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1) Oct 1972



Animals have for some time been pressed into service to aid the American war effort. The US Navy has trained dolphins, son lions, and whales for underwater military rôles. Some reports have suggested that strucks, songulls, and the fatherland. The military monthly in defence of the fatherland. The military monthly magazine of the Algorian and forces, El-Djeich, recently went one better. It claims that the CIA has recruited flies to which have been attached microscopic transmitters to act as spies.

These winged agents have, of course, the adventage of being able to penetrate innocently

to the innermost circles of the enemy's governmental and military establishments—or at least to the kitchens and dustbins. It is not recorded whether they belong to the post-DDT generation of insects. But it is known that they have a touch of the kamikaze about them, which even China's kill-a-fly-a-day drive (instituted as part of the National Programme for Agricultural Development in 1956) would not be able to beat. Our gallant fly heroes are able to faill their missions by continuing to transmit from beyond the grave, after being swatted. From this it may be safely assumed that we shall soon be seeing President Nixon awarding the widows of these selfless patriots transistorised Purple Hearts on the White House lawn.

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### NEWSMAKERS

"His life is in jeopardy. There have been threats and insinuations of death. The situation is a very serious one and a very grave one." With such remarks at a news conference in San Francisco, former Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver's wife Kathleen, 27, tried to enlist support for a campaign that would enable her husband to return to the U.S.



Mrs. Cleaver: Bring back Eldridge

on his own terms. Now in Algeria, Cleaver has been a fugitive from California justice since 1968, when he fled to Cuba after being ordered to prison as a parole violator—a political charge, in his view. According to Mrs. Cleaver, the famous exile is willing to stand trial for murder in connection with a shootout in Oakland, Calif., but only if he is granted freedom while awaiting trial. Who has been threatening his life? His wife blamed unidentified enemics "representing interests marshaled by the CIA."

by HORACE SUTTON

he lights in the movie theater dim and the curtain rises. The screen comes to life and there is a scene of arid North Africa. Over this scrabbly background, a quotation appears:

The bourgeois phase in the history of the underdeveloped countries is a completely useless phase. When this caste has vanished . . . it will be seen . . . that everything must be started from scratch. . . .

It is taken from Frantz Fanon.

When Joe Frazier fights Muhammad Ali in the ring, a newspaper runs a series of articles on Ali. It begins with this prelude:

I feel in myself a soul as immense as the world, my chest to expand without limit. I am a master and I am advised to adopt the humility of the cripple.

The lines come not from Ali but from Fanon.

In Nigeria, a Frantz Fanon Research Center is opened at Enugu, dedicated to the "mental emancipation of the black man all over the world from neocolonial mentality."

A square in Algeria is named for Fanon.

The former Algerian ambassador to the United States gives a course on him at the University of Massachusetts.

The books Fanon wrote begin to edge toward an awesome three-quarters-of-a-million sale in American editions alone.

A movie treatment of his life has been written. The producers have spoken of seeking Sidney Poitier for the leading role.

Two books about him have appeared

this year, and at least two others are pending.

now emerging as patron saint of the New Left ten years after his death, purportedly "in the arms of the CIA"?

Who is this man so widely quoted, so passionately read, whose name is so frequently invoked, yet who remains so widely unknown?

What is the strange, almost mystic pull exerted by this black man of Martinique dead ten years ago at the age of thirty-six who is being nominated for sainthood in the revolutionary halls of the Third World?

Fanon's career seemed to rise slowly even as a rocket appears to hover momentarily over the launch pad. But then, rocket-like, he roared into the universe leaving a fiery trail. That great forceful thrust died abruptly, but the stars, as from a spent skyrocket, may come floating down for years, for Fanon was and is an effective, articulate voice of the oppressed, of the black man who suffers the dominance of white "superiority," of the native locked in mortal contest with the settler, the colonizer, the oppressor. Fanon's voice is black and intellectual, but it is one with which all the brothers can identify, in Nigeria, in Harlem, in Jamaica, in Angola, and especially in Algeria, whose cause he passionately espoused and whose freedom he helped to win. From Algiers in the heart of Fanonland, Eldridge Cleaver invokes his canons. From his West African sanctuary in Guinea (where his address is c/o President Sékou Touré). Stokely Carmichael drinks deep at the wellspring of Fanon's basic tenets. Holed up in their headquarters in the Bronx, the Black Panthers say that Fanon is required reading for all brothers. He has given them insights, they say, far beyond Marx and Lenin. Marx dealt with economic structures, Lenin with the machinery to bring the economic and military together. But neither came to grips with racism, because, as Panther Minister Zayd Shakur puts it, "They were dealing with European phenomena and they were concerned with whites. Fanon took it to another level. He set down the dialectical contradictions that most oppressed black people are confronted with in a colonized situation."

