent. Fanon maintains:

The struggle of the Algerian people is not saluted as an act of heroism but as a continuous, sustained action, constantly being reinforced, which contains in its development the collapse and the death of French colonialism in Africa. Guinea was likewise applauded, but was particularly applauded as being the first important consequence of the Franco-Algerian conflict. The comrade ministers of Guinea present at the Conference have asked us to communicate to our government the deep gratitude of the Guinean people to fighting Algeria. (Ibid. P.151).

Fanon's presence in the public sphere to defend the cause of Algeria and that of Africa as a whole goes beyond his participation to the Accra Conference. As a journalist, he wrote reports in the Ghanaian newspaper *The Evening News*, testifies the writer and commentator Cameron Duodu, who writes:

During that Congress, Fanon published articles [...] under the pseudonym "Visitor" calling the readers of the paper to 'Lift Up the Torch of United Africa', as a call upon all African peoples to reject an international community dominated by the colonial powers of the West, 'From Algeria in the North to Nigeria in the West, from Kenya in the East to the tribes in the South, Africans bemoan their fate against the atrocities of colonialism [...] The whole of Africa trembles under the impact of colonial brutalities.

(<https://www.pambazuka.org/pan-africanism/frantz-fanon-prophet-african-liberation>. Time Access:24/01/2017).

Fanon seized that opportunity to address the Ghanaian readership and denounce the "evident hypocrisy" of the European imperialists who maintained their authority through "the systematic use of violence, exploitation, and racism" (Ibid). As a colonized intellectual, deeply involved in revolutionary decolonization and in anti-colonial struggle, Fanon legitimates the response of the African peoples "to this aggression by vigilantly acting to obtain their freedom through all available means".

While Fanon was debunking the colonialist propaganda campaigns, in the international press, most of which label Algerians as “terrorists”, he argues that action was the only alternative left by the colonizer to fight for self-determination. He notes in *The Wretched of the Earth*: “Colonialism is not a thinking machine, nor a body endowed with reasoning faculties; it is violence in its natural state” (1990:48). Fanon denounces colonial domination that disrupts totally the culture of the colonized countries and banishes the values of the natives. He expressed this standpoint in the First Congress of Black Writers and Artists of 1956. He asserts:

Three years ago, at our first congress I showed that, in the colonial situation, dynamism is replaced fairly quickly by a substantification of the attitudes of the colonizing power. [...] Every effort is made to bring the colonized person to admit the inferiority of his culture which has been transformed into instinctive patterns of behavior, to recognize the unreality of his ‘nation’, and, in the last extreme, the confused and imperfect character of his own biological structure (1990:190).

The issue of liberation from the colonial joke was one of the greatest successes of the Accra Conference to which Fanon had attended. He has laid the groundwork in the diplomatic and media spheres. He got together with a delegation from Cameroon, a country which had taken up arms for independence and won a hearing at the Conference and published articles in *El Moudjahid*. His involvement in the Algerian cause as a delegate is clearly expressed by the use of “we” and the importance gained by the Algerian Revolution in Africa. Fanon writes: “We have discovered in Accra that the great figures of the Algerian Revolution [...] have become a part of the epic Africa” (1967:150). Fanon emphasized the nature of colonialism, demonstrated that to resort to armed struggle remained the only option that was saluted by the African countries. He adds: “A special place has been made for several members of our delegation. [...] It was easy to recognize the existence of a fundamental solidarity

of these peoples with the struggle of the Algerian people, its methods and its objectives” (Ibid).

The All-African People's Conference which comprised around 300 delegates representing more than 200 million Africans adopted a series of resolutions. The success of the Conference to support the movements of liberation in Africa was also the victory of Frantz Fanon. The African freedom fighters' minds had been liberated from the entertained worries about the necessary use of revolutionary violence to liberate their countries.

