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# RETHINKING FRANTZ FANON'S "ON NATIONAL CULTURE" WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF NATIVE AMERICAN AND PALESTINIAN LITERATURE

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By

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# RETHINKING FRANTZ FANON'S "ON NATIONAL CULTURE" WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF NATIVE AMERICAN AND PALESTINIAN LITERATURE

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

BY

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## Chapter One:
## Rethinking Frantz Fanon's "On National Culture"

> *Remembering Fanon is a process of intense discovery and disorientation. Remembering Fanon is never a quite act of introspection or retrospection. It is a painful re-membering, a putting together of the dismembered past to make sense of the trauma of the present. It is such a memory of the history of race and racism, colonialism and the question of cultural identity, that Fanon reveals with greater profundity and poetry than any other writer...* Homi Bhabha

For the wretched, the oppressed, the marginalized, the colonized, the imperialized, or simply the Other, cultural identity is subverted, denied, and often threatened. To fight for an identity is to call for recognition and to aspire to freedom. For Frantz Fanon the Other was the oppressed Algerian population whose cause he espouses. Fanon looks for ways to help the Algerians achieve a cultural identity and to resist, revolt, and in turn, be liberated from the debilitating effects of French colonialism. Today there remains many populations that are suffering from the tyrannies of colonialism, and more importantly imperialism, and are desperately fighting to achieve and restore a cultural identity and a national consciousness for themselves. Two of these populations whose struggle I choose to espouse in this essay are the Native American and Palestinian populations—two societies dispossessed of a land to call their own and relentlessly fighting to construct a national consciousness within their peoples.

Homi Bhabha asserts, "the need for Fanon becomes urgent" for those who aspire to an "identity of otherness" (122). One means for achieving this identity is through the writing of the native intellectual, which acts as an instrument for mobilizing the consciousness of the peoples toward this aspiration. Within this context, Fanon's teachings on this subject become quite useful as his theories on national culture and consciousness specifically address the question of a revolutionary literature written by a native intellectual.

When reflecting upon the works of literature written by Native American and Palestinian writers, one finds that Fanon's notion of a revolutionary literature is in many ways embodied in the literature of these two populations, and it can be quite influential and applicable within the context of Native American and Palestinian writing. Both Native American and Palestinian intellectuals are writing a literature that aims toward renewing and liberating the national and cultural consciousness of its people. However, when studied in the framework of our present times, it also becomes important to elaborate on Fanon's theories and ideological suggestions within the context of these two cultures whose fight is waged against dominating, imperialistic powers very different from that of the colonial French regime during Fanon's time. Moreover, Fanon's theories call for violence and, furthermore,

eradication of the oppressor as a first step to attaining universal values, for, as he explains, "If man is known by his acts, then we will say that the most urgent thing today for the intellectual is to build up his nation...then the building of a nation is of necessity accompanied by the discovery and encouragement of universalizing values" (The Wretched 247). However, today the Native Americans have learned to resort to other measures—ones that are at times the reverse of violence, representing love and transformation—and the Palestinians appear to benefiting very little from violence, and if fact, their acts of violence seem to be pushing them away from any possibility of achieving human rights and freedom. Thus, the questions that arise here, and will be wrestled with throughout this essay, are: Can literature, specifically a revolutionary literature, mobilize the people's consciousness without leading them into a vicious cycle of violence? Is it feasible for Native American and Palestinian literatures to revolutionize the cultural and national consciousness of their people, and more importantly of humanity, and at the same time bypass Fanon's call for violence? And can literature provide us with a means for working towards a universal consciousness—or as Amilcar Cabral might say, a "universal culture"—with the objective of "constant and generalized promotion of feelings of

humanism, of solidarity, of respect and disinterested devotion to human beings"?

Fanon, as defined by Bhabha, is "...the purveyor of the transgressive and transitional truth. He may yearn for the total transformation of Man and Society, but he speaks most effectively from the uncertain interstices of historical change" (113). Bhabha further explains that Fanon's time is characteristic of unresolved contradictions between culture and class, race and sexuality, and the struggle of psychic representation and social reality. However, our present times have come to embrace other contradictions and struggles, some of which are only complex versions of those from Fanon's time, and have, alas, only strayed from Fanon's yearned transformation of man and society.

What Fanon attempts to do in his chapter "On National Culture" of The Wretched of the Earth is to mold a modified cultural and national consciousness influenced by the repercussion of the rising revolution. Fanon writes, "After the conflict, there is not only the disappearance of colonialism but also the disappearance of the colonized man" (246). In order to bring about this aspired freedom, this state of liberation, and in turn a new national consciousness, Fanon voices a call to his people, and to every colonized human, to depart from what is held to be the idea of national culture—the persistence of following pre-colonial forms of

cultures that have been condemned to extinction. He explains that the native intellectuals, "hotheaded and with anger in their hearts" refusing to be swamped in to the colonial Western culture, are relentlessly determined to renew contact with the "oldest and most pre-colonial springs of the life of their people" (210). This search does indeed lead every native to a very dignified and glorious past, far removed from the colonialist's disfigured representation of a barbaric and bestial past. However, this kind of blind persistence on pursuing the past may also act as a demonstration only leading to "a throw-back to the laws of inertia...a concentration on the hard core of culture which is becoming more and more shriveled up, inert and empty" (237-238). Therefore, Fanon insists on the importance of acknowledging the reality in which the people live, and cautions the intellectual not to allow the extinct past to weigh him or her down.

It is remarkable to note here that along the same lines, in his book Nations and Nationalism, E. J. Hobsbawm resorts to Gellner's definition of a nation concluding that

> Nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent ... political destiny, are a myth. Nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures: that is a reality. (10)

Therefore, whereas colonialism uses pre-colonial history as a way to "drive in" the idea of a barbaric, savage past, it becomes of critical importance for the native intellectual to understand how to employ history to serve as a weapon for the hope of a future, and participate in constructing a renewed cultural and national consciousness.

Fanon explains that the struggle for national freedom does not give back to the national culture its former values and shapes. Neither the form nor the content of the people's culture are left intact, and both colonialism and the colonized man disappear. He calls for the "break-up of the old strata of culture," a shattering which becomes increasingly fundamental, and for "the renewing of forms of expression, and the rebirth of the imagination" (245). It is not the pre-colonial springs of life that the natives should be fighting for, but the de-colonized buds of the newborn nation.

Instead of delving into the past, Fanon calls for his people to construct their future by joining in the effort of the struggle for freedom, and by waging a united fight against the forces of occupation. From within the continued cohesion of the people, an invitation is extended to the native intellectual, the poet for example, to voice his "cry of protest," which, in turn, is echoed by a united people. Fanon calls those literary utterances made by the intellectual "poetry of revolt . . . a fighting

literature, a revolutionary literature, and a national literature" (226). He also labels this literature as "literature of combat," in the sense that it calls on the whole of people to fight for their existence as a nation, and "it moulds the national consciousness, giving it form and contours...flinging open before it new and boundless horizons" (240). He then concludes that this movement in literature, and in the nation as a whole, gives birth to a modified, liberated, colonial-free identity that may properly and justly be called a national consciousness—a consciousness free of an idle past.

Moreover, Fanon traces three different phases in the works of native writers that take place before the writing becomes revolutionary. In the first phase, the native intellectual gives proof that he has assimilated the culture of the occupying power; in this phase his inspiration is Western and can be easily linked to the works of literature of the mother country. In the second phase, the intellectual is disturbed and decides to remember what he is. But since he is not a part of his people and has only exterior relations with them, he is content with recalling their life of the past, which ultimately consists of old happenings of the bygone days of his childhood, and of old legends. Finally, in the third phase, which Fanon labels as the "fighting phase," the native intellectual, after having tried to lose himself in the people and

with the people, will then "shake the people" (222). It is in this phase, that the intellectual becomes "an awakener of the people," and henceforth is able to produce that which Fanon refers to as a "fighting literature, a revolutionary literature, and a national literature." Fanon calls on the intellectual poet or artist to look for a language of revolutionary awareness, one that retains history and the memory of the "dismembered past," but more importantly keeps insight with the present, and he looks for a language of liberation that stands against the "leaden, deadening prose of the colonized world" (115).

In the beginning of his chapter "On National Culture," Fanon quotes Sekou Toure from a speech he delivers to the second Congress of Black Writers and Artists in Rome, 1959,

> To take part in the African revolution it is not enough to write a revolutionary song; you must fashion the revolution with the people. And if you fashion it with the people, the songs will come by themselves, and of themselves...There is no place outside that fight for the artist or for the intellectual who is not himself concerned with and completely at one with the people in the great battle of Africa and of the suffering of humanity. (206)

Within this context, it is also worth noting Antonio Gramsci's essay on "The Formation of the Intellectual," in which Gramsci believes that the role of the intellectual is crucial in the raising of the mass consciousness, which in turn leads to consciousness transformation. Gramsci teaches

that "The mode of the new intellectual can no longer consist in eloquence, which is an exterior and momentary mover of feelings, and passions, but in active participation in practical life, as constructor, organiser, 'permanent persuader' and not just a simple orator" (1141). In the same way, the intellectual Fanon looks for is one who plays the role of the warrior, in addition to that of the intellectual writer or poet. For Fanon, the act of writing is simply not enough; it must be an act that "awakens" the people, and it must be "fashioned with the people." By way of an example, Fanon presents his readers with a poem he believes is one of "unquestioned pedagogical value" (231). The poet he chooses as a paradigm of the native intellectual is Keita Fodeba, a poet who dedicated his revolutionary works to the struggle of his country and his people of Guinea.

Fodeba's poem is quite remarkable in its tone and language. The poem recounts the story of Naman, an African young man who was chosen by the chief men of the village as the best representative of their race to go to war in the country of the "white men." The white men referred to here are the French colonialists in Guinea who demanded, according to the story, that a Native from this village joins their army. Naman fights on the Italian and German grounds and is "decorated" for his actions in the war. Months later, his wife Kadia, receives news of his

homecoming. However, before his return, a friend of Naman writes a letter to Kadia announcing Naman's death as a result of a dispute between the natives and the white officers.

Here is what Fanon writes on this poem,

> Here [in Fodeba's poem] things are clear; it is a precise, forward-looking exposition. The understanding of the poem is not merely an intellectual advance, but a political advance. To understand this poem is to...furbish up one's weapons. There is not a single colonized person who will not receive the message that this poem holds. Naman, the hero of the battlefields of Europe, Naman who eternally ensures the power and perenniality of the mother country, Naman is machine-gunned by the police force at the very moment that he comes back to the country of his birth...All those niggers, all those wogs who fought to defend the liberty of France or for British civilization recognize themselves in this poem by Keita Fodeba. (233)

But how this is accomplished is the question that we are seeking in this paper—How can one write a literature that will awaken the people, a literature that Fanon would call a revolutionary literature?

To attempt an answer to this question, let us take a closer look at Fodeba's poem. The poem is entitled "African Dawn," and it begins with the sentence, "Dawn was breaking." To the people and to the poet, the word "dawn" holds great significance. As will be discussed in detail in the following chapters, the concept of dawn is used often in Native American and Palestinian poetry, where the break of dawn represents the hope for a new day of fighting and resistance, and in turn a new hope for

life and existence. In the same way, dawn is used by the African poet to signify the departure of the night where night stands for the darkness of colonialism. Fodeba writes, "Dawn was breaking—dawn, the fight between night and day. But the night was exhausted and could fight no more, and slowly died" (Fanon 228). Dawn, breaking after the fight between night and day, is in turn representative of the light that will illuminate the darkness of the village after the battle of liberation is won between the colonialists and the peoples of the village. Hence, as Fanon writes, the poem becomes "a forward looking exposition...a political advance," as well as an "invitation for action and a basis for hope" (231-232).

It is important to also note that the poem is of the people and is written for the people so as to stir their feelings and to "awaken them." Naman is one of the people, a representative of their race, who is machine-gunned by the enemy, the colonial police. As he fights in the army of the colonialist, he is "decorated" with honor. However, when he wishes to return to his people, the colonialists refuse to allow him to go back to his land and to his people. They want him assimilated; otherwise, he is a barbaric native whose life is worthless, and he is ultimately killed.

