

Frantz Fanon and Colonialism: A Psychology of Oppression

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Abstract

The French psychiatrist Frantz Fanon was a prominent psychological analyst of oppression during the 20th century, focusing his work predominantly on the oppression of the black Antillean as well as the Arab of Algeria. This article asserts the congruence of the psychological effects of French and U.S. colonialism, thus providing a cogent route to the application of Fanon's theories. This article provides a brevilouquent biography of Fanon's life to afford insight to the development of his theories, and furnishes a review of his relevant literature. In an attempt to unveil the guises of oppression endured by the Native American, an historical account of distinctive illustrations of Native American oppression is conjointly incorporated. Based on Fanon's theories, the etiology of several mental illnesses present in the modern Native American population is suggested to be unresolved grief from oppression

Keywords: Colonialism, Frantz Fanon, Oppression, Native American, United States

“Colonialism only loosens its hold when the knife is at its throat.”
-Frantz Fanon, *Les Damnés de la Terre* (1961, p. 23)

Grasping the knife at the merciless throat of colonialism is the sole intent of this discourse. Before beginning, it is pertinent to the reader that two terms be defined in order to aid and enhance understanding: colonization and oppression. Colonization is, quite simply, the establishment and maintenance of a colony in a specific region. Colonization can occur with or without the presence of indigenous people. When a mass of people invades and colonizes a region fostering an indigenous population, oppression is often a resulting factor. Oppression, the exercise of authority in a cruel or unjust manner, can precipitate many powerful and negative effects on the psyche of the colonized individual. These detrimental effects on the psyche (as a result of oppression from colonization) have influenced many works in the field of psychology, most notably those of the French psychiatrist Frantz Fanon.

Frantz Fanon was a literary scholar, author, philosopher, Marxist, psychiatrist, and member of the Front de Libération National (FLN) during the Algerian revolution. Reacting to the horrors of oppression he witnessed both as a child and as a young adult, Fanon devoted his life to helping oppressed individuals, and became the world's foremost authority on oppression related to colonization. Working as a psychiatrist in the heart of Algeria during the Algerian Revolution, Fanon treated many patients suffering from what he believed to be oppression-related mental illness; as a result, he authored four literary works which center around a Manichean psychological framework deployed to deconstruct the horrors of colonial oppression: *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* (*Black Skin, White Masks*, 1952), *Les Damnés de la Terre* (*The Wretched of the Earth*, 1961), *L'An Cinq, de la Révolution Algérienne* (1959) which was later republished under the title “*Studies in a Dying Colonialism*,” and *Pour La Révolution Africaine* (*Toward the African Revolution*, 1964). Aside from articles published in French journals such as *L'Esprit* and the “underground” FLN newspaper *El Moudjahid*, these four books are the extent of Fanon's published work.

Fanon's published works and commitment to the FLN suggest he possessed an enormous amount of empathy and concern for the oppressed and colonized people of the world. Fanon's work acutely describes the psyche of colonized people, in terms of their thought process and psychological health. His approach, though primarily applied to those colonized by the European powers in North Africa, offers both a productive method of explaining French colonialism in Algeria from 1830-1962, as well as provides insight to the psychology of colonialism as a whole. Fanon's work provides discernment to the psyche of oppressed societies around the world, and offers specific social actions for their social redemption.

In much of his work Fanon used the concept of Manichean psychology to describe the roots of oppression in Algeria. This Manichean psychological analysis can be generalized to understand the oppression of the indigenous Native American Indian. While the intentions of the European colonization of North Africa, the Antilles, and North America may have been dissimilar, the psychological effects are notably congruent. The horrific circumstances endured by Native American Indians have been alarmingly silenced; although Fanon's work briefly mentions Native American oppression in North America, the situation remains highly unvoiced. The Native American people began experiencing oppression as a result of colonization, similar to that of the Algerians, in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. This oppression began over 500 years ago and its malevolent face remains visible today. Through the historical and systematic attempt to destroy the Native American people and assimilate them to the "Euro-white culture," European colonialism, and the United States in particular, has caused serious detrimental effects on the Native American psyche. It is imperative that these effects of colonialism are understood and overturned for the benefit and well-being of the Native American people. Fanon's theories and analysis provide an effective avenue for deconstructing the horrors and trauma of Native American oppression. As studies proliferate depicting the immense prevalence of mental illness, poverty, and population decline of the Native American population, the effects of colonialism and oppression in North America are becoming more evident.

The Life of Fanon

Martinique, France

Frantz Fanon was born 20 July 1925 in Fort-de-France, the capitol city of Martinique. Martinique is an overseas region of the French Republic located in the eastern Caribbean Sea. The two islands nearest Martinique are St. Lucia and Dominica, to the south and northwest, respectively. Martinique became an overseas region of the French Republic in 1635, and its citizens have full French citizenship. David Macey (2000) describes a notable social class division in Martinique: the rich, or *békés* (similar to Karl Marx's idea of the bourgeoisie), and the working class.

The official language of Martinique is French, although Creole is the native language of the region. Creole is a mixture of French and many other African and European languages, primarily spoken by traders and merchants of the eastern Caribbean. Creole was originally developed in an effort to allow white masters to communicate with black slaves on plantations. The use of Creole can at times create a feeling of Martiniquan identity within the native working class (Macey, 2000). During Frantz Fanon's school-age years he was discouraged from speaking Creole in school because it was seen as "uneducated" and deriving from a lower socioeconomic status. This transformation of language from Creole to French in Martinique would later be discussed by Fanon in his work *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs*, where he explains, "To speak means...above all to assume a culture" (Fanon, 1952, pp. 1-2).

The Martinique capitol where Fanon was born, Fort-de-France, was neither a scenic nor modern town. Waste was dumped into open drains and rivers, which served as a breeding ground for rats and land crabs. A proper sewage system was not developed in Fort-de-France until 1951 (Macey, 2000). Harsh rural poverty and diseases such as tuberculosis, leprosy, malaria, and elephantiasis were present in Fort-de-France during much of Fanon's childhood, lingering through the 1950s (Macey, 2000). Aimé Césaire (1994), the Martiniquan poet, author, and politician, gives this unappealing description of Fort-de-France in his poem *Cahier d'un Retour au Pays Natal*:

This flat town – sprawling, tripped from its right direction, inert, breathless under the geometric burden of a cross that is constantly being reborn, rebellious against its destiny, frustrated in every way, incapable of growing along with the sap of this soil, ill at ease, clipped, diminished, at odds with its fauna and flora. (p. 10)

Fanon's childhood, however, was not directly affected by this presence of disease, infestation, and poverty, despite the fact that he was born into a family of eight children.

Early Life

Frantz Fanon was raised by a somewhat prosperous middle-class family which received dual-income from a shop-owning mother and a father who worked as a customs inspector. Frantz's father, Casimir, spent much of his time at work and was not as heavily involved in the upbringing of the children as was his mother Eléanore (Bulhan, 1985; Macey, 2000). For many years Fanon carried a harsh resentment against his father for not being more intimately involved in his and his siblings' lives. This resentment can be seen through an excerpt of a letter Fanon wrote to his father while serving in the French Army during World War II (Fanon, 1982):

...If we, your eight children, have become something, it's Mama alone who must be given the glory...I can see the expression you'll make in reading these lines, but it's the truth. Look at yourself, look at all the years gone by; bare your soul and have the courage to say, "I deserted them." (p. 10)

Casimir and Eléonor had eight children together: Mireille, Félix, Gabrielle, Joby, Marie-Flore, Marie-Rose, Willie, and Frantz. It was typical of the Fanon household to have large lunch and dinner gatherings where 12 to 15 members of the extended family were present. Of the numerous members in the Fanon's nuclear and extended family, Frantz was closest to his older brother Joby. Joby was two years Frantz's senior; the two shared a bed, the same friends, and played sports together. Despite close relationships such as Frantz and Joby's, overt displays of affection were quite uncommon in the Fanon household (Macey, 2000).