The issue of the role of intellectuals has occupied a large place in the debates engaged by Fanon. In the liberation movement or during the post-colonial era, the intellectual has always been the concern of discussion. What did they bring to dominated societies? What has been their role in the revolutionary era? Fanon eloquently describes in his works what happened in Algeria and beyond. His prophetic words on the role of intellectuals can be read in the chapter entitled “The Pitfalls of National Consciousness”, in *The Wretched of the Earth*. His comments are based on the experiences of some newly independent West African countries and also on observations about the Algerian Revolution. He particularly criticizes the position of the European intelligentsia toward the Algerian liberation movement. For Fanon, the engaged and honest intellectual should serve the cause of the oppressed and the deprived. He argues that he should become a part of people's self-organization. Viewed as a forum for free expression, the intellectual has a militant role to play by bearing the matters of the people by speaking primarily a common language. Fanon asserts in *A Dying Colonialism*:

It was in the course of the struggle for liberation and thanks to the creation of a *Voice of Fighting Algeria* that the Algerian experienced and concretely discovered the existence of voices other than the voice of the dominator which formerly had been immeasurably amplified because of his own silence.

[...]The nation's speech, the nation's spoken words shape the world while at the same time renewing it. [...] *The Voice of Fighting Algeria* has multiplied. From Tunis, from Damascus, from Cairo, from Rabat, programs are broadcast to the people. The programs are organized by Algerians (1965:95)

The anti-colonial intellectual has to cut his relationship with the colonial education and must “decolonize the mind” so as to become revolutionary. Yet, Fanon warns the intellectuals from becoming mere opportunists by avoiding criticism of the actions of the masses. He states: “To educate the masses politically is to make the totality of the nation a reality of each citizen; it is to make the history of the nation part of the personal experience of each of its citizens” (Fanon, 1990:161). The work of the intellectual then is to be in the service of the people, encourage the self-expression, and make it possible for the people to speak and think. He forcefully suggests to these intellectual-activists to “shake off the heavy darkness in which we were plunged, and leave it behind” (Ibid. P.251). The functional intellectuals who legitimate the imposed colonial values upon their society have to take another pathway and turn to critical and oppositional intellectuals who have to oppose the existing order. If Fanon has not succeeded to cure the European left from its Eurocentrist position, he reiterates his call to his “comrades” to “change [their] ways”. He writes: “Leave this Europe where they are never done talking of Man, yet murder men everywhere they find them, at the corners of the globe. For centuries, they have stifled almost the whole of humanity in the name of a so-called spiritual experience” (P.251).

The decolonization of the intellectuals’ minds can be achieved through their immersion in the culture and philosophy of their people. Fanon’s quest for a “starting a new history of Man” (P.254) in the Third World can turn to reality if the racially colonized intellectuals plunge themselves into the depths of their indigenous thought, identity, values and traditions. His optimism that the revolutionary intellectual-activists would pave the way of a better future for the wretched of the earth is confronted to

the reality of the national bourgeoisies in Africa and the former colonies which worked to replace the colonial force.

Conclusion

In the course of the preceding last part within its two chapters, I turned my attention back to the aspects of performance in Paine's and Fanon's texts and explored the ways in which the two thinkers promote the idea of democracy where people regulate themselves and their states without demagoguery. They urge people to take their lives into their hands and create their own fate out of it rather than merely bearing it. Between what Paine and Fanon wrote, there are many convergences. First, both shared an unparalleled advocacy of the universal democratic principles of self-determination and freedom. Second, their thought is dedicated to reason, and their names are linked to two cardinal principles of modern political life: democracy and internationalism. Their representation of the community as a whole and the notion of the "new man" with a revolutionary style help them forecast a new community that would become a model for the rest of the world. Their language performance shares a similar political passion, the same existential anguish, and a comparable theoretical dynamism and inventiveness. Paine's and Fanon's projects are carried out with considerable participation by people. When the process is thoroughly conducted, the individual participants' sense of selfhood enlarges as the objectives of the group coincide with the most democratic tradition in the political culture. Paine and Fanon delineate three spheres in which the colonized people stand in relation to their colonizer: the political, the economic, and the social. Political colonialism for both authors refers to everything from the way the colonizer's power directly controlled the political choices of the colonized to the way it indirectly maintained control. Second, the colonized community is exploited as a source of