Naman's refusal to leave costs him his life, but it does not bring about darkness and gloom. Instead, "Dawn was breaking" and it is

stained with Naman's blood as his body lies in the land of Senegal. The blue skies are "flaming" with the colors of blood that come with the morning dawn. "The first rays of the sun" appear after Naman's death. Light is brought to the country and to the peoples, and the skies of a blood-stained dawn are opening up new horizons. Sadness is in the air. The breeze stirs the palm trees to bend their trunks down toward the ocean as if saddened by the tragedy. Yet the crows come in noisy flocks warning the peoples of the catastrophe. Their screams present an invitation to action against the crime that has taken place.

Moreover, the poem is arranged in the format of a story. The poet is playing the role of the storyteller. His audience is the people of the village. The poem is written for the people. Fanon instructs the storytellers to bring alive their stories and introduce into them modifications which are increasingly fundamental. It becomes important to "bring conflicts up to date and to modernize the kinds of struggle which the stories evoke, together with the names of heroes and the types of weapons" (240). And Fodeba does just that. His entire poem is drawn on the condition of his people in Guinea. He specifically identifies the city of Tiaroye-sur-Mer where Naman is killed, he puts the blame on the white officers from Dakar, and names his enemy—the French colonialists.

At the same time, he does not stray from the traditional form of storytelling where his poem is a story recounted to his people.

It is also interesting to note that the different stanzas in the poem are divided by the music of the guitar, the Cora, and the Balafo, with the exception of one stanza. Immediately before the stanza that announces Naman's death, tom-toms are drummed. The tom-toms are also a part of the text of the stanza that precedes Naman's death in which they are an element in a dancing celebration for the homecoming of Naman. Furthermore, Fodeba integrates the sound of tom-toms in the opening stanza in which he writes, "Dawn was breaking. The little village, which had danced half the night to the sound of tom-toms, was waking slowly" (Fanon 227-228). The sound of tom-toms is also weaved into the eighth stanza of the poem, which marks the middle of the 17 stanza poem, in which it is written, "The next day, in spite of her [Naman's wife] tears and lamentations, the full-toned drumming of the war tom-toms accompanied Naman to the village's little harbor..." (Fanon 229). The drumming of the tom-toms is a source of strength for the people. Its accustomed rhythm extends a feeling of inspiration and hope. Fanon teaches that the native intellectual "must work and fight with the same rhythm as the people to construct the future and to prepare the ground where vigorous shoots are already springing up" (233). And this is just

how Fodeba writes. He uses the rhythm of the tom-toms to bring out the rhythm of his people. The sound of the tom-toms, woven throughout the story, embodies tradition and culture, and it is a rhythm that the people can identify with and are uplifted by.

In addition, the history of the peoples of the village is woven throughout the poem. At one point in the story, Naman is held prisoner by the Germans. This news leads the men of the village to hold a meeting in which, "The old men...decided that henceforward Naman would be allowed to dance the Douga, that sacred dance of the vultures that no one who has not performed some outstanding feat is allowed to dance, that dance of the Mali emperors of which every step is a stage in the history of the Mali race" (Fanon 230). However, the reader is told in the following stanza that "Time went by. A year followed another, and Naman was still in Germany. He did not write any more" (Fanon 230). Then, in the next stanza, the reader learns that Naman would be home soon, and to celebrate, the village girls are now singing "new songs" for his homecoming, for, Fodeba writes, "the old men who were the devotees of the Douga spoke no more about that famous dance of the Manding" (Fanon 231). It is very important to understand from the latter quote that the point being made is about the affects of colonialism. Colonialism, with the help of time, erases those parts of the culture that give it

dimension and belonging. Fanon explains here that the ex-service association in the colonies is one of the most anti-nationalist elements that exist. The French, or the colonial power, use the ex-servicemen to break up the young independent state. The songs representing the peoples and the peoples' history and culture are forgotten. The younger generation does not hold onto its history, onto "that dance of the Mali emperor of which every step is a stage in the history of the Mali race" (Fanon 230). Fanon teaches, "culture is the first expression of a nation" (244). History is the common bond that distinguishes one nation from another. When colonialism tries to seep into a culture, it is also attempting to weaken the ties that hold the people together. It tries to plant deep in the minds of the native population that their history is one that is barbaric, "riddled with superstitions," and moreover, works on separating them and dismantling those feelings they hold of connection and belonging (Fanon 211).

In his Culture and Imperialism, Edward Said asserts that Fanon penetratingly links the settler's conquest of history with imperialism's regime of truth, over which the great myths of Western culture preside, and he quotes a passage from Fanon's book:

> The settler makes history; his life is an epoch, an Odyssey. He is the absolute beginning. "This land was created by us"; he is the unceasing cause: "if we leave, all is lost, and the country will go back to the Middle Ages." Over against him torpid creatures, wasted by fevers, obsessed by

> ancestral customs, form an almost inorganic background for the innovating dynamism of colonial mercantilism. The settler makes history and is conscious of making it. (51)

It is then the colonizer's goal to debase and discount the Native's history, and it is through this, Said asserts, that the colonizer achieves dominance and accumulation. These ideas, in turn, are dangerously impressed on the human consciousness of the Natives, where they are established as the "truth," and moreover, they are left unchallenged by the Natives.

Within this context, Jean-Paul Sartre in his preface to The Wretched of the Earth affirms, 'There is nothing more consistent than a racist humanism since the European has only been able to become a man through creating slaves and monsters" (Fanon 26). And Friedrich Nietzsche takes this further and concludes in his book On the Genealogy of Morals that,

> ...everywhere 'noble,' 'aristocratic' in the social sense, is the basic concept from which 'good' in the sense of 'with aristocratic soul,' 'noble,' 'with a soul of high order,' 'with a privileged soul,' necessarily developed. (27-28)

Nietzsche goes on to explain that this development always runs parallel to another, in which the 'common,' 'plebian,' and 'low' is then what becomes transformed into the context 'bad' (28). In turn, these distortions serve the colonial objective of power and domination over the Natives. The Natives, along with their history, become that which is "bad," and

there arises consequently a need for a new history, one that comes along sides with European civilization, which ignores and overlooks their bestial past. Hence, the role of the Native intellectual becomes of critical importance, where he is to awaken his people to a distorted reality, and to help his culture emerge from under the subversions and falsehood of colonialism by examining the truth behind the lies, the hidden behind the visible, and by grasping onto the real truth of his people's history and past.

Colonialism realizes the importance of history for the natives, and as Fanon asserts, "Colonialism made no mistake when from 1955 on it proceeded to arrest the storytellers systematically" (241). Amilcar Cabral also touches on this point, emphasizing the importance of history for the society. He asserts that imperialist domination, by denying the historical development of the dominated people, they are also denying their cultural development. This is done for the security of the imperialist domination; they enforce cultural oppression and attempt at directly or indirectly liquidating the essential elements of the culture of the dominated people (43). Cabral goes further to explain that:

> Culture is simultaneously the fruit of a people's history and a determinant of history...The principal characteristic, common to every kind of imperialist domination, is the negation of the *historical process* of the dominated people...Just as happens with the flower in a plant, in

> culture there lies the capacity (or the responsibility) for forming and fertilizing the seedling which will assure the continuity of history, at the same time assuring the prospects for evolution and progress of the society in question. (40-42)

Thus, as Cabral teaches, when imperialist domination denies the historical development of the dominated people, it is necessarily also denying their cultural development. In turn, imperialist domination, like all other foreign dominations, "for its own security, requires direct or indirect liquidation of the essential elements of the culture of the dominated people" (Cabral 42-43). The emergence of a people's culture then hinges upon the "responsibility" of its people to assure the continuity of their true history and past.

Hence, history and culture, when used in the appropriate manner, are powerful weapons that may well be used to bring the people collectively and carry forward a battle of liberation. With this in mind, Fodeba ends the poem with the following lines,

> And in the flaming blue sky, just above Naman's body, a huge vulture was hovering heavily. It seemed to say to him "Naman! You have not danced that dance that is named after me. Others will dance it" (Fanon 231).

The word "Others" in the last line groups the people as one existence against the enemy, the colonizer. And what brings the people together in the last lines is that historical dance that one dances in celebration for an "outstanding" act, an act that could in no way be greater than that of

liberating the peoples from the enemy. There is hope for the dance is bound to be danced again by "others." Hence, this poem may be used as example of how history and the past are used here in accordance with Fanon's teachings "with the intention of opening the future, as an invitation to action and a basis for hope" (232).

Yet, we must return here to a critical question put forth at the beginning of this chapter— Can literature mobilize the people without leading them into a vicious cycle of violence? The Wretched of the Earth is ultimately based upon Fanon's belief "The colonized man finds his freedom in and through violence" (86). In his chapter "Concerning Violence," Fanon cites a long quote from a tragedy for Aime Cesaire, written in 1946, in which Cesaire writes of a slave revolt that occurred in Martinique at an unspecified date. The passage cited by Fanon begins with an exchange between the anonymous Rebel and his mother. The Rebel says "harshly," defining himself, "My name—an offense; my Christian name—humiliation; my status—a rebel; my age—the stone age," and his Mother responds, "My race—the human race. My religion—brotherhood." (Fanon 86). Then, the passage recounts a discussion that takes place between the mother and the son in which the mother is pleading that her son does not revolt and bring death upon himself. She pleads, "And I had dreamed of a son to close his mother's

eyes," and in response, the son, or the Rebel in the play, answers, "But I chose to open my son's eyes upon another sun"—a sun, like that in Fodeba's poem, representing a new, liberated reality.

But how this is to be achieved, according to both Fanon and Cesaire, is merely through violence. The Rebel kills his master in a revolt of the slaves, and describes his crime as "a fruitful death, a copious death." He is fulfilled to announce, "I killed him [the master] with my own hands." Cesaire's language in this passage describing the crime is one that sends chills down the reader's spine. He writes,

> It was I [the Rebel], even I, and I told him so, the good slave, the faithful slave, the salve of slaves, and suddenly his eyes were like two cockroaches, frightened in the rainy season...I struck, and the blood spurted; that is the only baptism that I remember today. (Fanon 88)

The blood of the master is "baptizing." Violence is gratifying. Fanon looks at this aspect of Cesaire's poetry as one that takes on a "prophetic significance" (86). He explains that once the colonized man understands that his freedom can only be achieved in and through violence, he is enlightened because it indicates to him the means and the end, where the means is violence and the end is liberation.

In his speech "National Liberation and Culture," Cabral specifically addresses the need for an armed struggle for the national liberation. He asserts that in order to face colonial violence, "the

liberation movement must mobilize and organize the people, under the direction of a strong and disciplined political organization, in order to resort to violence in the cause of freedom" (52). "The armed liberation struggle implies, therefore, a veritable forced march along the road to cultural progress," says Cabral. Although painful when carried out, the armed struggle for liberation in Cabral's opinion is the only efficient instrument for attaining freedom. Otherwise, according to him, the efforts and sacrifices accepted during the struggle "will have been made in vain," where the struggle will have failed to achieve it objectives of liberation, and the people will have missed an opportunity for progress in the general framework of history (56). And most importantly, it must be remembered that the armed struggle is carried out in response to colonial oppression that is the source of violence to begin with.

With this in mind, the Rebel declares, "We had attacked, we the slaves; we, the dung underfoot, we the animals with patient hooves..." (Fanon 88). It is true that the Rebel and his people have been oppressed and horribly exploited. They have been offended, humiliated, and murdered under the name of civilization and Christianity. Therefore, the reason behind the Rebel's violence is justified, or at least understood, and is one that has lead to liberation from the colonizer. But the question that arises here is whether or not such violence in our highly politicized world

today is leading to anything but counter-violence and terror, and ultimately into a vicious cycle of hatred? Aren't we undergoing this endless phenomenon of hatred in our world today? Violence may have led to freedom in the Algerian case, but it has not done so in the case of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict for example. There is not even the slightest hope for liberation or peace on the Palestinian-Israeli front. On the contrary, violence in the Middle East is only leading to counter-violence and more lives lost. Thus, it is uncertain whether or not Fanon's plea for violence can be useful in our present times. Isn't such a call for violence merely mobilizing the people's consciousness toward participating in more bloodshed and destruction in a world where the balance of powers is very lopsided? And, in turn, what becomes the responsibility of the intellectual in the call he is voicing through his writing—is he/she participating in the making of a more humane and liberated world where humans can live their difference?