As Fanon finished primary school and reached his teens he began dismissing sports, clubs, and friends to spend his time reading in Fort-de-France's local library. Fanon spent hours in the library studying various subjects, and he found a particular interest in classical French literature and philosophy (Macey, 2000). In 1939, at the start of the Second World War, Fanon began his secondary schooling at the Lycée Schoelcher in Fort-de-France (Macey, 2000). Fanon's ability to enroll in this school provides insight to his family's socioeconomic status at the time. The tuition was substantial enough that only 4% of blacks in Martinique could afford to send their children to the Lycée (Bulhan, 1985).

During Fanon's first year at the Lycée Schoelcher, schools in Fort-de-France closed in preparation for raids (as a result of the outbreak of World War II). Eléonor sent Frantz and his brother Joby to a secondary school at Le François, where their uncle Eduard was a professor (Macey, 2000). Le François posed few distractions for Fanon, as suggested by his good academic standing (Macey, 2000). Soon after Frantz and Joby returned from Le François, the Battle of France erupted in Europe, ending with France's surrender in June of 1940. Shortly after the surrender, Martinique was blockaded and occupied by Vichy French forces. Leaving Martinique was strictly prohibited. It was at this time that Fanon and his colleagues first experienced overt displays of racism from the Vichy French forces (Macey, 2000).

Fanon and the Military

After France surrendered, Fanon began to take interest in the war and wanted to be "in the heart of the problem" (Macey, 2000, p. 88). Fanon, along with many other Martiniquans, discreetly fled Martinique to join forces with the Free French on the island of Dominica. Fanon's first attempt at battle ended quickly, as the Vichy regime discontinued the usage of Martinique as an outpost. Fanon returned home to Martinique after only six months (Bulhan, 1985).

In July of 1943, the Free French destroyer *Terrible* docked in Fort-de-France. The soldiers aboard decided to gather a unit of volunteers from Fort-de-France to fight alongside the Free French and the Allied forces. The new unit included Fanon and others who had previously made the triumphant escape to Dominica (Macey, 2000). At this point Fanon and the other Martiniquan volunteers became members of the 5^{ème} Bataillon de Marche des Antilles (5BMA). The following March, Fanon departed on the *Oregon* headed to Morocco (Macey, 2000). Fourteen days later the *Oregon* reached Casablanca, Morocco, where Fanon's battalion was transferred to a basic training camp near Meknes.

Fanon and the 5BMA remained in basic training until July 1944, after which the unit was transferred east to Algeria. Having been raised in French schooling, most French citizens believed France "had a civilizing mission" there (Macey, 2000, p. 94). After arrival in Oran, Fanon and his Martiniquan battalion acquired their first glimpse at the sickening state of affairs endured by the citizens of Algeria. The situation Fanon and his battalion were introduced to was characterized by wartime rationing, famine zones, and ragged children fighting over scraps of food (Macey, 2000). Soon after Fanon's battalion settled down in Algeria, they shipped off on an American transport across the Mediterranean Sea to France.

During his time in France, Fanon fought in many battles. In November, he was hit by a piece of shrapnel from a mortar round and received a serious chest wound. He was awarded the Croix de Guerre with a bronze star for his distinguished conduct in the battle. Fanon was immediately transported to a hospital in Nantua, where he recovered rather quickly (Macey, 2000). After his recovery, Fanon rejoined his regiment and began night patrols on the banks of the Rhine. In 1945 the war ended, and Fanon was sent to a port on the Seine estuary in Rouen to stay for a few months until he was shipped back to Martinique (Macey, 2000).

Fanon and the rest of his regiment returned to Martinique in October of 1945. Shortly after his return, Fanon decided it was time to enroll once more in the Lycée Schoelcher to finish his secondary schooling. After consummation of the school's oral examination, Fanon was awarded his baccalauréat, fulfilling the prerequisite requirement he needed to attend a university.

Collegiate Education

With the help of legislation providing veterans free tuition at a university of their choosing, Fanon made the decision to enroll in dental school. Fanon left Martinique in 1946 for the School of Dentistry in Paris, France. After a few weeks at the school, Fanon concluded dentistry was not for him, and he opted to study medicine in Lyon (Geismar, 1971). He attended preliminary courses in biology and chemistry before the commencement of his

medical schooling. While in medical school, Fanon met his first relationship partner, a younger white medical student named Michelle. In 1948 Michelle gave birth to Fanon's first daughter, Mireille. Fanon did not marry Michelle after Mireille was born, having met another woman, Josie, whom he would marry in 1952 (Macey, 2000).

During the course of his studies, Fanon became interested in psychiatry. Fanon independently pursued this new passion, as the university he was attending was considered a "psychiatric desert" at the time (Macey, 2000, p. 135). The majority of the psychological references later used in *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* were a result of Fanon's wide range of alternative reading, not of his medical school's offerings. In addition, there were no psychoanalysts in Lyon at this time; therefore, it was nearly impossible for Fanon to receive training in psychoanalysis (Macey, 2000). In 1951 Fanon defended his medical thesis, returning home to Fort-de-France shortly thereafter.

Early Career

Once home in Martinique, Fanon began medical practice. He soon realized that "the essential problems facing Martiniquans were political and economic" (Bulhan, 1985, p. 208). The vast majority of the patients Fanon treated during this period were suffering from maladies for which the primary causes were malnutrition, poor sanitation, and shoddy public health practices (Bulhan, 1985).

In response to the constant flow of patients whose primary illnesses could not be treated by general medicine, Fanon's interest in psychology soared. During his time practicing medicine in Fort-de-France, Fanon published the article "The Lived Experience of the Black Man" in the French journal *Esprit*. This article, a description of the black man's psyche in a white man's world, was published as a chapter in his book *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* in 1952. Fanon soon realized that his practicing medicine in Martinique would not offer the Martiniquans any real benefit, and he left for France to specialize in psychiatry. In November of 1951 Fanon was admitted to the psychiatric residency program at the Hôpital de Saint Alban in Central France, under the supervision of Professor François Tosquelles.

While in his residency, Fanon conducted research with Tosquelles on electroconvulsive therapy (ECT). The pair presented three papers together at a professional conference on the topic, concluding that the use of ECT was one of "the ultimate remedies in chronic, desperate, complicated cases, where the posttherapeutic deficit would be a minor problem in the face of progressive mental deterioration of the patient" (Bulhan, 1985, p. 209). During this period, Fanon also independently published another article in the *Esprit* entitled "The North African Syndrome." In this article, Fanon discusses racism toward patients in the medical facilities of France and provides a description of the *North African Syndrome*, a psychosomatic syndrome he proposed was rooted in racism and oppression.