cheap labor and a captive market for overpriced goods. Finally, the colonized were consigned to a permanently low social status and suffered individual and collective loss of self-esteem, identity and respect. Thus, Paine and Fanon called for the end of the imperialist and colonialist ideologies through revolution “from below” in order to promote radical change. The tearing down of the colonial regimes should be accompanied by a process to sort out with better new principles. For both, the obliteration of tyranny should allow the emergence of a “new man” and political, economic, social structures, and democratic governments, which can be achieved by a political education and people participating in decision making. In this process, elections remain of particular importance to create a balance between the different parts of the government while political leaders should be responsible for the community’s well-being.

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General Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to synthesize the multifaceted aspects of Paine's and Fanon's texts and actions by drawing parallels and contrasting the two thinkers' thoughts. By analyzing their texts from a dialogic and eclectic approach, I have reached the conclusion that their socio-political and cultural differences did not prevent their way of thinking, their engagements and actions to converge in many aspects. The reached findings can be summarized in the subsequent lines. The first part devoted to the historical context in which Paine and Fanon produced their texts revealed that the two authors were bound to the political, social, and cultural milieus in which they grew up. The Enlightenment period with its revolutionary context shaped the dissent thoughts of Paine and his texts can be linked with the revaluations of political, social and religious established conventions. The same holds true for Fanon, who witnessed the crucial period from the 1940s to the 1960s with the emergence of conflicting events and ideologies concerning Liberal Bourgeois Capitalism, Socialism, the nature of colonialism and the ways to end with its oppression and economic exploitation. Fanon articulated with passion his critique of colonialism, neo-colonialism and capitalism and his views veer more and more to the masses; he suggested a third path of revolutionary action and political consciousness to underdeveloped countries as an alternative between capitalism and socialism, to secure their future.

Paine dedicated his life to the cause of America and Fanon to the Algerian struggle for independence, which passed nearly through the same phases to gain their independence. The effort to get rid of foreign oppression started in both countries with revolutions initiated by intellectuals, militant nationalism through rebellion and guerrilla warfare followed to gain independence. Paine's and Fanon's texts can be read as the best description of what French and British colonial tyranny

were really like and their insistence on the total reversal of colonial system. If Paine endeavored to see the end of the British oppression in America, Fanon for his part, longed for the end of the colonial racism and oppression while warning against nationalism as a petit-bourgeois ideology espoused by those who intend to step into the colonial structure instead of turning it upside down.

The second part established parallels between Paine's and Fanon's lives and careers in relation to the political, social, cultural environment, and their times. It has been noted that the personal motivations, which shaped their radical thought and vision of man, meet too. The convergences stem from their first hand experience of colonial domination, which led to their inevitable involvement in the causes of their adoptive countries that comes to sight in their books, essays, and articles. The two authors' philosophical influences and their impacts on their thinking are also compared and contrasted. The Enlightenment humanist values of freedom, justice, and equality form the basis of Paine's texts. The same values are used by Fanon throughout his works to counteract the lies of the imperialist propaganda of the Western Enlightenment. He denounces the way colonialism has robbed the Black and the colonized off their souls and their beings. Thus, the fight against the colonial system was really a struggle to regain true selfhood. His commitment in theory and action against colonialist domination is also an expression of his faith in the universal principles of the rights of Man that were the Enlightenment's true "Raison d'être". His works can be interpreted as affirmations of his belief in the revolutionary potential of the dispossessed peasants in Algeria, Africa, and the world at large to overthrow the colonial and the neo-colonial rules and create societies based on freedom, justice, and equality.

It has also been pointed through the study of Paine's *The Age Reason* and

Fanon's *Towards the African Revolution* that the two authors were not partisan militants and did not take their interests into account. They, instead, extended their loyalty to the ideas in which they believed, not to the apparatuses; both defended what they saw right and just and refused not to serve specific interests. They are faithful not to individuals, but to principles. They do not believe in an immutable identity of the person that would remain insensitive to circumstances; they rather proclaim the same ideals, particularly the defense of oppressed individuals. Their stances appear as valuable as a political philosophy to which they remained faithful in theory and action.