Nearly all strata of American black society have found their prophet in Fanon. "Many of us were pushing the whole idea of black values and the traumas one suffers from the oppressor and how we try to imitate the oppressor," CORE's Roy Innis recalls now, "but Fanon came along and codified it and gave it authority." In Algiers, far from Harlem, Cleaver remembers the early days. "The feelings and thoughts and passions that were racking us were incoherent and not connected until we read Fanon. Then many things fell together for us harmonizing our attitudes and making it possible for us to organize into a political organization."

To read Fanon now is to find the source of many of the bold moves of the black Left, among them violence itself, the call for reparations for offenses to oppressed peoples, and the summons to effect the rebirth of a native culture and with it a singular identity.

While Fanon was addressing himself to colonized peoples—his experience had been chiefly in Martinique and Algeria—he was heard by all the Third World: by militant blacks in America who consider themselves part of a colonized society; by newly independent nations whose economic lifeline continues to be dominated by white Western capital; and by peoples of color still living in colonial-ruled societies.

To all these, Fanon preached the necessity of violence to bring about abrupt change whether it be "national liberation or national renaissance or the restoration of a nationhood to the people." He played artfully and even cloquently on the obvious truisms of

## By Gus Hall

General Secretary, Communist Party U.S.A.

There is a growing uneasiness about some develop-ments in Algeria. Increasingly I am asked the question: What about Algeria? This concern is shown and the questions are asked by those who are supporters and

partisans of the Algerian Revolution.

There is good reason for this concern. Algeria remains one of the cardinal bases in the struggle against world imperialism. What happens there greatly affects the balance of world forces in the struggle. The victorious struggle of the Algerian people against French colonial rule was one of the great historic events that sent revolutionary shock waves around the world. Since the victory for political independence, progressive and socialist partisans throughout the world have hailed every forward step including the nationalization of industries and other actions that have cleared the path for a socialist direction in Algeria.

Now, however, there are some developments that are disturbing, to say the least. They are disturbing because these developments threaten to reverse the

course Algeria has been following.

.The internal affairs of each country are for the people to determine. The internal affairs of Algeria belong to the Algerians. This, of course, does not meanthat friends should remain silent.

We feel the need to express some thoughts about Algeria for three reasons:

2. We are partisans in the struggle against imperialism; and

3. We are convinced that U.S. imperialism is deeply involved in and has reactionary plans for Algeria.

What are the developments that are disturbing? Within Algeria there has emerged a strong reactionary rightwing force. It has become very active-both openly and beneath the surface. It is well organized. It has a small storm-trooper-like force that leads a 'cal developments within Algeria. It was an act of policampaign of terror against Communists and other left tical extortion. and progressive forces. It is a campaign against the staunchest supporters of the Algerian revolution. It also operates from posts within the Boumedienne government. It is not, however, the dominant force in the government.

These right-wing elements have an influence beyond their numbers because other sections of the leadership make concessions and close their eyes to the acts of terror. This is the source of the deep concern.

These right-wing forces are conducting a brutal campaign of terror without authority. During the past weeks the arrests, illegal kidnapping and systematic torture of political prisoners and the general harassment have greatly escalated. It is common knowledge that for more than two months Khaled Benmouffek, the General Secretary of the Leather Workers Union, Belmadani and Lakhdar Cherfaoui, all of them very active trade uniohists, have been detained and still are in the hands of the torturers. In fact, torture has become a rule practiced against members of the Communist Party and other left and progressive people who are arrested.

The right-wing campaign has lately expanded to include a McCarthyite inquisition and hunt for suspected Communists in the government apparatus, in trade unions and other mass organizations. The weapon is anti-Communism but the target includes the left, the progressives and other advanced revolutionary forces.