Blida, Algeria

After his two-year residency Fanon left Saint Alban on a quest to challenge the infamous *Le Médicat de Hôpitaux Psychiatrique*, a difficult examination that allowed a psychiatrist to become the *chef de service* of a major psychiatric institution (Bulhan, 1985). After successfully passing the exam in 1953 Fanon applied for the *chef de service* at Blida-Joinville Hospital in Blida, Algeria. This decision may have stemmed from Fanon's previous work with the North Africans who exhibited symptoms of the North African Syndrome, or perhaps as a result of the horrific sight of the starving children as he trolled the streets of Oran when he was in the Army. Fanon knew that there were "tears to be wiped away, inhuman attitudes to be fought, condescending ways of speech to be ruled out, and men to be humanized" (Fanon, 1964, p. 16). At this time Fanon was simply considered a humanist and had yet to consider the cleansing and liberating effects of revolutionary violence (an idea heavily supported in *Les Damnés de la Terre*) as a means to dry the tears of the Algerians (Macey, 2000). Regardless of Fanon's motivation, he received the position as the *chef de service* and began his work in Blida.

Upon arriving in Blida, Fanon received his first glimpse of what he would later describe as the compartmentalized, Manichaean world of colonialism, a notion that bolstered his many theories. Blida embodied both a well-laid-out European town, and a jumble of an Arab town referred to, as were all Arab quarters, as "nigger town" (Macey, 2000, p. 213). The Blida-Joinville hospital sits on the western edge of the Blida, distant from this Manichaean world, and provided Fanon and his family a house inside its quarters during his practice there. Throughout his time spent working at the hospital, Fanon witnessed medicine's role in oppression of the Algerians: doctors who were also owners of mills, vineyards, or orange groves, and behaved accordingly, and doctors who would commit acts of malpractice such as administering saline solution or distilled water to the Arabs, claiming it was penicillin or vitamin B (Macey, 2000).

Despite the other psychiatrists' careless attitude toward the patients at Blida-Joinville, Fanon exhibited the utmost concern for their well-being. While at the hospital, Fanon facilitated social and psychotherapy groups with his patients, the first this had ever been attempted in North Africa (Macey, 2000). He also took lessons in music in an attempt to better his music therapy, and lessons in Arabic to better understand, empathize, and relate to his patients (Macey, 2000). Fanon also conducted pharmacological research on the use of lithium citrate for the

treatment of acute mania and affective disorders during his time spent at Blida-Joinville (Macey, 2000). In 1954, shortly after Fanon's arrival in Blida, the first outbreak of an Algerian revolution presented itself.

Fanon and the Revolution

In April of 1955 a full state of emergency was declared against the FLN revolutionary guerillas. Fanon's heart swayed toward the cause of the FLN, and he began to hold meetings at the hospital with its members, explaining to them the nature of the disorders in which many of their members were suffering. During this time the hospital was seen as a safe haven, as wounded revolutionary fighters could move in and out of the clinic anonymously with little trouble (Macey, 2000). Although Fanon's participation in the FLN gradually became less covert throughout 1955, it was not until 1956 that Fanon spoke publicly about the war in Algeria (Macey, 2000).

As the Algerian Revolution progressed and moved toward the inner-city areas, Fanon's work at the hospital became increasingly more dangerous. Despite the ever-increasing danger, Fanon continued to see patients, a substantial number of which arrived with complaints of situational or reactive psychoses triggered by the experience of violence or torture (Macey, 2000). Fanon (1961) provides case notes from sessions with many of these patients in *Les Damnés de la Terre* (Macey, 2000). With the ever-growing violence and counter-violence between the FLN and the French Government, Fanon began to receive death threats from anonymous sources. Shortly after, Fanon submitted a letter of resignation to the hospital, and was expelled from Algeria, presumably due to his now overt connections with the FLN (Fanon, 1964). Fanon quickly fled Blida to Tunis, serving as his home until his death in 1961.

During his time spent in Tunis, Fanon traveled Europe and Africa serving as the international spokesman for the *El Moudjahid* and the FLN; he attended and spoke at various conferences in an attempt to promote the struggle for decolonization in Algeria (Macey, 2000). In 1959, Fanon published his second book, *L'An Cinq, de la Révolution Algérienne*. This work was published in the midst of the Algerians struggle for decolonization, and its contents provide a painstaking representation of Fanon's passion toward the unfolding revolution. Shortly after this publication, Fanon was diagnosed with leukemia (Macey, 2000).

After Fanon's initial diagnosis, and retests to ensure its validity, Fanon began Myleran treatment for leukemia. The Myleran treatment brought on a period of remission which provided Fanon with adequate time to complete his final piece, *Les Damnés de la Terre*, and meet with Jean-Paul Sartre who would compose the preface (Macey, 2000). Shortly thereafter, Fanon was hospitalized for his condition. In 1961 Fanon was transferred from Tunisia to Washington's National Health Institute in Bethesda, Maryland. Frantz Fanon passed away on 9 December 1961 with his wife and brothers by his side, leaving his legendary theories on the psychology of colonialism, racism, and oppression to reside in four revolutionary pieces of discourse.

Literary Work

Frantz Fanon's published work consists of a total of four disquisitions apart from articles in the *L'Esprit* and the FLN newspaper. His first book, *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs*, was published in 1952, followed by *L'An Cinq, de la Révolution Algérienne* in 1959. His third and possibly most prestigious literary work, *Les Damnés de la Terre*, was published shortly before his death in 1961. His fourth book, *Pour la Révolution Africaine*, was published in 1964, three years after his death.

It is in the pages of these books that Fanon's intriguing compassion for the oppressed comes to fruition. In each book Fanon discusses the psychological aspects of oppression through concepts such as racism, alienation, segregation, dehumanization, and psychopathology. In these writings, Fanon takes special consideration to express both the struggles in the psyche of the oppressed, as well as those of the oppressor.

***Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* (1952)**

Fanon published his first book in 1952 whilst in his psychiatric residency at the Hôpital de Saint Alban in Central France. This book stemmed partially from his article "The Lived Experience of the Black Man" which was published in *L'Esprit*, and later as the fifth chapter of his book *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs*. In this work Fanon focuses heavily on the root of what he calls an "inferiority complex," which he asserts is a massive psycho-existential complex derived from the "juxtaposition of the black and white races" (Fanon, 1952, p. xvi). Fanon believes this complex is derived from copious aspects of colonialism and fraternization of the races and, most notably, language or literary "propaganda." Fanon also proposes, in the latter portion of this work, a sexual *negrophobic* theory of white-to-black racism.

Adopting another culture's language, Fanon (1952) states, is "above all to assume a culture" (p. 2). In the presence of the oppressor, the colonized unavoidably assume that because their native language is so dissimilar from the new dominant population, they are intrinsically inferior. The native constantly compares and analyzes his ability to speak like the colonizer and dominant culture. Upon comparison, the native is in a state of high proclivity to

develop an inferiority complex, one that resides at the root of multiple psychosomatic consequences for the colonized individual. Fanon (1952) proclaims that the native Martiniquan individual learns at an early age to assume the language of the oppressor, for it is his only course to freedom and prosperity.

The black Antillean, Fanon's primary focus in this work, is a "prisoner on his island, lost in an atmosphere without the slightest prospect" and he "feels the call of Europe like a breath of fresh air" (Fanon, 1952, p. 5). These linguistically natured oppressive thoughts were driven so deeply in the minds of Martiniquans that they themselves looked down upon their own native brothers and sisters who could not speak proper French. Fanon (1952) explains that this inferiority complex drives the oppressed individual to "lock himself in his room and read for hours — desperately working on his *diction*" (p. 5).

In the chapter *The Black Man and Psychopathology*, Fanon (1952) discusses how fictional literature, comic books, and educational history books subtly disseminate the idea that the black man is one in the same with the white man who brings truth to the savages. In the teaching and reading of these works, the black child adopts the subjective attitude of the white man, and "invests in the hero, who is white" (Fanon, 1952, p. 126). This leads to a life of wishing to be like the colonizer, and an inferiority complex that increases on every occasion in which they are confronted with the fact that they are not (Fanon, 1952).