More importantly, Paine's and Fanon's assertions are wrapped in ringing phrases that their texts display. The two authors are nurtured in revolutionary ideologies and fought for the cause of Man with a globalist dimension. The two authors believed that action has to be carried out beyond the borders of states to eliminate evils, such as colonialism and tyranny. They argued that the sacrifices would be rewarded in different ways; the revolution would not only benefit one's own society, but would ultimately benefit all mankind. Paine called for the overthrow of the French and English monarchies; he argued that the inhabitants of a monarchical country are often intellectually degenerate and democratic revolution would free mankind from these corrupting influences and man's reason would emerge quickly to transform the world. Writing from a different context, Fanon urged African nations in particular, and colonized countries in general to react against colonialism and neo-colonialism in their various aspects. He denounced the colonial hegemony as well as the neutrality of African countries and their subordination to the great powers. These countries, according to Fanon, should take position to end with the different forms of subjugation.

The two thinkers' choices of words as rhetoric strategies aim to motivate their audience to react and their terminology is pedagogical and progressive for their times; they denounced slavery, colonialism, religious intolerance, inequality, and poverty; they spoke out in favor of the rule of the people and of a reason and believed that the creation of democratic political orders would produce universal and long lasting peace. Their devotion to the liberation of man remains universal. Paine's and Fanon's universality and the significance of their works are then undeniable.

More significantly, the convergences between Paine's and Fanon's texts are revealed through the way they "deconstruct" political and religious "Habitus". The particular attention paid to Paine's *Crisis Papers* and Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism* has shown that the resemblance of the two essays range from their common call for the end of colonial oppression to the two authors' use of defence mechanisms to end it. They managed to combine political and philosophical ideas. For instance, the American Revolution was not merely the successful war for political separation from Britain, but it was also the achievement of Paine, who defended the new American nation that should rest upon new foundations. These would establish then a new political and social system based on republican principles and a representative democracy.

By using religion, his essays demonstrate that he was more than a political commentator and social critic, though he was not a trained philosopher with a university education. Paine strove for the establishment of a continental American unity while Fanon dreamt of the unity of the African continent, that is a federation of African countries and also warned against corruption, with the implications of what might be called neo-colonialism. Fanon's essays are labeled as the clarion call for the

liberation of Algeria from the French tyranny. His repulsion of colonialism, a form of material and moral violence, has to be confronted with defence mechanisms that can be achieved through the colonized acts of commitment and solidarity. Fanon views resistance to imperialism as a global mission as well as an individual and collective task. His eloquent and inspiring words have been acknowledged by the leaders of the Algerian Revolution.

The third part underlined the “theatricality” of Paine’s and Fanon’s texts in restaging the lived experience of the American, Black, and Algerian man in the context of racism and colonialism which brings to the surface the absurd drama of the racialized and colonized, caught in a self implicating performance from which there is no escape other than action. They describe how the colonizer and the colonized are caught up, in Victor Turner’s words, in a kind of “crisis stage” and social drama that fixes its actors through colonial control while preventing the possibility of any resolution. Paine’s *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man* have been studied as productive spaces of performance plays based on the complexities of his real life experience, reflecting the theatricality of society and making open its conventions. Likewise Fanon’s *Black Skin, White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth* restage a social drama focusing on scenarios of the colonial relation, which performs the self (the colonizer) by negating (the black and colonized) other. Such negation causes his depersonalization and dehumanization. Therefore, Fanon appeals to what Judith Butler calls an “excitable speech” as an interpellation to Western consciousness. He creates a meta-theatre to interrogate discourses on race and dismantle the colonial discourse. His texts are constructed in a form of scene, theatrical sketches, and dialogues, which are characterized by visual and auditory aspects. Fanon’s social

drama demonstrates how the colonial pathologies are repetitive throughout history, not just in terms of individual persons, but also within social groups.