The Rebel proclaims, "And the world does not spare me...There is not anywhere in the world a poor creature who's been lynched or tortured in whom I am not murdered and humiliated" (Fanon 86). He sympathizes with all the oppressed in the world, and is nobly and courageously fighting for the hope of ridding the world of its injustices. The Mother in the play declares "the human race" as her race and her

religion as "brotherhood." It should also be noted here that in his speech "National Liberation and Culture," Amilcar Cabral does call for a "universal culture," a culture that embodies "constant and generalized promotion of feeling of humanism, of solidarity, or respect and disinterested devotion to human beings," but, like Fanon, he only sees this initiated through violence and arms. Yet, again, the question that arises here is whether or not violence is the only answer for achieving a universal culture, or is it possible, as Homi Bhabha questions, to live our differences humanely and peacefully?

As I reflect on both the Native American and Palestinian communities, two populations who are still undergoing the destructive effects of colonization, I find a significant application to Fanon's call in their literature and art. Both Native American and Palestinian intellectuals are fighting against the forgetfulness of the Western culture, and are fervently calling for recognition of their national culture and existence. However, within the context of the Native American and Palestinian cultures whose fight, different from that of the Algerian cause, is waged against a dominating superpower, Fanon's theories may have to be modified, and violence may not be the means for a peaceful existence. Whereas Fanon's call for a "revolutionary" literature may have aspired to the overthrow of governments and an elimination of the colonizer, in my

opinion it can realistically only serve as a way to preserve culture for the Native American or Palestinian intellectual today. It may also serve as a means to put forth a wave of resistance against the extinction or destruction of a culture, or to simply secure basic human rights for its people. His "revolutionary literature," may be better examined within the context of the Native American literature as one that is concerned with preserving a national and cultural consciousness, and within the Palestinian literature as one that is fighting for its basic human rights and resisting the dispossession of an identity, and which may be better looked at as "literature of resistance" and a cry voiced to humanity. Moreover, in order to attain any kind of universal values, there must be a collective effort put forth by humanity to help grant individual and collective intellectual work the right to exist in a relatively disengaged atmosphere, and allow it a status that isn't disqualified by partisanship (or by bias), and in turn, reconsidering the ties between the text and the world in a serious and uncoercive way—a notion put forth by Edward Said and one that will be specifically elaborated on in chapter 3 of this essay.

In my search for the intellectuals that Fanon calls for, I have chosen Native Americans Joy Harjo and Evelina Zuni Lucero and Palestinian Mahmoud Darwish as ardent examples of three native intellectuals relentlessly struggling toward achieving a renewed and

liberated national and cultural consciousness through their acts of writing, and whose works are ones that fervently celebrate the past but at the same time look to a modernized future adorned with a colonial-free identity—an identity that must also look toward a united humanity that transcends political divisions.

The native intellectual has to recognize that through his/her writings on the Other, he/she can also be participating in the creation of a vicious cycle of violence and hatred toward the Other, a cycle that is pushing humanity into a bottomless pit. Their writing can easily serve as an invitation for political hatred, and in turn, human differences can simply lead to an abandonment of universal values. Hence, as Homi Bhabha asserts, "The time has come to return to Fanon; as always, I believe, with a question: How can the human world live its difference? How can a human being live Other-wise?" (122).

## Chapter Two:
## Native American Writing as Identity and Cultural Consciousness

> *There is such a love of stories among Navajo people that it seems each time a group of more than two gather, the dialogue eventually evolves into sharing stories and memoirs, laughing, and teasing...So it is true that daily conversations strengthen us as do the old stories of our ancestors that have been told since the beginning of the Navajo time.* Luci Taphanso

The writing of Native Americans is an act of renewal. It embodies a spirit of survival and continuity. "This writing, then, is not 'mine,'" writes Luci Tapahanso, a Navajo Native American writer, "but a collection of many voices that range from centuries ago and continue into the future" (xii). She explains that writing for her, and for people in her situation residing away from their homeland, is the means for "returning, rejuvenation, and for restoring...[their] spirit to the state of 'hohzo,' or beauty," which, in turn, is a basis for their philosophy (xii). And this beauty that is being restored by the Native American intellectual today is representative of a sacred culture and identity that has undergone much devastation and distortion under colonial aggression.

Yet, unlike Fodeba's or Cesaire's writing, the Native American is not aiming to overturn a force of occupation, but is attempting to preserve a cultural identity and consciousness. Heid Erdrich and Laura

Tohe, two Native American intellectuals, co-edited an anthology for Native American women writers from more than twenty different Native American tribes and indigenous communities across the United States, Canada and Mexico, and brought together their works under the title Sister Nations. For Erdrich, her hope behind this project is that "Native American readers and students might recognize their own experience in some of the selections, and non-Native Americans might learn something about their neighbors and friends" (xiv). She later adds, "...we wanted to show how the sense of kinship, so important to indigenous communities, crosses boundaries of culture, even political boundaries imposed on land" (xv).

Laura Tohe takes her aim even further and addresses the need for a collection of writing that would reveal more complex pictures of Native Americans. She calls attention specifically to the images of Native women "framed as they are in terms of colonial hetero-patriarchal values, needs, guilt and made for commercial use," which are "a construct of the colonizer that invents and distorts" their images. Today, as she points out, tourist shops in the Southwest abound with postcards of romantic women and girls dressed in turquoise and pictured against a picturesque background such as Monument Valley, a flock of sheep, a weaving loom, red rocks, and so forth. The Indian maiden is placed on

cigar boxes, maps, postcards, greeting cards, among other advertisements, in which her image sells. An Indian woman represents the "Pocahontas who saves a white man; she is the female Noble Savage, Sacajawea, who helps white men" (Erdrich xviii). For this reason, Taho and Erdrich, collaborate "to break through the crusty layers of stereotypes," and allow Native women to define themselves and their communities in their own voices and on their terms (Erdrich xix).

Of course, there is always a tone of defiance that comes with the works of Native American intellectuals. Winona LaDuke asserts in her Forward to Nation Sisters that in the telling of stories for Native Americans she is reminded of a phrase carved into a wall in Guatemala: 'Altogether we have more death than they, but altogether we have more life than they' (Erdrich xii). "They" here no doubt refers to the colonizer, the white oppressor who caused death and destruction for the Native American. However, the Native American also believes in the "life" and continuity of his/her people despite the existence of the colonizer. Their identity is alive and their culture continues.

To take a closer look at the actual writing of the Native American intellectual, I will begin by examining the prose and poetry of Joy Harjo, specifically in her book In Mad Love and War. I will demonstrate how her work clearly embodies Fanon's notion of a revolutionary literature—

a literature that employs history to generate a Native American cultural consciousness and identity. I will also explore how literature assists in the emergence of the Native American cultural identity, where history, through the act of memory, is "a cleansing and rekindling of old fires" (Womack 235).

Harjo exploits two major themes throughout In Mad Love and War: memory, and survival and transformation. We will first examine the role of memory in Harjo's writing. In an interview with Bill Moyers, Harjo expresses that she is "memory alive" (Harjo, The Spiral 49). In her poem "Fury of Rain," she writes, "Gut memory shakes this earth like a rattle, knocking my teeth with heroic thunder" (In Mad 16). And, in his book *Red on Red*, Craig Womack writes on the importance of memory to Harjo:

> ...Harjo refuses to allow the submergence of memory. By relying on Creek history for the contents of her poetry, and most importantly, imagining that history, she fights the temptation to be pulled under the waters of forgetfulness, to bury the pain under a river of denial... (228)

Harjo employs memory in her writing to "maintain a connection to a national culture and a homeland" (Womack 234).

Womack explains that given the complexity of contemporary Native life and the demographic reality that more than one half of the Native population in the United States now lives in urban cities, the

relationship held in living memory, in hearing and telling stories, is the key to bringing the homeland into urban landscapes, where, for Harjo the story becomes a place of her ancestors to where she travels through memory. This idea is clearly presented in Harjo's "Deer Ghost," where, as Womack points out, the poem faces the reality of displacement within the Native community, and further contrasts the "old-style" Creek life with the poet's urban wanderings. The city in which the poet finds herself is "fragile" and its fire has gone out, unlike her old home where her "people used to make [their homes] of mud and straw to mother the source of burning" (In Mad 29). Therefore, Harjo takes on the task of "lighting the fire" in this new city and frees the deer to wander its streets, and this process becomes possible through the telling of tales and stories of her past and of her memories.

Also, memory is powerfully evoked in Harjo's "Deer Dancer." It is important to understand here, as Womack suggests, that deer are memory to the Creek. Deer were central to Creek food supplies before contact with the colonizer, then important to Creek survival through trade with the English. Harjo calls the deer in her poetry "a blessing of meat" (In Mad 6). As she imagines the deer dancer, she realizes that she is bringing back to her world "the ancestors who never left" (In Mad 6). Despite colonialism and its goal to extinguish the American Indian race,

Harjo believes in survival and she is able to overcome the boundaries she, and her people, have been confined to. One of the most powerful statements I find in her writing is: "we are Indian ruins," still standing and proving to the world that an Indian presence and existence. The "Deer Dancer" comes into a bar in the city, as imagined by Harjo, representing the "ancestors who never left." In turn, deer become a symbol of adaptability, survival in the face of change and shifting worlds, and the power to transcend boundaries (Womack 229).

Reinforcing the same idea, Laura Coltelli explains in The Spiral of Memory that memory for Harjo becomes an instrument to retrace the past, "not as an inducement to curl inwards on oneself, as if it were a point in time without escape route, but rather a dynamic process to reaffirm ancient heritages and to proceed forward on a path of constant renewal" (Harjo, The Spiral 9). These words are ones that strikingly echo Fanon's as he explains that the artist, or intellectual, who has decided to illustrate the truth of his nation, must not turn paradoxically toward the past which is ultimately "the castoffs of thought, its shells and corpses, a knowledge which has been stabilized once and for all;" instead, he must find the place in which the "learning of the future will emerge" (Fanon 225).

This brings me to a second theme prevalent in Harjo's work, and that is the theme of survival and transformation. Coltelli believes the key word in In Mad Love and War is "transformation," which she explains is not circumscribed in one single word, "but is transformation into that of which the poems speaks, transformation of language with other words and beyond words, transformation of anger while preserving it—not forgetting it" (Harjo, The Spiral 8). Within this context, Ghandi is appropriately cited by Harjo: "so our anger, controlled, can be transmitted into power which can move the world." And Adrienne Rich writes,

> She's [Harjo] generous in her poetry, opening her sacred spaces and music to all, yet never naïve or forgetful about hostility and hatred, as in "Transformations." ... This is not forgiveness, turning of the cheek. It's a claming of power, the power of poetic act, the courage and grace and knowledge it takes to reach, through the "right words, the right meaning" into that place in the other... (Harjo, The Spiral 9).

It is important to understand that with Harjo's evocation of memory, there are the positive aspects of tribal memory that are brought out, but there are also 500 years of genocide that are also part of that memory. The anger that comes with recalling these memories can clearly be identified in the tone of Harjo's poem "Resurrection," where she writes,

> the wounded and the dead call out in words that sting
> like bitter limes.

(Ask the women who have given away the clothes of their dead
children.
Ask the frozen soul of a man who was found in the hole left
By his missing penis.) (In Mad 17-18)

She is an intellectual who has not forgotten what her people had to endure, and the tone of these lines clearly reflects the poet's anger and frustration. She makes excellent use of contrast, juxtaposing the living and dead and giving words to the dead in the latter lines. She calls for the dead to teach "a language so terrible" that it may resurrect all, living and dead (In Mad 18). In "We must call a meeting," she names this language "the language of lizards and storms" (In Mad 9), a language that holds witness to what Native Indians went through, one with "words that sting like bitter lime"—words that embody Fanon's call for a revolutionary language. She remarkably utilizes personification in her poetry to empower language. Moreover, Harjo, in her introduction with Gloria Bird in Reinventing the Enemy's Language, explains that to speak, at whatever the cost, is to become empowered rather than victimized by destruction, where the power that language holds is to heal, to regenerate, and to create.

Yet, ironically, Harjo, along with other native poets, uses the enemy's language to speak and to tell stories, which is a step in itself toward transformation, and specifically transformation of the "enemy's

language." They (the Native American intellectuals) have created this new language in the colonizer's tongue, a language that refuses to focus on what is being "lost"; instead, it becomes that language that Fanon calls for, a language of poetry and storytelling that concentrates on survival, and looks onto the future of Native American Indians. Within this context, it is remarkable to note how creation and destruction are evoked in the same poem, again making excellent use of contrast in her poetry. In "Javelina" Harjo recognizes her survival of racism and American education which once rendered her speechless, one who "could say nothing," and further announces her triumph in the breaking of her silence and writing of poetry (In Mad 31). Thus, writing poetry to Joy Harjo becomes a process of transformation—a transformation from speechlessness to authorship.