Fanon (1952) analyzes what is referred to as *negrophobia*, a phobia possessed by the white man that lies at the heart of his racism toward the blacks. Using a Freudian/Jungian-like analysis to explain this phobia, Fanon theorizes that its roots lay in the black savage's perceived sexual potency and superiority. In Fanon's opinion, the black man is viewed as a "penis symbol," one whose archetype is constructed by white fictitious notions such as "they're sexual beasts," and "God only knows how they must make love! It must be terrifying" (Fanon, 1952, pp. 135-136). The black man is no longer viewed as a man, but solely as a penis. In an attempt to discount these notions, Fanon (1952) presents data on a study from Dr. Palés, concluding that the average length of the African's penis is seldom greater than 120 millimeters (4.68 inches); he conjointly includes case notes from clients who worked as prostitutes that firmly discount the notion that sexual intercourse with black men is significantly better than intercourse with other races. Fanon explains that this racism is derived from the fear of the black's sexual potency and an unreal, perceived biological danger to the white man. This insightful piece by Fanon, composed early in his academic career, provides much of the basis for his theory describing the etiology of psychopathology in the oppressed.

L'An Cinq, de la Révolution Algérienne (1959)

L'An Cinq, de la Révolution Algérienne, later published under the title *A Dying Colonialism*, recounts the Arab culture in Algeria in the late 1950s, and the changes thereof which eventually made the Algerian revolution a success, burying French colonialism in the country and liberating the Algerians. This piece, written in the fifth year of the Algerian revolution, concentrates heavily on aspects of the Algerian/Arab culture such as the *haïk*, the *Voice of Free Algeria*, the Algerian family system, and medicine's role in the oppressive French system.

One of the most fascinating portions of this work, the chapter *Algeria Unveiled*, discusses the adaption in usage of a fundamental piece of the Arab culture, the *haïk*. *Haïk* is the Arab term for the veil worn by Arab women, covering the entire body and face (Fanon, 1959). Fanon stresses the immense value the Arabs place on adhering to cultural traditions, and describes the first attempt by the French at "cultural destruction": shaming the use of the veil in an attempt to gain the "hearts" of the Algerian women. Believing that by first gaining control over the Algerian woman, "the pivot" of Algerian society, they would, in turn, achieve complete endorsement of the natives. With this plan in mind the French turned their full attention to the veil. Fanon (1959) articulates the malicious nature of this attack stating, "What is in fact the assertion of a distinct identity, concern with keeping intact a few shreds of national existence, is attributed to religious, magical, fanatical behavior" (p. 41). This cultural struggle was not limited solely to the Algerian female, as the Algerian male often encountered contemptuous attitudes for failing to encourage their wives to become "saved" by removing the veil.

The French attempt at assuming control over the mind of the Algerian woman was but part of the role the veil played in the struggle for liberation. As the revolution progressed, the native FLN revolutionaries, with much hesitation, began delegating female involvement in the fight for independence. Algerian women would remove their veil and dress as their French counterparts to carry out important missions for the FLN. Removing the veil became a necessary surrender in order to slip past the French patrols unnoticed.

A separate but equally intriguing chapter of this work, *This is the Voice of Algeria*, discusses the history of radio through the revolution. During the course of the revolution, the Algerians adopted a "new attitude" towards this technical instrument. Prior to the revolution, it was quite uncommon for Algerians to possess a radio, as these instruments were primarily used as a means of "escape" for the Europeans. Fanon (1959) describes the Europeans' radio usage 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). Due in large part to the pro-European colonialist message

of *Radio-Alger* and other stations, the first few months of the revolution were viewed as promising for the Europeans; many believed that nothing was lost and there was still a future of colonialism in Algeria.

Although democratic newspapers were available in Algeria, individuals purchasing them were targeted as being in solidarity with the revolution, as this was seen as a “nationalist act” (Fanon, 1959, p. 81). Algerian parents, cognizant of the dangers of being affiliated with the revolution, began to use children to purchase their newspapers. These attempts were quickly halted, as kiosks simply refused to sell newspapers to minors. As Algerian frustrations escalated due to their inability to “keep score” during the revolution, a desperate need for an objective radio program presented itself.

In 1956 a revolutionary-based radio program, the *Voice of Fighting Algeria*, began broadcasting across the nation. Radio sales skyrocketed as the Algerians could now receive previously unavailable objective reports on the revolution. This resulted in widespread unification of the Algerians. With the creation and success of the *Voice of Fighting Algeria*, the revolution now had a way to relay instruction to supporters. Radio broadcasts brought to the commoner stories of hope and freedom, in turn playing a vital role in the deconstruction of French colonialism in Algeria.

L'An Cinq, de la Révolution Algérienne is one of Fanon's most meticulous works on the Algerian Revolution, with Fanon precisely elaborating on intriguing aspects of the Algerian culture and the war waged against them, as well as portraying the Algerian's ability to adapt to the unwelcomed French colonization. The oppression that Fanon (1959) portrays in this work sheds light on the depth at which colonialism can submerge itself in a society, meanwhile depicting the horrors of colonialism and exploring the benefits Algerians garnered from French acculturation attempts such as the removal of the veil and the integration of the radio.

Les Damnés de la Terre (1961)

Les Damnés de la Terre, arguably Fanon's most famous work, was published just weeks prior to his death in 1961. This work focuses on the psychological sequela of colonial oppression and potential solutions for the oppressed individual. Fanon (1961) provides a description of the Manichaeic aspects of colonialism, elaborates on the prevalent psychopathology of the oppressed, and describes how he believes violence can unify the oppressed and give their internal struggle a means of effectual resolution.

The first chapter of the piece, *On Violence*, presents one of Fanon's most famous arguments on the topic of violence as it relates to decolonization. *On Violence* begins by describing the world of colonialism as being synonymous with a compartmentalized, “Manichaeic world” (Fanon, 1961, p. 6). Algeria, pre-liberation, as well as in other colonized areas, experienced a segregation of sorts, consisting of two “quarters”: the colonists' sector, and the colonized or native sector. Fanon (1961) gives a description of the colonists' sector as being “built to last, all stone and steel. It's a sector of lights and paved roads, where the trash cans constantly overflow with strange and wonderful garbage, undreamed-of leftovers” (p. 4). Fanon's description of the colonists' sector is a lengthy elaboration of the immense wealth and cleanliness this sector provides for the foreigners, continuing on to state it “is a sated, sluggish sector, its belly is permanently full of good things” (Fanon, 1961, p. 4).

Succeeding this description, Fanon (1961) speaks of the overwhelming poverty and un-kempt characteristics of the native quarters. He discloses the repulsiveness of these quarters as “a famished sector, hungry for bread, meat, shoes, coal, and light” (Fanon, 1961, p. 4). In a quite vociferous piece, Cohen (1955) describes the relationship between the two sectors: “Between the European town and the native town, there is an interstellar distance of colonialism” (pp. 856-857). In Fanon's mind, these two worlds of colonialism bring about a Manichaeic (conflict between light and dark, good and evil) attitude between the natives and the foreigners to their region. This Manichaeic psychology is essential to his theories on the causes of dehumanization, racism, oppression, and violence as a means for decolonization and healing (Bulhan, 1985).