Moreover, another affinity between the two authors finds its expression in their shift from their ideological instances to their roles as intellectuals towards their societies through political action by their direct involvements in the public sphere and social debates. With reference to Jürgen Habermas's notions of communicative action and public sphere, an outline of the two authors' use of language as a critical discourse is traced by comparing and contrasting the English, American, and French polities of the eighteenth-century to Fanon's involvement in political and social debates throughout the 1950s. Essential to Paine's project is a "political model of government", which fosters public criticism of the state, creates direct relationships with people, and develops easily reached knowledge; governance by the people stands as the central principle to a liberal peaceful world order.

Writing from a different time and context, Fanon provides different interpretations of public concert, criticism, and social relations in his attempts to link his philosophy of revolutionary change within the colonial and colonized societies with regards to Algeria of the 1950s. Paine and Fanon share the same vision of man and liberty as the only form of social order which is based on human equality. As a product of Enlightenment, Paine advocates the principle of independence and attacks the past of Europe and the centuries of corruption that had come to restrict Europeans' freedom. The aim of revolution, as Paine saw it, was to wipe away the mark of the past and to found through the rational sense of man, a completely new society in which the rights to life, liberty and equality were essential to man's existence. He sought to guarantee the security of these rights by means of a representative republican government with a written Constitution in which democratic

participation was encouraged to ensure minimum governmental interference with man's basic rights. His consensus was drawn from the world of reason and experience that he hoped would take shape in a written Constitution that would come to serve all men.

Fanon for his part maintains that the project of Enlightenment remains unfulfilled. The loss of freedom caused by European racism and colonialism can be read throughout the pages of all his works. The consensus for him is to dissolve the inferiority complex and break up the alienation of the colonized, which he views as a loss of beliefs and values. His revisionist project develops an end of alienation both at the level of the spirit, and at the level of the socio-political condition. Fanon was influenced by socialist ideas as an alternative to European Bourgeois liberalism. Therefore, he usually proclaimed African nationalism as 'a liberating force' and urged the African countries to take position vis-à-vis the different events and considered neutrality as awkwardness. Hence, his involvement in the debates of his time urges to dismantle the colonial system and discourse of who belonged in the public sphere and how they ought to act within it.

Paine's and Fanon's desire for recognition led them to struggle against the imposition of hierarchies and domination. Their commitment to democratic politics compelled them to struggle aside the colonized people calling for free and productive actions through revolution. Their new humanist views call for a cultural regeneration, with self-determination and self-creation as its basis, to fight oppressive ideologies in order to establish positive political and social practices to awaken, to free and engage with change for Man and humanity as a whole.

Paine and Fanon expressed their protest against it in a straightforward way by using rhetorical strategies a harsh critique towards those who fail to end their

conflicts and free themselves from colonialism. Political independence, for both, is not sufficient but must be followed by economic and cultural liberation to improve the lives of the poor and alleviate their misery. They very often reiterate that no country can consider itself politically independent as long as its economy and culture are dominated by foreign interests; they view the revolutionary artisans and peasantry as the main agents for social change. The fight against alienation in every human register is continuous. The liberation of the minds is questioned because repression dominates the world. Paine's and Fanon's achievements can be read as a permanent search to develop new forms of ideological and social transformation in today's world. It is important to understand Paine's and Fanon's passionate commitment to "a true humanity".

Their vision of man opposes not only European humanism, which legitimates ideology of racism and colonialism, but also all political orders, based on domination and hegemonic rule. Their anti-colonial and humanist project with its tendency towards democratic politics, stresses the idea of humanism which includes all humanity. Paine's and Fanon's ideas and ideals remain still important in today's era of globalization. After the end of colonialism, several postcolonial countries are engulfed in new forms of domination by "one world of global finance". There are possibly some of Paine's and Fanon's critical reflections which still possess historical resonance in the present age. First, the distinction between national consciousness and nationalism; the revolutionary role of intellectuals in intervening on behalf of the dispossessed in civil society, and the positive role of political leadership in enhancing the democratic participation of the masses in postcolonial societies still matter today.