Furthermore, it is remarkable to look at how Harjo employs the theme of fire as a part of the transformation process. In "Deer Ghost" Harjo writes, "I am the lighting the fire that crawls from my spine to the gods with a coal from my sister's flame. This is what names me in the way of my people who have called me back" (In Mad 29). As explained by Womack, this line is pregnant with Creek meaning of fire, one of the most cogent of Creek symbols given its prominent place at the ceremonial grounds, where fire is ritualistically cleansed, the old fires

being cleansed and new fires rekindled (235). Womack also relays to the reader the story of Creeks carrying the embers from the square grounds all the way from Alabama to Oklahoma during Indian Removal, and rekindling the sacred fire upon their arrival in their new home. And along the same lines, Harjo's poem, "Deer Ghost," is suggesting that the sacred relationship she maintains with her people is held in active memory, where "if one remembers these story connections, the act of memory itself is a cleansing and rekindling of old fires" (Womack 235).

Memory is then transformed into a revolutionary fire where fire is employed as a call for revolution. In "Real Revolution is Love," Harjo writes, "This is the land of revolution... this is not a foreign country, but the land of our dreams" (In Mad 24). In "City of Fire," she writes, "We will make a river, flood this city built of passion with fire, with a revolutionary fire" (In Mad 41). She also calls on the wind to join in with the fire in her revolutionary battle and writes,

> I will dream you the wind,
> taste salt air on my lips until
> I take you apart raw.
> Come here.
> We will make a river,
> flood this city
> . . . with fire,
> with a revolutionary fire. (In Mad 41)

The wind is invited by the poet to stir the fire, a fire of change and renewal. In "Day of the Dead," she describes wind as "electric, sharp as truth," and continues to say, "I have built a fire in the cave of my body, and hope the devil wind gives it a chance" (In Mad 45). In "Climbing the streets of Worcester, Mass.," she writes, "...the wind drew circles around this town/scraped clean the dead skin of its soul" (In Mad 43). And in her poem "For Anna Mae Pictou Aquash..." she writes, "I heard about it in Oklahoma, or New Mexico, how the wind howled and pulled everything down in a righteous anger" (In Mad 8). In all of the mentioned poems, the call for a revolution is clearly voiced, and its participants are fire and wind. Her words are aimed at awakening the people, and her language and metaphors always call for change and renewal. It is the "language of command" which Fanon is speaking of, a language that progressively takes on the habit of addressing her own people to fight for their culture and identity, a language that molds history into a cultural consciousness giving it contours and flinging open before it new and boundless horizons, and a language that assumes responsibility.

One may ask, what then is the goal of Harjo's writing, and what is this call for transformation to accomplish? According to Womack, the goal is "to go home," where home is a place where the hoop is no longer

broken, lands are returned, people are in control of their own resources; in other words, going home to vibrant Native nationalism, to real self-determination (Womack 231). Harjo looks forward to the transformed world and writes, "I want to enter the next world filled with food, wine and the finest fishing," and waits to catch "fish who were as long as rainbows after the coming storm" (In Mad 20, 33).

Yet this is different from Fanon's call for violence: Harjo's writing is quite the opposite in that it incorporates love into the transformative process. In her chapter, "The Wars," she quotes June Jordan's words: "We are not survivors of a civil war / We survive our love / because we go on loving" (In Mad 4). And, in her poem "Heartshed," she writes, "Let's dance this all again / Another beginning" (In Mad 62). Unlike Fodeba's and Cesaire's language, there is an essence of forgiveness that is present in Harjo's poetry. "I forgive you, forgive myself / from the beginning / this heartshed," Harjo writes. She prays that all is done "In beauty / In beauty" (In Mad 65).

Love, instead of violence, is also a theme strongly applied in her poem "Transformations." As mentioned earlier, Harjo believes, following the example of Ghandi, that our anger, controlled, can be transmitted into power that can move the world (Harjo, The Spiral 8). She does not believe in violence as a solution. Instead she resorts to love.

And she remarkably demonstrates this in "Transformations." In the first line of the poem, Harjo writes, "This poem is a letter to tell you that I have smelled the hatred you have tried to find me with; you would like to destroy me" (In Mad 59). Harjo's enemy represents hatred. It is an enemy, like all others, that is looking to destroy humane values. Yet she is not willing to allow this enemy to dehumanize her. She writes,

> What I mean is that hatred can be turned into something else, if you have the right words, the right meanings, buried in that tender place in your heart where the most precious animals live. (In Mad 59)

Hatred turned into love is what Harjo wants to see—a love that transforms even the enemy. Moreover, it is interesting to note how the poem is written in the format of two stanzas. Harjo makes it clear from the beginning of the poem that she is writing a "letter" to her enemy. She further explains that "...what I am trying to tell you...that I know you can turn a poem into something else," and she does. Harjo is not constrained to the format of the traditional poem. There is no meter or rhyme in her form. She is not interested in writing the traditional poem. She looks for a new language that embodies the right words—the right meaning—specifically, a language that does not call for violence as in Fanon's example. Instead it is a language that looks for peaceful ways to co-live and even "dance" with the enemy. In the last stanza of her poem,

Harjo refers to a dark woman, possibly herself or her Native American ancestor. Addressing the enemy, she writes, "She [the dark woman] has been trying to talk to you for years...She is beautiful. This is your hatred back. She loves you" (In Mad 59).

It is quite astonishing to see this kind of response written by a Native American who poignantly feels the despair and agony that her people were forced to endure. She reminds the reader in her poem "Autobiography,"

> Dreams aren't glass and steel but made from the hearts of deer, the blazing eye of a circling panther. Translating them was to understand the death count from Alabama, the destruction of grandchildren, famine of stories. I didn't think I could stand it. (In Mad 14)

But she does stand it. Harjo holds on to the hope of transformation in a humanity that is constantly bombarded by political hatred in our world today. She stands against the tyrannies of the enemy, refuses to commit his crimes, does not accept to abandon the universal values of humanity, and ends her poem with a gesture of forgiveness. It is quite ironic how sorrow and forgiveness are evoked in the same poem. She writes of a hummingbird traveling east which reminds her that the season is "the Muscogee season of forgiveness, time of new corn, the spiraling dance" (In Mad 15). Harjo looks for the survival of the buds of her nation in planting the seeds of forgiveness. Her weapon is the history and

memory of her people and transformation is her aim, and all that is to be done through love.

When considering Harjo's approach of writing a revolutionary literature that may transform the world, I am reminded of Paulo Freire's teachings in The Pedagogy of the Oppressed, who also takes on the struggle of the oppressed, specifically the Brazilian peasants, and dedicates his cause to teaching them how to liberate themselves from the oppressor. Yet in his struggle for liberation, his weapon is love. He challenges his followers to humanize the world. He teaches that in order for the struggle to have meaning, the oppressed must not, in seeking to regain their humanity, become in turn oppressors of the oppressors, but rather restorers of the humanity of both. Their great humanistic task becomes to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well (Freire 44).

Furthermore, Freire addresses the importance of dialogue between the oppressor and the oppressed—a dialogue defined as the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world, and is a fundamental precondition for their true humanization. Yet Freire teaches us that dialogue cannot exist in the absence of profound love for the world and for the people. The naming of the world, which is an act of creation and re-creation, is not possible if it is

not infused with love. Love is at the same time the foundation of the dialogue and is dialogue itself. It cannot exist in a relation of domination. Love is also a commitment to others. No matter where the oppressed are found, the act of love is commitment to their cause—the cause of liberation (Freire 88-89).

Although very different from Fanon's call for violence, Freire's call for love is certainly transforming when looked at in the context of Harjo's poetry. Perhaps the reason it might work for Harjo's poetry and not for Fodeba's or Cesaire's is because of the vast difference in the times and politics that these writers live. For Harjo, there are no forces of occupation, nor is there a battle against an army of the colonial regime. Instead, Harjo, along with her people, want to preserve and continue with their tradition. They are not undergoing a fight for geographical borders but for preserving and maintaining a cultural consciousness and identity. And here it becomes possible for love to be a mediator between those that are marginalized and those who are in control.

Evelina Zuni Lucero is another native writer whom I believe Frantz Fanon would consider a nationally conscious intellectual working to build up her nation. She is a Native American intellectual who has a strong sense of her identity and culture, but most importantly, she is one not living, as Fanon says, "in the past tense." She is that native

intellectual who wishes to create an authentic work of art, but who also "must realize that the truths of a nation are in the first place its realities," and who will go on until he/she has found "the seething pot out of which the learning of the future will emerge" (Fanon 225).

In a speech delivered at Syracuse University, New York in 1970, Amilcar Cabral speaks on "National Liberation and Culture." He writes,

> It is at this point that culture reaches its full significance for each individual: understanding and integration into his environment, identification with fundamental problems and aspirations of the society, acceptance of the possibility of change in the direction of progress. (44)

Like Fanon, Cabral also believes that "culture is an essential element of the people, where "culture is, perhaps the product of history, just as the flower is the product of a plant" (42). He explains that just as it happens with the flower in a plant, in culture there lies the capacity (or the responsibility) for forming and fertilizing the seedling that will assure the continuity of history, while at the same time assuring the prospects for evolution and progress of the society in question.

Within this context, in her book Night Sky, Morning Star, Lucero clearly depicts the struggle of the Native American culture in a world that was once theirs but is now altered and controlled by the injustices of white colonialism. As will be provides by the examples to follow, Lucero is representative of an intellectual with a remarkable

understanding and identification of the aspirations of her society. She illustrates how accepting change can lead to progress and growth in the cultural consciousness.

Lucero addresses the question of cultural identity and Indianness. Cecilia Bluespruce, the heroine in Lucero's story, is a successful Native American artist trapped by dreams and shadows of her past; however, she is also a Native American woman who is struggling to achieve a consciousness that liberates her from the haunting past. She expresses her struggle as a Native American intellectual with the following words:

> There is a world of difference between *being* Indian and *claiming* Indian ancestry... You can't be Indian in the past tense. Being Indian is like being pregnant, you can't be a little bit pregnant, part pregnant, pregnant because your grandma once was. You either are or aren't. (210)

Here, the metaphor of pregnancy embodies an act of emergence. History when claimed in the present tense, and not in the "past tense," gives birth to an Indian identity. The "claiming" of Indian history is simply not enough; "being" Indian is about holding onto and actively participating in the preservation of a culture and a community, and in the case of the Indian community in her book, art shows and exhibits of Indian work are the way to realize this sense of identity. For Cecilia specifically, making clay storytellers is a form of art that helps her

identify with her Indianness. She sees her storytellers as "a piece of Indian culture...a piece of...[her] soul" (Lucero 15).

As the story progresses, the reader witnesses an important transformation in Cecilia's art making, one that also brings back the words of Frantz Fanon to mind. Fanon addresses in detail the progress that takes place within national consciousness among a native people affected by the ways of colonialism, and he dedicates a portion of his analysis to how forms of expression, whether in literature, storytelling, woodworks, ceramics and pottery making, amongst others, undergo a notable progress and change. He explains, for example, that storytellers who used to relate inert episodes of pre-colonial time begin to bring them alive and introduce into them modifications that are increasingly fundamental, where there becomes "a tendency to bring conflicts up to date and modernize the kinds of struggle which the stories evoke" (240). I find Fanon's statement clearly echoed in the advice given to Cecilia by her aunt: "An artist friend told me that he grew from pain. He said he became the artist he never would have been otherwise. Use what has happened and turn into art. You'll know how" (Lucero 31). Both Fanon and Lucero are extending an important message to those who are actively trying to maintain and express their culture and identity. They emphasize how important it is not to dwell on the past, something that

Fanon describes as "shriveled up, inert and empty," and to move on towards new and boundless horizons where responsibility and activism are brought out in the new forms of expression expressed in relation to their time and space.