Fanon's (1961) description of the world of colonialism as being a Manichaeic world is an easily defensible thesis. In the colonists' mind, this Manichaeic mentality could reduce or even eliminate cognitive dissonance brought about after committing harmful, even immoral acts against the natives. The colonist reduces the colonized subject to an absolute evil, a savage being in need of structure and aid from the “foreign” occupants; this mentality therefore justifies the colonizer's actions. Fanon (1961) describes the native in the region, from the colonist's point of view, as one who is “impervious to ethics, representing not only the absence of values but also the negation of values.” (p. 6). In the colonizer's mind the native sector is “a sector of niggers, a sector of towelheads” (Fanon, 1961, p. 5).

Fanon explains that the conclusion of this Manichaeism is reached when the colonized subject is dehumanized, or reduced to a level not equal to that of the colonizer, but rather that of an animal, and referred to using purely zoological terms. He explains this compartmentalization in such a way that it appears frighteningly similar to that of racism in the United States, “Allusion is made to the slithery movements of the yellow race, the odors from the ‘native’ quarters, to the hordes, the stink, the swarming, the seething, and the gesticulations” (Fanon,

1961, p. 7). Fanon proposes the most effective, and only reasonable, solution to this Manichean thought inherent in colonialism is an act of violence to unify the oppressed. Shortly after word of Fanon's death reached France, *Les Damnés de la Terre* was deemed seditious and seized from bookstores in Paris.

***Pour La Révolution Africaine* (1964)**

Pour La Révolution Africaine (*Toward the African Revolution*) is a compilation of articles, essays, speeches, and letters spanning the time of *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* (1952), to *Les Damnés de la Terre* (1961). The vast majority of Fanon's work compiled in *Pour La Révolution Africaine* was originally published in *El Moudjahid* and the journal *L'Esprit*. Within three years of Fanon's death, his works were collected and compiled. In 1964, François Maspero published these works under the title *Pour La Révolution Africaine*.

Native American Oppression

Dr. Frantz Fanon's work provides invaluable insight into the psychology of colonial oppression in Algeria; so too can his theories be generalized to explain the plight of other colonially oppressed individuals. Fanon's analysis can be used to analyze and understand other nations that compartmentalize, dehumanize, and oppress groups of individuals based on race, origin, religion, or skin color, as well as to comprehend the psychological effects that these actions bring forth.

Similar to the oppression in Algeria by the French, the indigenous Native Americans of North America were forced to endure countless massacres, attempts at cultural assimilation, dehumanization, sterilizations, and denials of nearly all rights and freedoms. These malicious events, along with the loss of their homeland to foreign invaders, left the population with grave, recurrent psychological consequences, as suggested by the high prevalence of mental illness in the modern population. Although the intents of the colonization of North Africa, the Antilles, and North America may have varied, the resulting psychological effects are quite congruent.

Beginning with the settlement of the early colonies, the United States alone has fulfilled, in regards to the Native Americans, all five present-day criteria of the United Nations which define *genocide* under international law (Resolution 96): killing members of a specific group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to other members of that same group; deliberately inflicting conditions aimed directly at the destruction of these individuals; imposing measures to prevent births of the group's progeny; and forcibly transferring children for rearing from the individuals in question to ethnically-dissimilar families (Rutecki, 2011, p. 33). Use of the term genocide may seem extreme, but perhaps it is quite amiable after one has studied even a minimal account of Native American history.

It seems logical to suggest the genocidal actions against the Native American people were a result of dehumanization, for the guilt and shame normally accompanying these actions would be greatly reduced if the Native Americans were considered less than human. This argument is validated on numerous occasions by "famous" court rulings, U.S. presidents, physicians, educators, governmental policies, and U.S. military officials. The intent of this section is to analyze the endured oppression of the Native American, and as Fanon (1952) stated, "by analyzing it we aim to destroy it" (p. xvi).

Indian Reservations: Toward a Manichaeian America

Addressing the Native Americans, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 reads, "Article III. . . The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent" (McNickle, 1957, p. 9). Written with the best intentions, this promise is but one of the numerous forgotten promises and treaties of the United States regarding the Native Americans, perhaps best illustrated as President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act of 1830, resulting in the Native Americans first "legal" loss of land to the European settlers.

Shortly after the act was passed, the Native Americans that willingly agreed to relocation were forcefully herded like cattle to the newly formed *Indian Territory*, west of the Mississippi River, in the eastern half of present-day Oklahoma. Hearing of the Act, many Indians exercised their alleged right to refuse relocation. Governor Wilson Lumpkin of Georgia wrote to President Jackson, regarding the Indians who refused to relocate, "If now they refuse to accept the liberal terms offered, they only must be responsible for whatever evils and difficulties may arise... starvation and destruction await them if they remain much longer in their present abodes" (Cave, 2003, p. 1340). The United States government then intervened by passing the Treaty of New Echota in 1836; a "forced removal" by the United States Army followed (McNickle, 1957, p. 10). This forced removal and relocation to lands west of the Mississippi became a brutal "death trip" for thousands of Native Americans (mostly members of the Five Civilized Tribes), and is now referred to as the Trail of Tears (Wallace, 1999).

This brief overview of Native American land allotment and relocation alone provides sufficient justification for use of the term oppression, although these events served merely as a prelude to the torment and struggle that lie ahead for the indigenous people. As settlers in the east began to move to the Great Plains region of North America,

the “real” segregation and compartmentalization of the Native Americans commenced. With the passing of the 1851 Indian Appropriations Act, the Native American tribes were transferred from their allotted lands west of the Mississippi River to *reservations*, small portions of “sovereign” Indian Territory, as there was no place left to relocate them. The mindset and attitude of top U.S. officials at the time, regarding these acts of aggression, can be articulated in no better terms than those of President Roosevelt himself, using his own dehumanizing, animalistic speech when referring to the Native Americans: “justice is on the side of the pioneers . . . this great continent could not have been kept as nothing but a game reserve for squalid savages” (Jacobs, 1972, p. 141).

In 1887, the government of the United States seemed to be once again displeased with the lack of Native American “progress,” and passed the Dawes Act. The Dawes Act was an attempt at assimilating the Native Americans and destroying their tribal culture by dismantling the reservations and bestowing small parcels of land to Indian males, land that would still be federally controlled. This act by the U.S. government contributed to a massive loss of landholdings for the already displaced Indians (Hoxie, 1984; McNickle, 1957). In the years following, based on increased demands for the land, the United States reneged on their agreement as put forth in the Dawes Act and once again began forced “negotiations” with the Indians for their new land. Not surprisingly, the United States returned from these alleged negotiations “on top,” expropriating almost 1,900,000 acres of land from the Seminole and Creek nations, later referring to them as the “unassigned lands,” and placing them up for free claim in the Oklahoma Land Run of 1889 (Bohanon & Coelho, 1998, p. 206). Much of the land seized in these “negotiations” was also auctioned off in land lotteries (Bohanon & Coelho, 1998; Hoxie, 1984; McNickle, 1957). The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 brought the 47-year-long assimilation attempt of the Dawes Act to a halt, herding the once again displaced Indians back to reservations.