As nonconformist thinkers, they did not remain indifferent to the fate of the world. Their engagement was crowned with success, even if, since the time of their

death, many scholars have forgotten Paine's and Fanon's many merits. Democracy for all is the direct heir of the ideal that they defended. Despite their total engagement to the national question and their entire dedication to the cause of decolonization, they neither expressed a passion for violence nor pushed revolution to the point of terror. Both imagined a world that would allow its citizens to find a place that may contain their future. Their present was "seldom" free and because there is of necessity a utopian element in freedom, a moment of deferral in its experience which calls for belief and hope. Paine's and Fanon's language conveys evolving proto-democratic standards of social recognition and interaction between individual and the public at large. Paine manifests his personal engagement in the public sphere by affirming a collective sense of purpose in the Democratic Republican society, and the American and French revolutions fostered his ambition. His activities are indicative of a larger transformation underway in the early American republic, with his imagery and language steeped in revolutionary optimism.

Paine and Fanon, by exposing their sentiments and intentions, hoped to gain their audience's trust and engage in a political dialogue. Humanism, which differs from the European definition, animates their practices and inspires their choices that inflict social misery, depravation, suffering and death. Their ways of thinking fit into a particular frame of mind and the basic modern issues of the modern struggles for social transformation, which still remain on the agenda.

The contemporariness of these two intellectuals and the relevance of their ideas are important in today's discourse on humanity. Paine's and Fanon's critical thought in creating a "revolutionary culture" can help create scholarship that is genuinely emancipatory. It may restore the unity between human curiosity, discovery and celebration of free thought. When one looks back at Paine's and Fanon's ideas,

he is struck by the urgency in the approach of such thinkers in their day to the social change, the effects their writings had on their times, and what they may teach nowadays. Their values based on solidarity, interdependency, shared liability can contribute to the spread of a political philosophy of progress, reform, and the protection of civil liberties. It is the desire for freedom of colonized people to live with dignity and self respect that animated Paine's and Fanon's lives. Their universality means taking a risk in order to go beyond the easy certainties provided by a specific background, language, nationality, which so often, shield from the reality of others. It also means looking for and trying to uphold a single standard for human behavior in terms of foreign and social policy, which made these life-loving and more independently minded intellectuals into history makers.

In line with what I have attempted to demonstrate in this thesis, it is my hope that despite its insufficiencies, limitations, and incompleteness of grasp, it has succeeded in constituting a significant attempt to think that Paine and Fanon as agents who worked to bring something specific to their communities that prize the individual's capacity to do well. As dissent intellectuals, they actively took part in building a political life and shaping a better world. Both reflected the problems of the societies with loyalty and skill and teach their readers enduring lessons about human dignity and courage. When read closely, they can enrich our consciousness considerably because they help create and foster man's living conditions. I hope thereby to have thrown a fresh light onto Paine's and Fanon's ideas in their historical and social perspectives, and most importantly, outside of the context of advocating violence.

Selected Bibliography

A) BOOKS:

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Résumé

La présente thèse revisite les œuvres de deux éminents intellectuels, Thomas Paine et Frantz Fanon d'une perspective dialogique et éclectique. L'objectif est de mener une comparaison et de contraster leurs pensées, leurs sentiments et leur action au sein des structures sociales et politiques de leurs époques. Cette étude comparative tente de traduire la résonance philosophique, politique, sociale et culturelle de leurs œuvres. Leur performance des questions d'éthique et de vie morale dans une démarche qui œuvre à présenter leur engagement dans l'action révolutionnaire au service de la cause humaine est la principale conclusion. Paine, acteur et défenseur de la Révolution américaine et française, reproduit les principes du Siècle des Lumières dans la sphère de la politique internationale. Sa contribution à l'instauration de régimes républicains qui sauvegardent les droits individuels est, dans ce sens, emblématique. A l'image de Paine, Fanon a voué sa courte vie à la cause de la Révolution algérienne et a insisté sur les droits individuels dans une dimension universelle, relevant les injustices imposées par le système libéral et bourgeois et colonialiste du 20^{ème} siècle. Il a fait siennes quelques valeurs humanistes du 18^{ème} siècle, défendues par Paine, mais sous une vision critique, dont le discours remet en question les éléments essentiels du Siècle des Lumières, pervertis par l'Europe. La thèse est scindée en trois parties, chacune composée de deux chapitres. La première présente les théories et les concepts fondamentaux qui sont appliqués pour l'analyse des textes et le contexte historique de la colonisation britannique et française, deux puissances impériales, dont la compétition pour l'expansion territoriale et l'exploitation ont donné naissance à la Révolution américaine et algérienne. La deuxième partie est consacrée à la rhétorique utilisée par Paine et Fanon comme stratégie de «déconstruction» de l'«habitus» politique et religieux autour du combat des peuples américain et algérien. La dernière partie traite de la manière Paine et Fanon mettent en relief les drames sociaux des «damnés» et des victimes de l'oppression coloniale à travers l'action communicative et leur participation à la sphère publique.