In Lucero's text, one can clearly observe this process of transformation taking place in Cecilia's pottery making of clay storytellers. In the beginning of the book Cecilia describes her "mute" storytellers as ones having agape mouths "open in little O's, their eyes carved slants, a multitude of small children enfolded in the crooks of their arms, seated at their feet" (18). Going back to Fanon's analysis, the reader learns that the appearance of the movement of cultural forms is linked to the state of maturity of the cultural and national consciousness. He asserts that the "storyteller once more gives free rein to his imagination; he makes innovations and he creates a work of art" (Fanon 241). He goes on to demonstrate how this change can be observed in woodwork, for example, where "The inexpressive or overwrought masks come to life and the arms tend to be raided from the body as if to sketch action," and in ceramics and pottery making "formalism is abandoned in the craftsman's work...The colors, of which formerly there were but few and which obeyed the traditional rules of harmony, increase in number...the stylization of the human face, which according to

sociologists is typical of very clearly defined regions, becomes suddenly completely relative" (Fanon 242). This change for Fanon embodies an awakening of the cultural and national consciousness. An apparent illustration to Fanon's analysis can clearly be observed in Cecilia's work, where her pottery, by the end of the novel, embodies a renewed sense of her identity and culture, and precisely responds to Fanon's call for the "breakup of the old strata of culture, a shattering which becomes increasingly fundamental," and is followed by a "renewing of forms of expression and the rebirth of imagination" (245). By the end of the novel, Lucero writes through the voice of Cecilia,

> During this time, my energy was high. Auntie Reena's words came back to me: 'take your pain and make it into art...' You'll know how.' Almost on her own, a female figure with voluptuous, flowing lines, holding a pottery bowl upside down under one arm, emerged out of a lump of clay. I shaped the body so the curves and contours of her breasts, hips and buttocks were rounded and generous. I cropped the front section of her hair by her ears...The shape of my storytellers changed, becoming more rounded. Their faces become more expressive. I formed sensuous lips, generous bosoms, made some pregnant, their swollen bellies painted and carved with spirals of stars and galaxies. (213)

The transformation, then, that takes place in the pottery work serves as an allegory for that which Lucero hopes to see happen in the Native American society. Cecilia, as a Native individual who has finally achieved a renewed consciousness of her identity and culture, is able to

"brush off the cobwebs" from her pottery storytellers, and gives birth to a new form of expression and imagination. And, as Fanon explains, it is by carving such figures and faces full of life that the artist proves to be nationally and culturally conscious and is able to invite participation in an organized cultural movement aiming for liberation (243).

However, the anger that is held against "white colonialism" is also clearly brought forth in Lucero's novel. In the story, Julian Morning Star is the man whom Cecilia loved since her high school days and the father of her son Jude. Julian is also a Native American political activist who is imprisoned for twenty years for a crime he did not commit. In her chapter titled "Patty Hearst Did It," Lucero evokes, through Julian's language, an internalized hatred against the white man, one that has developed in response to the hatred first imposed on her people. Julian speaks of how he changed his name from a generic surname to an Indian one because "a tribal name validated your Indian identity." He asks, "Why surrender such an important area to the white man? Allow him to impose on a sacred realm" (Lucero 150). Here, by changing Julian's surname into a Native American one, Lucero, once again, finds a way to employ the past into a present that reinforces the Indian identity. Julian recalls his parents' objection to the change and explains, "in a lot of ways, we [Julian and his parents] were not on the same page," for his parents

were "brainwashed by American propaganda into thinking America truly was the land of the free and the home of the brave, even for Indians." He goes on to add that his parents, like a lot of people of their generation, were scared when the radical Indians demanded what was rightfully theirs, and their fear is justified since historically renegade Indians were "killed outright or imprisoned and killed" (Lucero 151). Julian's words avow that change is a frightening step, but at the same time, it is a step that must be taken toward safeguarding culture and identity.

Moreover, in the same chapter, Julian explains that he had not always been as politically conscious or involved in the Indian cause. However, once he is aware of the reality he lives through his involvement and participation in the Indian cause, Julian becomes a political activist fighting against the bias and misrepresentations of his people and culture. He writes, "I began to realize what we were fighting against, the forces of hatred and greed were powerful," and hence, there arises the need for a collective effort put forth by his people to survive such hatred. Here, Lucero is voicing a clear call for action in this chapter. She emphasizes that the Native American who hopes for change must become an active participant in the process, for, as Viola (a politically active Native American college student) asserts in the novel, "Without action, Indian people didn't stand a chance" (Lucero 146).

Moreover, in this chapter, it is the younger generation who realizes that it can make a difference and provide counter-representations for the misrepresentations that are circling as a result of colonial distortions. Julian realizes that in order for his people to be shaken, as Fanon puts it, the Native American people must delve into their history of "racism, injustice, the rape of the mother earth, massacres, white-induced reservation dysfunction, [and] cultural genocide." However, this is not to be accomplished through violence, but by the intellectual's active participation in the Native American cause. History is applied here to light the fire in the hearts of the younger generations showing them way to reclaim their past and to use it, like Fanon teaches, as the seething pot out of which the learning of the future will emerge (Fanon 225).

Julian also realizes that for change and renewal to take place, the movement "had to be led and involve the people most affected. They had to call the shots" (Lucero 152). Here, Lucero provides an excellent representation of how the intellectual's work is to be, as Fanon instructs, of the people and written for the people. She fashions her work with the people hoping that, as Sekou Toure teaches, "the songs will come by themselves, and of themselves" (Fanon 206). And they do. For example, Lucero acknowledges and honors in her novel the works of the AIM as an organization that has made itself known as the defender of Indian Land,

treaty rights, sovereignty, and Indian people. She discusses how the movement grew "out of the same pent-up, helpless rage and frustration that the Indian brothers come into prison with, the kind that blinds them into alcoholism and despair, then defeat." However, she explains, AIM took on the task of breaking that cycle, and as the movement began in the streets of Minneapolis, it only took a matter of years for "resistance [to] spread throughout the country like wildfire" (Lucero 154). As a result, the Indian people began to reclaim land and resources, resisted environmental exploitation, and addressed issues of treaty rights and sovereignty. Here, Lucero, as a Native intellectual, is awakening her people to the possibilities that can open up as a result of their active commitment. The older generation seems to have accepted a reality of subjugation, and this attitude with time is threatening to the existence of a culture and an identity. Hence, Lucero is calling for her people, especially the younger generation, to claim the power that they have within themselves. She is fervently inviting them through her writing to take on the cause of cultural survival and not to allow the oppressor's ways to weigh them down.

Moreover, Lucero triggers her readers to question the system that educates them. Julian, an average Native American college student, begins to examine his education. He asks, "I was wondering what I was

getting out of the white man's educational system, questioning whether I was just playing into the assimilation plot" (153). Within this context, bell hooks' words come to mind. In her book Teaching to Transgress, hooks specifically addresses the dilemma of knowledge accepted as one-upmanship where students do not challenge the biased assumptions. She indicates that often in the classroom setting, students from non-materially privileged backgrounds assume a position of passivity. They are rewarded if they assimilate, estranged if they maintain aspects of who they are (11-13). Hence, hooks calls for the students to recognize their own agency—their capacity to become active participants in the pedagogical process. In Lucero's novel, Viola becomes the perfect example of the college student hooks is calling for. Lucero writes, Viola "hated the book, the way Indians were lumped into road categories and discussed like curiosities" (145). Viola's people are misrepresented in the textbooks, and she challenges the dominant ideologies by pointing out those misrepresentations to her professors in the classroom.

Furthermore, Viola is an active participant in the university's American Indian Student Coalition (AISC). When she gives a speech in an activity at an AISC meeting, she begins addressing the group in her Native language, and in turn reaffirming her Indian identity. Then she translates her greeting, telling the audience of "her name, what

reservation she was from, a little of the historical struggle of her people, and how an elder had advised her to go to college, not to learn the ways of white society but to learn how to fight for her people. The reader is told that the people following Viola in their speeches "mimicked her pattern." Viola is a student who refuses to assimilate into the white man's culture. She represents an example of an Indian student who is aware of her identity and possesses a strong sense of who she is and of what her culture is. She also represents the younger generation—a generation that has the zeal and energy to transform the world and reality in which they live.

In her book The Sacred Hoop, Paula Gunn Allen writes,

> Consequently, Indian control of the image-making and information-disseminating process is crucial, and the contemporary prose and poetry of American Indian writers...is a major part of Indian resistance to cultural and spiritual genocide. (42)

And this is precisely what both Harjo and Lucero have done. Together, they provide us with two examples of how the works of Native American intellectuals play an important role in the continuation of the Native American tradition. The Native American culture and identity lives and breathes because of the writing of such intellectuals, and it is this kind of resistance that keeps the Indian spirit alive. Both Harjo and Lucero, among other Native American intellectuals, take on the role of the

intellectual whom Fanon calls for—a role that raises the mass consciousness of the people, and a role that represents an active participation—as Gramsic puts it—in the practical life of the community. They fashion their writing with the people and for the people. Although their approaches can be different—where the idea of love transforming the enemy is plainly presented in Harjo's poetry, and an explicitly activist approach is characteristic of Lucero's prose in which she is able to go into greater detail about the topics she addresses and the specific thoughts crossing the minds of her characters—both Native intellectuals apply history to bring about an emergence of the Native American identity without resorting to violent measures, where their call for revolutionary action is embodied in the people's active participation in the Native American cause. And with this in mind, I will once again resort to Paula Gunn Allen's words to end this chapter:

> My great-grandmother told my mother: never forget you are Indian. And my mother told me the same things. This [the act of writing], then, is how I have gone about remembering, so that my children will remember too. (50)

## Chapter 3:
## Palestinian Writing as a Call for Palestinian Resistance and a Cry Voiced to Humanity

> *We shall forget neither yesterday nor tomorrow. Tomorrow begins now. It begins with an insistence that the road be traveled to the end, the road of freedom, the road of resistance, traveled all the way till the eternal twins – freedom and peace – meet.* Mahmoud Darwish ("Not to begin")

The Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish has been lauded as a hero, magnified into a myth and made the official national poet of Palestine, writes Munir Akash, editor of Darwish's most recently translated anthology The Adam of Two Edens (19). And in his article "On Mahmoud Darwish," Edward Said writes,

> ...Darwish is...very much a performing poet of a type with few equivalents in the West. He has a fiery and yet also strangely intimate style that is designed for the immediate response of a live audience. Only a few Western poets – Yeats, Walcott, Ginsberg – possess that irresistibly rare combination of incantatory public style with deep and often hermetic personal sentiments. (113)

Said further explains that Mahmoud Darwish provides "an amalgam of poetry and collective memory, each pressing on the other." For Darwish, the collective memory represents the continual uprooting of his people for the past fifty five years, transforming them into refugees on their own land and beyond it, and forcing them to live under an occupation characterized by the ugliest form of apartheid – an

occupation seeking to dispossess the Palestinians of their land and their livelihood, and restricting them into isolated reservations besieged by settlements, bypasses, and, today, walls.

Frantz Fanon, as illustrated in the first chapter, chooses the work of Keita Fodeba as one of "an unquestioned pedagogical value," because it is "clear; ...[and] a precise, and forward looking exposition." He explains that Fodeba's poem is not only an intellectual advance, but also a political one in which the colonized man, after reading it, is inspired to "furbish up...[his/her] weapons." Fanon is certain that "there is not a single colonized person who will not receive the message that this [Fodeba's] poem holds" (231). In the same manner, this chapter chooses Darwish's works as the pedagogical example of the Palestinian intellectual for many reasons. One, Darwish has become a legend in Palestinian literature and writing. Moreover, Darwish is an intellectual who insists, through his act of writing, on traveling the road of resistance against Israel's occupation of his homeland and his people in Palestine— to use Fanon's words, a clearly defined "political advance." He is an intellectual who has committed himself wholly to the Palestinian cause, and who refuses to forget the grief and human tragedies perpetrated against his people, "not because collective and individual memory is fertile, is capable of recalling our [the Palestinian] sad lives, but because

the tragic and heroic story of the land and the people continues to be told in blood" ("Not to begin").

Much like the writing of the African and Native American intellectual, Darwish employs his writing as an instrument to proceed along the path of resistance against cultural, national, and spiritual genocide. He defiantly declares that, despite their acts of displacement and massacres, the enemy has not and will not manage to break the will of the Palestinian people or efface their national identity, and further maintains that after five decades of occupation, the enemy has neither forced his people into absence and oblivion, nor divorced their existence from world consciousness ("Not to begin"). And it is through his act of writing prose and poetry that Darwish extends a message of perseverance to the consciousness of his people. At the same time, Darwish uses employs his writing as a plea for humanity and the international consciousness to participate in enforcing universal values and securing basic human rights for his people.