Fanon’s (1961) description of the Manichean, compartmentalized world of colonialism is an accurate portrayal of the modern relationship of the Indian reservations to “white land,” as many of these reservations shockingly resemble the compartmentalized, secluded, and poverty-stricken Arab quarters that were seen in Algiers, Blida, as well as many other Algerian cities prior to the eradication of French colonialism in Algeria. Antell, Blevins, Jensen, and Massey (1999) found that in the 1990 census of Wyoming, 47.8 % of American Indians were living below the official poverty line, and the unemployment rate of the Native Americans in the state was 32.4% (four times the national average at the time). In addition, in 1980, the largest Indian reservation, the Navajo, had a poverty rate over 50%. The U.S. Census Bureau calculated poverty rates in the late 1980s as high as 66% in some areas (Sandefur, 1989). When defining underclass as an area in which over 40% of the households have incomes below the poverty line, Sandefur (1989) found that of the reservations possessing a population of 2,000 or more, half (18 of the 36) could be defined as *underclass*. Furthermore, Henslin (2008) found that 24.6% of Native Americans fall below the poverty line, an astounding 219% higher than that of the “white” population (7.7%).

Countless adverse consequences have arisen from removing the Native Americans to reservations. Forced relocations and removals purvey the dehumanizing and unequal attitude the United States government aimed at the Native Americans during this period. The absence of purely overt assimilation is one potential benefit of the reservation system, although it is somewhat bittersweet. In 1969, Native American activists “reclaimed” Alcatraz Island for 19 months, creating a demonstration-like parody of the broken treaties with the Native American people and harsh conditions on reservations, offering the promise of “a portion of land set aside for the benefit of Caucasians,” and to establish a “Bureau of Caucasian Affairs” (Allen, 2000, p. 59). This reclamation of Alcatraz Island suggests that the absence of assimilatory attempts means little to the Native American people, in light of their lost land and “forgotten” treaties. This reservation system fuels the Manichean thought proposed by Fanon (1961) in reference to the “savage” Indians in North America, advocating the ideology of President Roosevelt’s definition of their land as a “game reserve” (Jacobs, 1972, p. 141).

Coercive Sterilizations: The Eugenics Movement Revisited

To grasp a more elaborate understanding of the Native American oppression by way of eugenics, it is helpful to consider a brief history of the eugenics movement in America, its influences, and the means by which many of these acts were performed. America’s eugenics movement of the early twentieth century, most prominent in New York and California, gave birth to several research groups and organizations, such as the Eugenics Research Association (ERA), the Eugenics Society of Northern California, and the Human Betterment Foundation (HBE) (Black, 2003). This research and promotion led to laws in several states criminalizing the reproduction of numerous groups of individuals. Shortly after the “boom” of the pseudoscientific eugenics movement in the U.S., Adolf Hitler took note of the laws and research taking in place in the U.S. and published his first volume of *Mein Kampf*. Throughout the book Hitler credits the eugenics’ laws of several American states aiming to create a “master race,” explaining, “Of course, it is not our model German Republic, but the [United States]” (Black, 2003, p. 275). Black (2003) quotes Hitler, in conversation with his comrades, elaborating on his fascination with the legislation already in place in the United States:

It is possible to a large extent to prevent unhealthy and severely handicapped beings from coming into the world. I have studied with great interest the laws of several American states concerning prevention of reproduction by people whose progeny would, in all possibility, be of no value or be injurious to the racial stock. (p. 275-76)

It was at this time that eugenicists in California, such as Ezra Gosney and Charles Goethe, began to spread their newly found “knowledge” by providing the Third Reich with scientific support (Black, 2003). Goethe made trips to Germany to analyze Hitler’s eugenics mission, returning to congratulate fellow researchers on their work. Goethe, in a letter to Gosney following a trip in 1934, wrote, “You will be interested to know... that your work has played a powerful part in shaping the opinions of the group of intellectuals who are behind Hitler... Everywhere I sensed that their opinions have been tremendously stimulated by American thought” (Black, 2003, p. 277).

At the conclusion of World War II, during the Nuremberg Trials, many prominent Nazis were convicted of numerous war crimes, including forced sterilizations. The Nuremberg Trials were believed by most to have ended the era of forced sterilizations and eugenics; twentieth century history suggests this, however, was not to be the case. As studies of the medical ethicalities of the Indian Health Service emerge, this claim is spiraling toward vociferous invalidity (Rutecki, 2011).

Twenty-five years after the Nuremberg Trials the U.S. continued its barrage at the American Indian through the very agency established in 1955 to facilitate the health and welfare of the Indian population. In the 1970s, the Indian Health Service (IHS) began the process of forced sterilizations of Native Americans, due to “their high birth rate” (Lawrence, 2000, p. 402). Both Fanon (1959) and Macey (2000) describe the high levels of medical malpractice that occurred during French colonization of Algeria and the role of medicine in oppressive “systems.” Forced sterilizations of Native Americans further suggests the role of medical malpractice in oppressive systems, and seem to increase the conceptual congruence of the projected oppression witnessed in both French and U.S. colonialism. During the 1970s, the HIS performed thousands of these forced sterilizations on the Native American population (Lawrence, 2000; Rutecki, 2011).

Between the years 1973 and 1976, the IHS alone performed 3,406 sterilizations, concurrently “contracting out” a separate, undocumented amount of these procedures (Rutecki, 2011). Although the IHS required consent from their patients, “contract physicians” were not required to uphold federal regulations, and were thus free to perform the procedures coercively in many cases. In 1973, in an attempt to protect the Indian population, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) proposed new regulations pertaining to sterilizations which stated that competent individuals must grant their informed consent for the procedure, that there must be a signed consent form in the possession of the agency performing the sterilization showing that the patient acknowledges the risks and benefits, and that a seventy-two hour waiting period must occur between the time of consent and the surgical procedure (Lawrence, 2000).

Rutecki (2011) describes the IHS-required consent forms to have taken on two guises, written and oral. These consent forms, in many cases, neither informed the women of their right to refuse surgery, educated the patient on its irreversibility, nor informed them of the risks, dangers, or alternatives; this suggests that the physicians in question were blatantly committing acts of malpractice, leaving vulnerable Native Americans to endure the consequences (Lawrence, 2000). To gain consent, some physicians reportedly threatened their patients on various occasions (Rutecki, 2011). These threats included the termination of healthcare and even the loss of custody of their children (Rutecki, 2011). Furthermore, Lawrence (2000) suggests that many of these consent forms were given to patients the day they gave birth or received a tonsillectomy, under the influence of sedatives, yet another clear violation of the HEW regulations.

Shocking numbers proposed by Dillingham (1977) suggest that as many as 25-50% of Native Americans fell victim to these coercive sterilizations during the period of 1970-1976. The frightening number of these acts performed by IHS and other physicians speaks of the depth at which the oppressive Manichaeian psychological framework infiltrated even the most seemingly philanthropic aspects of the medical community. These forced sterilizations offer partial insight as to why the Native American population represents only 1% of the entire U.S. population (Henslin, 2008).

Indian Boarding Schools

The United States government began addressing what they referred to as “The Indian Problem” (Adams, 1995, p. 3) by attempting to assimilate the Native American culture to that of the Euro-White American culture by placing Native American children in Indian boarding schools. These schools began as federal on-reservation Indian day schools. With this attempt lacking “effectiveness,” federal on-reservation Indian boarding schools were instituted. Upon yet another failed attempt, the federal government deployed their “assimilation nuclear weaponry,” by removing Native American children from their families and transporting them to federal off-reservation Indian boarding schools (Adams, 1995). The notion of implementing these off-reservation boarding schools was derived

from the idea that tribal identity could be erased by separating Indian children from Indian adults (Lomawaima, 1994). These federal off-reservation Indian boarding schools precipitated a period of cultural genocide for the Native Americans.