ملخص:

تمثل هذه الأطروحة نظرة جديدة في أعمال كل من توماس باين وفرانتز فانون بصفتهم مثقفين بارزين من منظور حوارى وانتقائى. وهي تسعى إلى مقارنة ومقابلة أفكارهما ومشاعرهما ونشاطهما في الهياكل الاجتماعية والسياسية في العصر الذي عاشا فيه. تحاول هذه الدراسة المقارنة ترجمة الصدى الفلسفي، والسياسي والاجتماعي والثقافي لأعمالهما. والحجة الأساسية هي دراسة أدائهم في المسائل الأخلاقية والخلقية من أجل تقديم مساهمتهم في العمل الثوري لخدمة الانسانية. ويعدّ باين، عنصرا فاعلا ومدافعا عن الثورة الأميركية والثورة الفرنسية، فهو يمثل مبادئ عصره في مجال السياسة الدولية إذ ساهم في تأسيس الأنظمة الجمهورية التي تحمي الحقوق الفردية. يمثل فانون صورة عن باين، فهو الذي كرّس حياته القصيرة لقضية الثورة الجزائرية، وأكد على الحقوق الفردية في البعد العالمي، وبين المظالم التي فرضها النظام البرجوازي الليبرالي في القرن العشرين. وأيد بعض القيم الانسانية للقرن الثامن عشر والتي دافع عنها باين، ولكن برؤية نقدية. وينقسم البحث إلى ثلاثة أجزاء، كل منها يتكون من فصلين. يعرض الجزء الأول نظريات ومفاهيم أساسية لتحليل النصوص والسياق التاريخي للاستعمار البريطاني والفرنسي، وهما من القوى الإمبريالية، إذ أن التنافس على التوسع الإقليمي والاستغلال أدى إلى ظهور الثورة الأمريكية والجزائرية. ويخصص الجزء الثاني للبلاغة التي استخدمها باين وفانون كاستراتيجية لـ"التفكيكية" الواقع السياسي والديني في كفاح شعوب أمريكا والجزائر. ويتناول الجزء الأخير تسليط الضوء على الأعمال الدرامية الاجتماعية لـ "البؤساء" وضحايا القمع الاستعماري من خلال الفعل التواصلية والمشاركة في الحياة العامة.

Résumé :

La présente thèse revisite les œuvres de deux intellectuels, Thomas Paine et Frantz Fanon. L'objectif est de comparer leurs pensées et leurs engagements dans la Révolution Américaine et la Révolution Algérienne, respectivement. A travers leurs actions et écrits, ils défendent les drames sociaux causés par le colonialisme.

ملخص:

هذه الأطروحة تسعى إلى مقارنة أعمال وأفكار توماس باين وفرنتز فانون. هذه الدراسة تحاول ترجمة صدامهم الفلسفي والفكري ومساهماتهم على التوالي في الثورة الأمريكية والثورة الجزائرية. دافعوا عبر أعمالهم عن ضحايا القمع الاستعماري. تناولت هذه الدراسة المسائل الأخلاقية والخلقية من أجل تقديم مساهماتهم في العمل الثوري لخدمة الإنسانية.