However, before continuing with our analysis on the literary works of Darwish, we will first further examine Fanon's teachings on nationalism and the question of a national identity, for, as Said asserts, "...while it is appropriate to draw attention to the early chapters on violence in The Wretched of the Earth, it should be noticed that in

subsequent chapters Fanon is sharply critical of what he calls the pitfalls of national consciousness" ("The Politics" 378). As pointed out by Said, it is important to understand that Fanon's beliefs set forth that while nationalism is a necessary spur to revolt against the colonizer, national consciousness must immediately be transformed into what he calls a "political" and "social consciousness," or simply "humanism," just as soon as the withdrawal of the colonizer has been accomplished ("The Politics" 378).

Looking back at Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth, we certainly do find these kinds of teachings about a social consciousness clearly put forth. Fanon writes,

> If you really wish your country to avoid regression, or at best halts and uncertainties, a rapid step must be taken from national consciousness to political and social consciousness...In fact, there must be an idea of man and the future of humanity...But if nationalism is not made explicit, 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 a blind alley. (203)

He further explains that after establishing a nation, "the flag and the place where sits the government cease to be the symbols of the nation"; instead, Fanon affirms that "the living expression of the nation is the moving consciousness of the whole people" (204). The liberated people must "fill their minds and feast their eyes with human things, and create

a prospect that is human because consciousness and sovereign men dwell therein," for, the individual experience, because it is national and because it is a link in the chain of national existence, ceases to be individual, limited, and shrunken and is enabled to open out into the truth of the nation and of the world (205, 200). As Said explains, Fanon argues against separatism and mocks autonomy achieved by a pure politics of national identity, for the politics of knowledge that is based principally on the affirmation of identity only condemns the people to practice the politics and the economics of a new oppression as pernicious as the old one (Said, "The Politics" 378-380). Hence, it must then be understood that the building of the nation, which is the first step to be accomplished by the colonized man, must "also be accompanied by the discovery and encouragement of universalizing values" (Fanon 247).

However, in order to arrive at Fanon's notion of universalizing human values, there also must be an effort made by humanity to hear all people's, specifically the marginalized and oppressed, calls and cries for recognition and justice—an effort of pressing importance for especially the Palestinian people today, for, whereas both Native American and Palestinians share a similar "national" element in their struggle, Fanon's call for "humanism" becomes more urgent for the Palestinian people

whose fate, specifically within the political context, is pending upon the participation of humanity.

Darwish, in one of his most memorable works Memory for Forgetfulness, voices one of these cries to humanity. The setting of Memory for Forgetfulness takes place in Beirut, Lebanon, from June to September 1982, when Israel invades Lebanon. Beirut, under siege, is a horrible experience in history for both Palestinians and Lebanese citizens. At the time, David Glimour describes the bombardment of Beirut as one of the most horrific events of recent history, where day after day the Israeli gunners, navy, and airplanes leveled whole buildings and killed hundreds of people. Glimour quotes a Canadian ambassador in the Sunday Times to have said, "the destruction [of Beirut] was so comprehensive, it would make Berlin of 1945 look like a tea party" (223-224). And, U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon Robert S. Dilon is quoted in The Sunday Times of London to have said, "'Simply put, tonight's saturation shelling was as intense as anything we have seen. There was no 'pinpoint accuracy' against targets in 'open spaces.' It was not a response to Palestinian fire. This was a blitz against West Beirut'" (Darwish, Memory xv). Moreover, Robert Fisk documents in his book Pity the Nation that the Israelis had killed many Palestinian and Lebanese civilians during the invasion, most of whom were women and

children, leaving at least 8,000 people blasted in their apartments during the attack and an estimated total of 17,500 killed (Fisk 232; Said, "What Israel").

Mahmoud Darwish's Memory for Forgetfulness then narrates in poetic prose his witnessed testimony of a day in August while Beirut is under grave bombardment. When Ibrahim Muhawi, translator of Memory for Forgetfulness, asks Darwish whether he thought the text was poetry or prose, Darwish's reply was that "the poet is always a poet; he remains true to himself whatever he does, in life or letters. He pays attention to rhythm and other verse values in his writing" (Memory xxviii). Hence, Darwish's novel partakes of the nature of both prose and poetry, and in turn, is considered a collection of prose poems.

In his book, Darwish records for humanity the memory of a day in Beirut during the Israeli Invasion, a day that Darwish labels as "the hottest," "cruelest," and "longest day in history." The form of the book is that of a memoir, the record of a single day on the streets of Beirut when bombardment from land, sea, and air was one of the most intensive a city had ever known (Darwish, Memory xiv). The book opens with the author waking at dawn from a dream and closes with him going to sleep at the end of the day. As he walks out from his burning study, Darwish poignantly describes his surroundings,

> The sky hugs the earth with smoky embrace. It hangs down, heavy with molten lead, a dark gray whose nothingness can only be penetrated through the orange leaked from jets whose silver flashes to a blazing whiteness. (66)

To Darwish, Beirut at the time represented a world of hell and madness—a world whose colors are eternally etched in memory. And, in order to escape this world of insane madness, of "shattered meanings," Darwish, addressing humanity, records the "memory"—the history—of this horrific experience by writing his book.

Within the context of Palestinian memory, in her essay "Trees, Forests, and the Shaping of Palestinian and Israeli Collective Memory," Carol Bardenstein examines the meaning of collective memory for both Palestinians and Israelis. She defines collective memory as both a response to and a symptom of rupture, a lack, an absence, and a 'substitute, surrogate, or consolation for something that is missing' (148). She asserts that, for Palestinians, acts of memory may be unleashed against the absence of Palestine at the moment of traumatic uprooting, or from the gaping space of ongoing exile, or from within the alienating space of Israeli occupation. Furthermore, Bardenstein remarkably illustrates in her essay how trees play an important role in the construction of the Palestinian collective memory, in which they are representative of the now-absent Palestinians, growing where drops of

Palestinian blood have been spilt, bearing witness to what has befallen those now absent, or remaining as proof of what has been erased (154). This idea is clearly depicted in Darwish's poem, "The Earth Is Closing in on Us," in which he paints a portrait of the miserable Palestinian condition embodying a tormenting existence:

> The Earth is closing in on us,
> Pushing us through the last passage,
> And we tear off our limbs to pass through...
> Where should we go after the last frontiers?
> Where should the birds fly after the last sky?
> Where should the plants sleep after the last breath of air is gone?
> We will die here, here in the last passage
> Here and here our blood will plant its olive trees. (Darwish, Victims 12-13)

As Bardenstein explains, Darwish recognizes that the present generation will perhaps die while lost and suffering, still dispossessed of their homeland, stuck in a deadly limbo (155). However, the only "consolation" becomes, as the poet affirms—twice repeating the word "here"—that even though some will die in the murderous passage, Palestinian blood, personified to take on the responsibility of continuing the Palestinian existence, "will plant its olive trees" "here" on Palestinian land. And in turn, the trees are to remain as living, fragmented replacement for the collective Palestinian existence.

Trees are also employed, as shown by Bardenstein, to assert Palestinian steadfastness and resistance in the face of adversity, as well as the persistence of Palestinian memory. "We Are Planted in the Ground," written by Palestinian Munib Makhoul's, is a remarkable illustration of the Palestinian's determination to remain steadfast in spite of the suffering. Makhoul writes,

> My roots strike deeply, and penetrate, penetrate
> Far far into the depth of eternity
> Together with the oak tree, I was born long ago,
> In the land of the Galilee. (Bardenstein 154)

And along the same lines, Darwish writes in his poem "Identity Card,"

> Record this! I am an Arab.
> My roots were grounded before the birth of time,
> and before the blossoming of dynasties,
> and before the cypress and the olives,
> and before the blooming of the grass... (Collection 72)

In these two poems, the oak, cypress and olive trees powerfully depict the rootedness of the Palestinian existence, where their collective memory goes back to a past that is much more profound than the immediate struggles of the present, into the "depth of eternity, long ago" and "before the birth of time." Moreover, Makhoul's use of repetition powerfully depicts the rootedness of the trees—for their roots "penetrate, penetrate/far, far" into the depth of eternity, and especially adds to the effect of fixedness the poet is delivering to his reader or his enemy. In

turn, the future, because of this deep-rootedness in the past, is destined to outlive the unstable and unnatural present order of things.

And in his poem "On the Trunk of an Olive Tree," Palestinian poet Tawfiq Zayyad defies both the absenting of Palestinian memory and the erasure of their collective memory as he writes,

> I shall carve the record of my sufferings, all my secrets,
> On an olive tree, in the courtyard, of the house...
> I shall carve the number of each deed of our usurped land,
> The location of my village and its boundaries
> The demolished houses of its people, my uprooted trees,
> ...And to remember it all,
> I shall continue to carve all the chapters of my tragedy,
> And all the stages of the disaster, from beginning to end,
> On the olive tree, in the courtyard, of the house. (Bardenstein 156)

The olive tree is immortalized as the repository for Palestinian collective memory (Bardenstein 157). Characterized by its longevity and ability to survive under the worst of circumstances, it becomes a symbol for resistance and steadfastness. Although the houses, other trees, and even the village itself may be gone, the olive tree will remain to "remember it all" and to bear witness for the crimes and suffering "from beginning to end."

In turn, the Palestinian collective memory, reconstructed by such examples of poetry, becomes a means for keeping a lost homeland alive. Through the experience of reading about their homeland, each

Palestinian is reminded of his/her existence once as a nation—a Palestinian nation. Furthermore, the construction of a Palestinian collective memory is also accompanied with the construction and rebuilding of a Palestinian collective identity and a national consciousness in the present.

Turning back to Memory for Forgetfulness, we can see it is important to look at how Darwish also employs language to depict how forgetfulness, a metaphor used for the Palestinian forgotten existence, is a result of a silence that has invaded the world, and its reciprocal becomes the act of writing—a paradox first encountered in the title of his work. Consequently, language becomes the means of reconstructing a memory for the history of humanity—a language that draws on history to give birth to a hope of existence for the Palestinian people. As in the example of Native American poet Joy Harjo in the previous chapter, Darwish refuses to give in to "the submergence of memory," and he, borrowing Craig Womack's words on Harjo, "fights the temptation to be pulled under the waters of forgetfulness, [or] to bury the pain under a river of denial" (Womack 228).

Darwish explains that the language of his people and fellow intellectuals at the time of his writing is one of "unchanging speech that compounds the rust that has been accumulating on language since the

orator mounted the throne," and his role becomes, precisely as an answer to Fanon's call for the Native intellectual, the renewing of forms of expression and the rebirth of imagination (Memory 100). Darwish then takes on the task of writing "the memory" for a "forgetfulness" that, in his terms, has invaded the world, East and West, for, as Edward Said asserts, one cannot "divide human reality, as indeed human reality seems to be divided . . . and survive the consequences humanly" (Orientalism 45). Darwish attempts to bridge this adverse division by writing the "silence" of his people for humanity to hear, and in turn, giving birth to a new context for the text. He calls for a revolutionary language that will bear witness, count the dead, and pleads for basic human rights.

Within this context, Native American Joy Harjo's writing embodies a striking resemblance to that of Darwish's. Whereas Darwish writes a language that could "count our [Palestinian] dead," Harjo wants to write a revolutionary language that "could resurrect the dead" (Memory 24; In Mad 18). In her poem "We Must Call a Meeting," Harjo writes,

> ...I am an arrow painted
> with lightning
> to seek the way to the name of the enemy,
> but the arrow has now created
> its own language

It is a language of lizards and storms...
(In Mad 9)

What is quite remarkable in these lines is that, in their search for a new language and different forms of expression, I find that the Native American poet, like the Palestinian poet, employs the image of the storm to depict a desire for renewal and change, or simply, a revolution. Whereas Harjo looks for a language of "lizards and storms," Darwish, writes in his poem "Promises from The Storm,"

> Let it be!
> I must refuse death
> . . . Because the storm
> has promised me wine. . and new cheers
> and rainbows.. . . Because the storm
> has swept the sound of the dull birds
> and the artificial branches
> on the trunks of the standing trees
> . . . I will sing for happiness
> behind the lids of the fearful eyes
> Since the storm, in my homeland, has raged
> it promised me wine and rainbows. (Collection 176)

As is the case in Harjo's poetry, the storm in the latter lines is employed as a metaphor for a revolution, promising to bring about a future of colors and celebrations toasting wine to cheers of hope and renewal. Remarkably, Harjo looks to a very similar image of the future as she writes, "I want to enter the next world/ filled with food, wine/ and the finest fishing," and waits to catch "fish who were as long as rainbows after the coming storm" (In Mad 20, 33). For both poets, the storm

represents change. It sheds the present, taking over that which exists, and gives birth to a new life and a liberated future. In "Climbing the Streets of Worcester, Mass," Harjo writes, "...the wind drew circles around this town/ scraped clean the dead skin/ of its soul" (In Mad 43). Also, in her poem "City of Fire," she writes, "I will dream you the wind...Come here...We will make a river,/ flood this city/ ...with fire,/ with a revolutionary fire" (In Mad 41). And, in her poem "For Anna Mae Pictou Aquash..." Harjo writes, "I heard about it in Oklahoma, or New Mexico, how the wind howled and pulled everything down in a righteous anger" (In Mad 8). The existing order—the present as the product of a history of colonial distortions—is false, artificial, and lifeless like "dead skin". As Fanon explains, it represents the "castoffs," "shells," and "corpses" of the people's history (225). In turn, the function of the storm—of the revolution—becomes to scrape off the dead skin, to sweep away all that is false, and to give emergence to the true history of the people by bringing about a new language for the intellectual, and hence, a renewed future for the people.