Richard Henry Pratt founded the first off-reservation boarding school in 1879 in Carlisle, Pennsylvania (Adams, 1995). In various quotes from Superintendent Pratt, one can objectively see his fascist-like disposition when referring to “savage” and “uncivilized” ways of the Native American Indians. Adams (1995) explains that Pratt’s decision to start the first off-reservation boarding school was instituted by his skewed mindset toward the Indian problem, “We make our greatest mistake in feeding our civilization to the Indians instead of feeding the Indians to our civilization” (p. 53). In 1884, four more off-reservation boarding schools were opened at Chilocco, Oklahoma; Genoa, Nebraska; Albuquerque, New Mexico; and Lawrence, Kansas. By 1902 there were 25 federal off-reservation Indian boarding schools operating in North America (Adams, 1995). These schools attempted to assimilate and destroy the Native American in many ways. Lomawaima (1994) explains:

Federal policymakers and administrators cooperated to remove thousands of Native American children and young adults from their families, homes, and tribes in order to educate them in a new way of life. Indian education flowed far beyond academic or vocational boundaries, soaking the child’s growing up in the cleansing bath of Christian labor. Tribal/communal identity, primitive language, heathen religion: these pernicious influences would be rooted out and effaced in the construction of a new kind of American citizen. (p. xi)

These schools became notorious for forbidding the use of the students’ native languages, forbidding the children from practicing religious rituals, forcing Christianity upon them, filtering letters sent to and from their tribes, and often forbidding visitation from their families.

To provide adequate rationale for the argument of the oppression witnessed in the Indian boarding schools being congruent with the oppression described by Fanon, it is useful to examine one of the most notable aspects of oppression seen in Algeria and North America: religion. Religious oppression, or the denial of free religious choice or practice, was prevalent both in Algeria during French colonization and in the federal Indian boarding schools (Adams, 1995; Fanon, 1961). In Fanon’s book, *Les Damnés de la Terre*, he uses the much-seen Manichaeism analysis to describe the native, in the colonists’ mind, as being “impervious to ethics, having an absence of values, and being absolute evil” (Fanon, 1961, p. 6). He concludes that the colonizer views the native as one who is intrinsically evil or savage (Fanon, 1961).

Given that the colonizer views the colonized as essentially nothing more than an indigenous parasite, Fanon (1961) believes the colonists’ action of forcing Christianity on the colonized (as seen in both Algeria and the Indian boarding schools) is “on the same level” as using DDT, which is used to destroy parasites on crops, a conceptually valid comparison. This depravity of religious freedom was but one of the ways of oppressing the colonized object, and in no way was it an altruistic attempt at “setting free” the native people. Fanon (1961) elaborates on this topic in *Les Damnés de la Terre*, stating, “The church in the colonies is a white man’s church. It does not call the colonized to the ways of God, but to the ways of the white man, the ways of the master, the ways of the oppressor” (p. 7). The attempt at assimilation through religious oppression, to make the Native American’s culture appear divinely inferior, resulted in success for the federal government at the time. This “victory” can be seen through a testament from the Cheyenne warrior Soaring Eagle, in Adams (1995):

It is good to go to church. When I was at home, I did not know about church. When I was at home, I did not wear good clothes. My hair was long. I know now to spell and read a little, and will know more. When I go home, I hope to sit down and sing God’s hymns. . . . At home, I did not know who Jesus was, I loved to hunt, shoot, and sleep on Sundays like other days, but the Bible, God’s book, has told me it was wrong. I now look up to Jesus who has been so good to me and pray to him to forgive me all my past sins and make me his child. (p. 43)

In addition to religious and cultural oppression, many of the Indian boarding schools would deprive the students of contact with their families, cut their hair, “erase” their native names and “assign” them new ones, and strip away their native clothing, replacing it with a uniform. Many boarding schools even used “before” and “after” pictures of their students to flaunt the efficacy of boarding schools at “civilizing” the savages (Adams, 1995).

The Wounded Knee Massacre

During the 1860s, the prominent U.S. Army General Phillip Sheridan announced to Tosawi, chief of the Comanche, “The only good Indians I ever saw were dead” (Brown, 1970, p. 170). This quote articulates the psychology of the U.S. Army during the late 1800s, and possibly accounts for the occurrence of the innumerable massacres endured by the Native Americans. The massacre at Wounded Knee, on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, is one of the most well-known and brutal massacres in the history of the Native Americans.

In 1890, three Lakota Sioux leaders, Short Bull, Scatters-Them, and Kicking Bear ventured to the Rockies to meet with a messiah, whom they believed would lead the Indians out of their suffering and starvation. Upon their return, Chief Big Foot of the Minneconjou Lakota Sioux attempted to hold a sacred ritual, referred to as the *Ghost Dance*, which was believed to have been taught to the Native Americans by the prophet Wovoka, through a spiritual encounter with the Christian Messiah Jesus Christ (Brown, 1970; Gessner, 1972). Arrest orders for Chief Big Foot sent the band “on the run” from the U.S. Army to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in search of shelter from the Seventh U.S. Cavalry. While in route to Pine Ridge, Chief Big Foot contracted pneumonia. On 28 December 1890, the Minneconjou sighted four troops of cavalry approaching and Big Foot immediately ordered a white flag of surrender to be raised above his wagon.

As the leader of the Cavalry approached, Chief Big Foot rose from his blood-covered blankets to greet Major Samuel Whitside. Major Whitside escorted Chief Big Foot and his men to a camp near Wounded Knee Creek. At the camp, the Indians were counted: 120 men and 230 women and children; shortly after, the Indians were placed in tents and provided rations. Whitside posted two troops of cavalry in the camp to watch over the “prisoners,” and positioned two Hotchkiss guns on a rise overlooking the camp (Brown, 1970; Gessner, 1972).

Shortly after the establishment of the camp, Whitside turned his command over to Colonel Forsyth, who placed two more Hotchkiss guns behind the others on the rise and opened a keg of whiskey in celebration of Chief Big Foot’s capture. The soldiers drank heavily throughout the night and many became too drunk to walk (Gessner, 1972). The following morning, 29 December 1890, a bugle call alerted the soldiers to mount their horses and surround the camp to disarm the Indians (Brown, 1970). Brown (1970) then describes a scuffle occurring over a Minneconjou refusing to give up his rifle, claiming he paid much money for it, and a “report of a gunshot” (p. 444) set off the Seventh Cavalry in a trigger-happy rage aimed at the camp. Gessner (1972) describes the events occurring that morning somewhat differently, although both explanations could be used in collaboration to depict the forthcoming event. Gessner (1972) portrays a dozen inebriated soldiers staggering to Big Foot’s tent, calling him outside for a conference. The moment Chief Big Foot opened his tent he was met with 12 bullets to his body, falling to the ground with a “sad, sick smile on his face” (Gessner, 1972, p. 415).

With this/these gunshot(s) began the immeasurable firing of the Hotchkiss guns upon the camp. The “battle” continued for one hour, characterized by piercing screams of women and children, falling tepees, and bullets ripping through the flesh of the innocent Indians, guilty of nothing more than the wish to pay homage in the form of spiritual dance. After the ring of the gunfire ceased, and the smoke cleared, Chief Big Foot and over half of his men were dead or seriously wounded. One estimate of the death toll calculated that after the massacre 300 of the original 350 Indians had been killed (Brown, 1970).