What is the aim of these reactionary forces? Their right-wing drive is related to both domestic and foreign developments. The aim is to reverse the course of the Algerian revolution. Internally they want to halt the government policy of nationalization. The truth is that they have already successfully stopped the implementation of the Boumedienne program of agricultural reform. In this they have the support of the big landlords of Algeria.

Algeria is in a sharp struggle against the French cil monopolies that still operate in Algeria. In this they have the support of U.S. imperialist interests. U.S. imperialism expects to repeat history. As it took over from French imperialism in Indochina, it expects to take over the French interests in Algeria.

U.S. imperialism is interested in the oil and gas deposits, but it is not interested as an ordinary buyer. It is seeking for a political and ideological beachnead

to be used in the robbing of these riches.

That Algeria wants to negotiate the best possible deal in selling its national riches is just and deserves the support of all anti-imperialist forces. But U.S. imperialism wants more than oil and gas. It wants what the right-wing reactionary forces in Algeria want. It wants to reverse the course of the Algerian revolution.

The CIA is deeply involved in Algerian affairs. It 1. We are partisans of the struggle for socialism; is the instrument for the securing of the beachheads.

It is not accidental that the campaign of terror conducted by the right-wing forces closely follows the ups and downs of the negotiations with U.S. oil corperations. Just a few weeks ago the contracts were ready for the signatures but at the last minute the State Department stepped in and postponed the signing. This was not a concession to French oil interests. It was clearly an act designed to further influence the politi-

The negotiations involve billions of dollars. The U.S. corporation directly involved in these negotiations is the El-Pasco Gas Corporation. Incidentally, this is the corporation that has the monopoly with the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission in the use of nuclear explosions in extracting oil and gas. El-Pasco is direct-

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# The Strange Dying Days of Frantz Fanon by Peter Geismar

I have a horror of weaknesses—I understand them, but I do not like them. . . . I do not agree with those who think it possible to live life at an easy pace. I don't want this. . . . —Frantz Fanon, 1952

Frantz Fanon was an isolated figure with a noble cause and a strong opposition. Coming to France from a colony in the Caribbean to fight in the war against Nazi racism, he became aware of the same kind of racist feelings about him within the ranks of the French. After the Second World War he was thrown into a white environment where there were only white women to love, a situation which resulted in a sense of guilt for trying to escape his black heritage. He became a psychiatrist and devoted his full energies to a medical reform program in a North African hospital in the Algerian town of Blida. Because he was unable to ignore the repressive colonial rule in the territory, he could never complete the renovations of his psychiatric service within the institution. Fanon was expelled from Algeria when the French authorities began to suspect his liaisons with the Moslem nationalists who were engaged in a war against the same kind of European racism that had scarred Fanon's earlier life.

Fanon's life within the revolution was marred by the fact that he was never quite considered Algerian (he'd never quite been considered French either). The nationalist leaders found Fanon more effective as their representative south of the Sahara, where many Algerians felt he belonged.

In the midst of his most ambitious diplomatic project in Africa, Fanon was stricken with leukemia. He wrote The Wretched of the Earth, a manifesto for a new kind of Third World communism, during the last months of his sickness. He died in the United States, the nation he detested most of all.

By 1960, both the Algerian revolution and the African independence movements were losing their momentum. The leaders of the Algerian FLN (Front de Libération Nationale) were prepared to negotiate a peace which would concede the Europeans extensive face-saving maneuvers of retreat, guarantees for the future safety of settlers' interests, and treaties of economic cooperation preserving France's right to exploit the territory's natural wealth.

Fanon saw the negotiations as a weakening of overall African unity, and he was concerned for the rest of the emerging African nations. Due to the deaths of leaders like Lumumba, the increased Western aid to secessionist Katanga province, and the strengthening of racist governments in Rhodesia and South Africa, he felt that the only hope for Pan African unity lay with the Algerians continuing the struggle after independence, helping their less developed neighbors to throw off the yoke of colonialism and imperialism.

Fanon saw the revolution as an ongoing force which would mold Africa into a truly united Third World power. Although his health was deteriorating and his efforts were considered too radical by the mainstream of the FLN government, he continued his writing and his travels to other African capitals.