Yet, in order for hope to exist, for change to take place, and for Fanon's universalization of values to be attained, the Palestinian reality must first be recognized to be in existence. In his book Memory for

Forgetfulness, Darwish explains that it seems as though Palestine is disappearing into the "long caravans of oblivion" (146). Edward Said and Noam Chomsky describe this oblivion as "the memory hole," a bottomless pit where unwanted history is thrown (Said "What Israel"; Chomsky). Hence arises the vital role for the intellectual to teach the Other side of history, a more accurate history. Darwish suggests to his people and to the native intellectual specifically, to do away with "the history that came out of history," and to give birth to a history that will write "the history of the bottom...of the moss"—a history representative of the oppression and crimes of the colonial regime (Memory 118).

As mentioned in the first chapter, the notion of the colonialist's history representing that which is "good" and "truthful" can be quite misleading and misrepresentative of the truth, for, as Fanon asserts, it is of major importance to understand that "The settler makes history...[where] he is the absolute beginning... The settler makes history and is conscious of making it" (51). It is to the settler's advantage that the Native's history is distorted so that his mission of civilizing, or invading, the Natives is justified, and in turn legitimizing the need for a new history to be constructed. Therefore, it is of grave importance for humanity to be aware of this phenomenon, and to be critical of the history in which the circulating assumption—the master narrative—

seems to always present the colonizer as the "truthful" and relied upon source, and renders the Other, the Native, as simply "bad" and "lying."

For this reason, Darwish decides to take on a new role in his writing. He explains to the Palestinian natives that during the time of the Israeli invasion of Beirut he is no longer interested in writing poetry, but his new role is outside the poem, as a fighter and a witness to the memory of history. Within this context, Fanon's words affirms the importance of this new mission for the poet as he asserts,

> The poet ought, however, to understand that nothing can replace the reasoned, irrevocable taking up of arms on the people's side...The poem is the assembling and moving together of determining the original values, in contemporary relation with someone that these circumstances bring to the front. (226)

In turn, Darwish's role as a warrior instead of a traditional poet becomes an enactment of Fanon's aspiration for the intellectual. Darwish asserts that he is looking for a language that can "crystallize and take form in battle that has such rhythm of rockets"—a language that will give emergence to Fanon's aspired "crystallization of the national consciousness" (Memory 64; Fanon 239). Moreover, Darwish calls for a language of metal since "nothing can cut one metal except another that carves a different history" (Memory 118). He commands his fellow intellectual to turn into a "sniper," and to join in the revolution.

Furthermore, all Native intellectuals participating in the writing of a "revolutionary literature" aspire to achieve a specific outcome. For Joy Harjo, writing is a means for spreading a cultural consciousness amongst her people and at the same time transforming the enemy. For Evelina Zuni Lucero, writing becomes a way to explicitly call her people to reclaim their past, by becoming active participants in their cause, and to further mold the memory of the past into a Native American identity. And, along the same lines, Darwish writes in his Memory for Forgetfulness:

> At the Hotel Commodore, the stronghold of foreign journalists, an American newsman questions me: "What are you writing in this war, Poet?"
> --I'm writing my silence
> --Do you mean that now the guns should speak?
> --Yes. Their sound is louder than my voice.
> --What are you doing then?
> --I am calling for steadfastness.
> --And will you win this war?
> --No. The important thing is to hold on. Holding on is a victory in itself.
> --And What after that?
> --A new age will start.
> --And when will you go back to writing poetry?
> --When the guns quiet down a little. When I explode my silence, which is full of all these voices. When I find the appropriate language.
> --Is there no role for you then?
> --No. No role for me in the poetry now. My role is outside the poem. My role is to be here, with citizens and fighters. (63-64)

In these lines, Darwish explains that the revolutionary poem of the native intellectual is to be born at times of war and struggle, and that it is to take on a different tone and language from the traditional poetry of the people where "it is fitting...that traditional poetry should know how to hold its humble silence in the presence of this newborn" (Memory 65). There becomes a need for the poet to "explode his silence"—a silence charged with the submerged voices of his people—so that the intellectual's voice can be heard over the deafening sound of the guns. "I say the wounded, the thirsty, and those in search of water, bread, or shelter are not asking for poetry. And the fighters pay no heed to your [the poet's] lyrics," writes Darwish (Memory 62-63). The traditional poet becomes marginal in war. What is needed instead, he explains, is "human commitment, not beauty in creative expression." Darwish expresses that the people's battle is what shapes their history, where "Beirut [at the time of his writing] itself is the writing, rousing and creative," and "its true poets and singers are its people and fighters." He labels them as the "genuine founders of a writing that for a long, long time will have to search for a linguistic equivalent to their heroism." And addressing his fellow intellectuals, he declares that it becomes necessary for the intellectual to turn into "snipers" sniping at their old concepts,

their old questions, and their old ethics, in turn, giving birth to new forms of expression (Memory 61-65).

Within this context, it is quite astonishing to reflect back on Fanon's words where, once again, Darwish's writing becomes a powerful enactment, and at times an echo, of Fanon's call for the revolutionary poet. Fanon explains that "The native poet who is preoccupied with creating a national work of art and who is determined to describe his people fails in his aim" (226). Like Darwish, Fanon is not interested in the "traditional poem." Just as Fanon declares that the poet who describes his people by "rhyming poetry" fails as a revolutionary writer, Darwish resounds the same message as he affirms, "We [the native intellectuals] are not now to describe" for "the fighters pay no heed to...lyrics" (Memory 65, 63). Instead, quoting the French poet Rene Char, Fanon reminds us that "'the poem is the assembling and moving together of determining original values, in contemporary relation with someone that these circumstances bring to the front'" (226).

Moreover, Darwish's call for the abandonment of the traditional verse, where the role of the poet becomes that of a "fighter" alongside his people, is also plainly presented in Fanon's text:

> The poet ought however to understand that nothing can replace the reasoned, irrevocable taking up of arms on the people's side...thus it is not enough to try to free oneself by

> repeating proclamation and denials. It is not enough to try to get back to the people in the past out of which they have already emerged; rather we must join them in that fluctuating movement which they are just giving shape to, and which, as soon as it has started, will be the signal for everything to be called in question...it is the zone of occult instability where the people dwell that we must come; and it is there that our souls are crystallized and that our perception and our lives are transfused with light. (226-227)

In turn, like Fanon's aspiration for the souls to be "crystallized," Darwish hopes that the new writings "crystallize and take form in a battle that has such a rhythm of rockets" (Memory 64). And it is only then that Darwish's "new age will start"—a revolutionary age, as Fanon describes, "transfused with light" (Memory 62, Fanon 227). Within this context, Darwish becomes an excellent example of Fanon's intellectual who has reached the third and final phase on the road to becoming a revolutionary writer, as described in the first chapter. Darwish becomes the active participant in the "fighting phase," in which not only is he able to retain the history and memory of the "dismembered past," but more importantly keeps insight with the present and writes a language of liberation that stands against, to use Homi Bhabha's words, "the leaden, deadening prose of the colonized world" (115).

There also exist objective goals to be reached for the Native intellectuals writing a revolutionary literature. As we may recall in the

second chapter Harjo indicates that the goal of her writing is "to go home," where, according to Craig Womack, "home is a place where the hoop is no longer broken, lands are returned, people are in control of their own resources; in other words, going home to vibrant Native nationalism, to real self determination" (Womack 231). For Lucero, writing becomes a means of calling her people to claim the power they have within themselves, and in turn, reclaiming their land and resources, resisting environmental exploitation, and addressing issues of treaty rights and sovereignty (154). In the same manner, the Palestinian intellectual defines his legitimate national rights, ones that are also defined by international resolutions, as:

> The right of return, complete withdrawal from Palestinian land occupied in 1967, and the right to self-determination and an independent sovereign state with Jerusalem as its capital. (Darwish "Not to begin")

Although the end goal is, as Darwish writes, for the "eternal twins—freedom and peace" to meet, he asserts that the colonial occupation has to end before peace is to reign. He further writes, "For just as there can be no peace with occupation, neither can there be one between slave and master" ("Not to begin").

Within this context it is interesting to consider Fanon's notion on violence once again. As mentioned in the second chapter, for the Native

American whose battle is not about national geographical borders nor waged against a force of occupation, the notion of love transforming the enemy becomes quite possible. But it is also of grave importance to understand, as Fanon declares, that "If a man is known by his acts, then we will say that the most urgent thing today for the intellectual is to build up his nation," and once this step is accomplished, then the possibility of "universalizing values" becomes possible (Fanon 247). Fanon believes that "it is at the heart of national consciousness that international consciousness lives and grows," and the combination of both, the "two-fold emerging" becomes the only means for Darwish's eternal twins of freedom and peace to meet.

It is evident that the violence committed on the Palestinian ground is only leading to more counter-violence and terror, and ultimately, is only contributing to the creation of a vicious and endless cycle of hatred in which civilian blood is continuously shed on both Israeli and Palestinian fronts. Edward Said contributes an explanation of much of the violence to the bias and misrepresentations imparted to the world, where within the context of the Palestinian/Israeli situation, it seems as if it is almost always the case that Palestinians are represented as the essence of violence and terrorism. Said explains "...for all its horror, Palestinian violence, the response of a desperate and horribly oppressed

people, has been stripped of its context and the terrible suffering from which it arises: a failure to see that is a failure in humanity, which doesn't make it any less terrible but at least situates it in real history and real geography" (Said, "Punishment"). It seems as if many of the crimes would be stopped if humanity would step in. However, that which is presented to humanity in the case of Palestinians is a one-sided story, where their desperate cries for an explanation are simply not heard. Today's media is only delivering the news about the terrible, and in Said's opinion, "stupid suicide raids" against Israeli civilians. Indeed, these raids of violence should be condemned, but these acts of resistance should also be considered in the context of what the Israelis are doing on the other side. One side is drawing from unlimited resources, and the other side is one with no resources, silenced, and denuded of everything, with nothing to lose, and, even more importantly, for whom violence becomes a legitimate option within such a state of desperation. Therefore, as Said writes, there has to exist at least "any casual or even narrative connection between the dreadful killing of civilians . . . and the 30-plus years of collective punishment" (Said, "Israel's").

And this—a narrative connection—is precisely what Darwish attempts to accomplish in his Memory for Forgetfulness. He looks for "a pair of human eyes, for a shared silence or reciprocal talk...for some kind

of participation in this [the Palestinian and Lebanese] death, for a witness who can give evidence, for a gravestone over a corpse, for the bearer of news about the fall of a horse, for a language of speech and silence" (Memory 24). He realizes that the "steel and iron beasts," referring to the Israeli jets, are louder than the Palestinian voices pleading for recognition, and, in turn, his act of writing—as in the example of his book Memory for Forgetfulness—becomes a means for giving his silenced people a voice, and a "narrative connection" within the global setting.

Furthermore, in his essay "The Politics of Knowledge," Said puts forward a proposal for attaining Fanon's, Darwish's, and ultimately every intellectual's, aspired human values, and most importantly, without resorting to coercive and violent measures. Said suggests that by linking works to each other—referring to the works of the world, of creating those necessities and seeming extra-necessary aspects of life through individual and collective work—we (humanity) could bring the Other out of the neglect and secondariness to which, for all kinds of political and ideological reasons, they had previously been condemned—a notion he calls "worldliness." Worldliness becomes then "the opposite of separatism, and also the reverse of exclusivism." It is a notion that calls for the text to be read in its fullest and most integrative contexts, committing the reader to positions that are educative, humane, and

engaged. Additionally, worldliness becomes the restoration of such "cultural" works and interpretations of their place in the global setting, "a restoration that can only be accomplished by an appreciation not of some tiny, defensively constituted corner of the world, but of the large, many-windowed house of human culture as a whole" (Said, "The Politics" 382-383). Worldliness also becomes an enactment of Fanon's notion "universalizing values," in which he stresses the responsibility of humanity to make an effort to be attentive to the struggles of all people.