The Wounded Knee Massacre was but one of the copious and ruthless attacks on the struggling Native Americans during the late 19th century. This massacre is key in describing the “tone” of the horrific history between the U.S. and Indians. The tone set on 29 December 1890 by Colonel Forsyth and the Seventh Cavalry arguably remains in the current U.S. government. Gessner (1972) provides a useful comparison of the merciless actions of the U.S. Army during the Wounded Knee Massacre to the oppressive conditions in which the more modern Native American lives today:

I wondered which action of the Government was more merciful—this one-hour massacre in which the suffering and misery were brief . . . or today’s slow starving, heart-breaking existence, today’s gradual dissolution through disease, poverty, and hopelessness. Today’s slow, torturing massacre. (p. 418)

Psychopathology

Fanon, in *Les Damnés de la Terre*, begins the chapter “Colonial War and Mental Disorders” explaining, “For many years to come we shall be bandaging the countless and sometimes indelible wounds inflicted on our people by the colonialist onslaught” (Fanon, 1961, p. 181). This quote brings to light the necessity for decolonization and “psychological healing” in Algeria as well as North America. Compared to other minority groups, the Native Americans are plagued with an extremely high prevalence of mental disorders; research and aid in this area is scarce, and in great need, due to its critical implications. The purpose of this section is to examine the most significant mental disorders and maladaptive behaviors present in the Native American population, and to demonstrate a likely etiology.

Fanon (1952) proffers, “A normal black child, having grown up with a normal family, will become abnormal at the slightest contact with the white world” (p. 122). Furthermore, Fanon (1961) explains the presence of mental disorders in the colonized as a result of colonialism constantly forcing them to ask the question, “Who am I in reality?” (p. 182). More modern research by Tafoya and Vecchio (2005) describes the etiology of mental disorders and maladaptive behaviors among the Native Americans as a result of “genocidal U.S. policies toward native people . . . [leading to] unresolved grief,” (p. 56) further explaining, “The dynamics of unresolved grief includes symptoms and manifestations that affect every aspect of an individual’s life” (p. 56). Fanon (1961)

hypothesizes, backed with knowledge of the Algerian's pre-independence struggles, that until a revolution occurs, oppressed, colonized people will turn inward and commit destructive acts amongst themselves. In essence, these theories propose that abnormal behavior exhibited by the colonized is due to the creation of an "internal," unresolved conflict.

The fact that the Native American population possesses extremely high rates of many mental disorders compared to their majority/minority counterparts adds validity to the generalization of Fanon's theory. Given the Native Americans have yet to organize a revolutionary-type decolonization, this internal conflict remains "unhealed" in many cases; thus posing as one explanation for the high prevalence of mental disorders and abnormal behaviors amongst the Native Americans (Beals et al., 2005; Duran et al., 2004; Henderson et al., 1998; Kunitz, Gabriel, McCright, & Levy, 2009; McGoldrick, Giordano, & Garcia-Preto, 2005; Olson & Wahab, 2006). Although the majority of the oppressive, traumatic "events" previously discussed arguably had no *direct* effect on the more modern Native American population, this grief can be passed down transgenerationally, through parental modeling, social learning, and the heritability of many disorders.

In the early 19th century, President Thomas Jefferson worked tirelessly proposing many acts attempting to ban the sale of whiskey to the Native Americans due to their unruly and destructive behaviors while drinking (Wallace, 1999). Jefferson's proposals imply that the high prevalence of substance use amongst the Native Americans is not just a recent "issue," and that for centuries the Native Americans have turned to the use and abuse of various substances, perhaps to provide relief for intrinsic unresolved grief. Research suggests that Native American's have the highest prevalence of a positive family history for alcoholism among all ethnic groups in the U.S., and, as a group, possess the highest rates of all alcohol-related disorders of any minority or majority (Hasin, Stinson, Ogburn, & Grant, 2007; Wall, Garcia-Andrade, Wong, Lau, & Ehlers, 2000). This maladaptive pattern of substance use by the Native Americans is not limited to adults alone, as their children/adolescents conjointly possess the highest rates of drug use (Oetting, Edwards, Goldstein, & Garcia-Mason, 1980). Alcohol/substance dependence, possessing a high heritability, provides a conceptual basis for these adolescents' "top-ranking" rates when compared to other groups (Nurnberger et al., 2004).

Suicide/suicidal ideation and mood and anxiety disorders can perhaps be seen either as sequential results of the chronic substance abuse patterns seen in the Native American population, or as exhibitions of unresolved grief. In addition to substance-related disorders, the Native American people hold tremendously high rates of mood and anxiety disorders, and are at an increased risk for suicidal behaviors. Duran et al. (2004) found that in a sample of 489 women in primary care, Alaska Native and American Indian women had significantly higher rates of anxiety disorders and anxiety/depression comorbidity than their non-American Indian/Alaska Native counterparts. Furthermore, Beals et al. (2005) found that in a study of 3,084 American Indians, 43.5% had a lifetime prevalence of *any* depressive, anxiety, or substance use disorder. A study conducted by Olson and Wahab (2006) suggests that Native Americans (as a group) experience the highest rates of suicide of all ethnic groups in the United States. Similarly, Tafoya and Vecchio (2005) suggest that suicide, suicidal ideation, and suicidal gestures are a direct result of the unresolved grief of the Native American. These elevated rates of anxiety disorders, mood disorders, and suicidal "behaviors" are all potential repercussions of the oppression of the Native American people.

Fanon's theory suggesting the "usefulness" of solidarity, decolonization, and violence to assist in resolving grief provides a logical explanation for the increased prevalence of these disorders throughout the Native American population. Fanon (1961) states, prior to a revolutionary uprising (something not yet organized by the Native Americans), "The colonized subject will first train his aggressiveness sedimented in his muscles against his own people... this is the period when black turns on black" (p. 15). This proposition by Fanon is useful in explaining the high incidence of intrinsic, self-defeating behaviors exhibited by the Native Americans such as conduct disorder, substance-related disorders, mood and anxiety disorders, violence, homicide, and suicide (Bachman, 1992; Hasin et al., 2007; Olson & Wahab, 2006; Tafoya & Vecchio, 2005; Wall et al. 2000).

Conclusion

Throughout the course of his life and work, Frantz Fanon employed his thoughts and analysis toward the multifarious "components" of colonialism. Colonization alone can have detrimental effects on the identity and psyche of indigenous people. Native American oppression resulting from colonialism seems to have presented itself in a multitude of facets: compartmentalization, dehumanization, segregation, covert and/or overt racism, cultural assimilation, sterilizations, denials of religious freedoms, and countless massacres. The current, exigently negative state of the Native American psyche is perhaps due to the minute amount of elapsed time since their "legally dehumanized" status (just over a century ago); prior to the civil rights case *Standing Bear vs. Crook* in 1879 Native Americans were yet to be considered human beings under U.S. law (Brown, 1970). Recounting these historical acts of oppression aids in explaining the overwhelming rates of mental illness in the Native American population today.

The struggles endured by the indigenous Algerians and Native Americans are not that of a category to be taken lightly and must be understood psychologically to ensure the well-being of these indigenous people, as well as to aid in the prevention of such catastrophes in the future. Until this psychological grief is resolved, high rates of mental illness, violence, suicide, and homicide will plague the Native American people.

In *A Letter to a German Friend* Albert Camus stated, "I should like to be able to love my country and still love justice" (Camus, 1974, p. 5). This quote summarizes the mindset of Camus, a French Algerian, and that of a United States citizen conscious of the oppression endured by the Native American. The summation of Frantz Fanon's work on the psychology of oppression and racism resulting from colonialism is best summarized in the argument that "world powers," in any sense of the term, become aware of the potential effects their actions have on indigenous people. Therefore, it is imperative that we hold the knife of knowledge at the throat of colonialism, to the point at which it loosens its hold on oppressed, indigenous populations.

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