Consequently, the works of literature, as cultural works that may take their place among other "worldly" workings, are not rendered merely texts; instead they become a road to attaining an understanding of the situation as well as discovering longstanding cultural norms and practices that have always been portrayed inferior under imperialist representations. As Said asserts, marginality and homelessness are not to be gloried in; they are to be brought to and end, "so that more, and not fewer, people can enjoy the benefits of what has for centuries been denied the victims of race, class, or gender." Said further affirms that we are still in the era of large narratives, of horrendous cultural clashes, and of appalling destructive wars—here he refers to the Gulf war at the time of his writing, and I will particularly refer to the Palestinian and Iraqi struggles of today—and he further establishes that to say, as some do, we

are against theory, or beyond literature, is to be blind and trivial, and there is a need more than ever for finding "uncoercive" ways to bring humanity together. One means for this aspiration to be attained, as suggested by Said, is to grant intellectual work the right to exist in a relatively disengaged atmosphere, and allow it a status that isn't disqualified by partisanship (or by bias), and in turn, reconsidering the ties between the text and the world in a serious and uncoercive way. (Said, "The Politics" 382-385).

Thus, Darwish, along with other Palestinian intellectuals, through their acts of writing, become the voice of the Other, the silenced, marginalized and oppressed intellectual that must be heard and taken seriously in order for change to take place in our world. Darwish realizes that "those who control the international balance of power will continue to shape events without respect for intellectual or legal argument" (Darwish, "A war"). He refuses to see his people drown in the sea of a biased history, where, it is important to understand, as Said emphasizes, that the thing to be aware of about contemporary western discourse, which assumes the primacy and even the complete centrality of the West, is how totalizing is its form, how all-enveloping its attitude and gestures, how much it shuts out even as it includes, compresses, and consolidates (Culture 22). Hence arises the necessity for a language that may "elevate

the intensification of local tragedy to the level of the universal,"—a language that must force itself into a battle where forces are not equal (Darwish, The Adam 25). And this is precisely what Said attempts to accomplish with is notion of worldliness: to restore the works of the marginalized voices, whether Palestinian, Native American, African, or any other suffering people, to bring them out of their secondariness and present them to the Western audience, and to create a solidarity among the cultures of humanity. This solidarity in turn will give emergence to a "universal culture" defined by Cabral as a culture based on "the critical assimilation of man's achievement in the domains of art, science, literature, etc.," with the objective of "constant and generalized promotion of humanism, of solidarity, of respect and disinterested devotion to human beings" (55).

Here, I find it fitting to point out Native Palestinian Ghassan Kanafani's Men in the Sun, a literary work employed by Said as an example for his notion of worldliness. This short story narrates the travails of three Palestinian refugees who are trying to get from Iraq to Kuwait in order to build or rebuild a future, and to support their families left behind. The lives of these men and their pasts are destroyed by colonial occupation, their homes are either demolished or occupied, and the only road left for them to travel is a future of exile and dislocation.

However, their present in the story is their journey to Kuwait, smuggled in the back of a lorry across the desert under the burning sun. The most tragic and devastating part of the story is when these three men are left in the truck for too long as the border inspection is being negotiated, and under the inferno of a burning sun, the three men die of suffocation.

In Kanafani's story, the sun, in my opinion, is applied metaphorically to represent the universal indifference to a condemned Palestinian fate. Irony plays an important role in the story, where it is light that the refugees are traveling towards on a "hard road from the deepest hell," and at the same time it is because of the scorching light of the burning sun that these three men die of asphyxiation, with their screams, neglected, unheard, and buried in an empty water tank. The story ends with Abul Khaizuran, the driver of the truck who attempts to smuggle the refugees, asking as he pulls the corpses out of the tank, "Why didn't you knock on the sides of the tank? Why didn't you bang the sides of the tank? Why? Why? Why?" (Kanafani 56). And the only answer he receives is that of the desert sending back a repeated echo of his question and then dissolving it into nothingness—a powerful metaphor representing the unheard, and ultimately dissolved screams of the Palestinians in our indifferent world today.

By bringing this narrative out of its secondariness and neglect and presenting it to a Western audience, the intellectual is giving voice to a suffering and a humanity that seems to be buried under the rubble of silence. This story, for example, is one that is indeed capable of opening the horizons of our narrow world of Western representations, and, as Said asserts,

> It would do the subject of the work and its literary merit an extraordinary disservice were we to confine it to the category of national allegory, to see in it only a mirroring of the actual plight of Palestinians in exile. Kanafani's work is literature connected both to its specific historical and cultural situations as well as to a whole world of other literatures and formal articulations, which the attentive reader summons to mind as the interpretation proceeds (Said, "The Politics" 151).

Therefore, Kanafani's story should be approached as a "link" to look onto a Palestinian population, marginalized and unheard, trying to carve a path for its existence in a present of an unstable and indifferent reality. And, it is only then—when humanity hears the screams of the neglected Palestinians—that a resolution may be attempted and, in turn, peace may perhaps be attained without resorting to measures of violence.

By following Said's notion on worldliness, the Native intellectual's work would be capable of mobilizing not only the consciousness of his people, but also that of humanity so that all peoples can become active participants in making the world a more humane and peaceful place. In

the end, it is the aspiration of all humans to live in a humane and peaceful world. A famous quotation for Darwish is powerfully evoked within this context: "All human hearts are my nationality / So rid me of this passport!" (Darwish, Collections 360). And, Samih Al-Qasim, a Palestinian intellectual from Galilee, affirms this aspiration as he writes,

> And when I am killed one of these days,
> The murderer will find in my pocket
> Travel tickets
> One to peace
> One to the fields and the rain,
> One
> To the consciousness of humanity. (58) [my translation]

Al-Qasim, like any other citizen of the world, aspires to live in peace. But this is only to take place if the consciousness of humanity were mobilized to participate in the revolution, a revolution that overturns the oppressors and their criminal regimes, and restores human rights to the oppressed, homeless and marginalized citizens of our world.

To end this chapter, I will once again resort to the works of Mahmoud Darwish, specifically those in his most recently translated anthology The Adam of Two Edens, in which Darwish does not only call on humanity to remember the exiled Palestinian individual, but he also takes on a social consciousness tracing back human suffering back to the beginning of time when the paradise of Eden was lost, and digs up many other lost civilizations like those of Canaan, Babylon, Jericho, Rome,

Andalusia, Granada, and Native America, among others, presenting a most poignant representation of "every exiled human psyche on earth." In The Adam of Two Edens, Darwish sets out on a quest for "lost realms," encompassing ancient fable and legend, folktale, epic and myth. He looks for his lost realms among biblical and Qur'anic texts, pre-Islamic culture, Hispano-Muslim culture, Greater-Syrian mythology, and, remarkably, Native American experience, and finds that all embody one spirit of the most profound emotions of human suffering. He writes in "A Horse for the Stranger":

> I have a moon in the region of al-Rusafa,
> I have a fish in the Euphrates and the Tigris,
> I have an avid reader in the south,
> a sun stone in Nineva,
> a spring festival in Kurdish braids to the north of sorrow,
> a rose in the Gardens of Babylon,
> a poet in the southern province of Buwayb,
> my corpse under an Iraqi sun.
> ... A grave for Paris, a grave for London,
> a grave for Rome, New York and Moscow,
> a grave for Baghdad.
> .. A grave for Ithaca, the difficult path and the goal,
> a grave for Jaffa, for Homer and al-Buhturi.
>
> (Darwish, The Adam 108-109)

These poems reflect "the wretched of the earth...and every word of them is drawn from the memory of someone who looks back and laments" (The Adam 25). Darwish, takes on that which Fanon calls a "social" or "political" consciousness, and points out that human tragedy is universal,

not only Palestinian, but as in Fanon's words, "international," and that it has existed since the beginning of time. In his poem, "A sky Beyond sky for Me," Darwish laments, "I am the Adam of two Edens lost twice to me. Expel me slowly. Kill me slowly" (The Adam 154). What is most remarkable about this statement is that it could be applied universally to any exiled human on earth who has lost his Eden, his homeland. Darwish, by calling himself Adam, identifies with the suffering of exile from its origin and up to his present time in Palestine.

To further elaborate on the beauty of Darwish's writing in this anthology, I find it quite fitting within the context of this essay to reflect on one other poem—"Speech of the Red Indian." This poem is extraordinary in that Darwish discovers Palestinians and Native Americans share the same spiritual attachment to the land and Mother Nature. In turn, this discovery "enabled the exiled poet's imagination to re-spiritualize the Palestinian universe in a healing way, with a repatriated attachment to Mother Nature" (Darwish, The Adam 40). Darwish, as Munir Akash points out, identifies himself with the legendary Chief Seattle, rediscovers his own people in the Deer people, sees Gaza in the Channon County, Deir Yasin with the Wounded Knee, Trail of Nakba (catastrophe) with the Trail of Tears, and refugee camps

with Indian reservations—"two ritual crimes, one altar; two tragedies, one grief" (Darwish, The Adam 40).

Furthermore, it is worth noting here that Darwish has always been known for employing the land as a metaphor for the Palestinian. In an earlier poem named "The poem of the Land," Darwish names the soil an extension of his soul, his hands the pavement of wounds, the pebbles wings, his ribs the trees, and the birds, almonds and figs (Collections 638). This poem not only asserts the belongingness of the Palestinians to a homeland, but also projects a rootedness in the soil, an eternal presence in the air, and consequently, oneness with the land. In the same manner, Darwish is able to apply the same metaphor of the land on the Native Americans, a people who share the same Palestinian spiritual bond to a dispossessed homeland. In his poem, "Speech of the Red Indian," Darwish is reincarnated as a Native American, and writes,

> Buffalos are our brothers and sisters, as well
> as everything that grows.
> ...We still hear our ancestors' voices on the wind,
> we listen to their pulse in the flowering trees.
> This earth is our grandmother, each stone sacred,
> and the hut where gods dwelt with us
> And stars lit up our nights of prayer. (The Adam 136-137)

As in the case of a Palestinian, the wind, the flowering trees, the earth, each stone, the hut, the stars, the nights, as well as "everything that grows," are all extensions of a Native American's soul.

Darwish's poems and writing in this anthology are then about a universal suffering, not only for the Palestinians, but also for humanity as a whole. His writings become an answer for both Fanon and Said in that they universalizes human values. Darwish digs up "a wealth of evocative artifacts buried just beneath the surface" of many lost or stolen civilizations, and presents them to the endangered memory of humanity. Consistent with his earlier writings, specifically in his Memory for Forgetfulness, Darwish writes a memory for the forgetfulness of the world, and not only does he recall a forgotten Palestinian population, but also penetrates time and human memory by unearthing other lost civilizations, including that of the Native American population.

Darwish, along with all of the intellectuals presented in this essay—African, Native American and Palestinian, are ultimately writing to mobilize the consciousness of their people towards continuing the past and molding it into a present and a future of a national and cultural identity, while at the same time, aspiring to reach the universal values that overcome violence and bring peace to humanity through spreading a social consciousness to their people and to the international world as a whole. However, this goal cannot be attained without the active participation—the worldly work, as Said might say—of the rest of humanity. An attempt to hear the voice of the silenced and oppressed

Other must be granted, and one way to accomplish this, as suggested by Said, is through linking the neglected works of the native intellectuals, and bringing them out of the secondariness to which they have been condemned. Consequently, once this is achieved, a humanity united under a "universal culture"—one encompassing all voices of humanity, dominant and marginalized—must then work to uphold its universal values, and extend them to all humans of the world, for in the end we are all humans who undergo the same feelings of pain and grief, and who wish to live in peace and with our own identity. To end this essay, I will leave my readers once again with the words of Frantz Fanon, the same word that he writes to end his chapter "On National Culture," hoping that we all take on an international social consciousness and participate in transforming the world:

> If this building up [of the nation] is true, that is to say if it interprets the manifest will of the people and reveals the eager African peoples, then the building of a nation is of necessity accompanied by the discovery and encouragement of universalizing values. Far from keeping aloof from other nations, therefore, it is national liberation which leads the nation to play its part on the stage of history. It is at the heart of national consciousness that international consciousness lives and grows.

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