Chapter Seven

THE NEGRO AND RECOGNITION

A. The Negro and Adler

of a final goal or of a causal finality, one sees the shadows is illusory. If, on the other hand, one accepts the hypothesis that nothing has been gained, or that what has been gained and to arouse in others the rash resolve to penetrate the weaknesses and of anomalies, bound to discourage some to face with a chaotic throng of tendencies, of impulses, of principle of orientation, of arrangement, of coordination. Try to understand the "meaning" and the direction of unprojections of this goal. Therefore one can ascribe the characemerges as under the influence of some final goal, indeed as whole picture of the neurosis, as well as all its symptoms, self in the presence of the following phenomenon: The shadows at all costs, even at the risk of finding in the end healthy manifestations, and you will immediately come face ter of a formative cause to this final goal, the quality of a abnormal psychogenic conditions, one very soon finds onethe pages of a book.1 dissolve at once and we can read the soul of the patient like From whatever direction one approaches the analysis of

It is on the basis of similar theoretical positions that

in general, the most stupendous frauds of our period are constructed. Let us apply Adler's individual psychology to the Antilleans.

The Negro is comparison. There is the first truth. He is comparison: that is, he is constantly preoccupied with self-evaluation and with the ego-ideal. Whenever he comes into contact with someone else, the question of value, of merit, arises. The Antilleans have no inherent values of their own, they are always contingent on the presence of The Other. The question is always whether he is less intelligent than I, blacker than I, less respectable than I. Every position of one's own, every effort at security, is based on relations of dependence, with the diminution of the other. It is the wreckage of what surrounds me that provides the foundation for my virility.

I should like to suggest an experiment to any Martinican who reads this book: Find the most "comparative" street in Fort-de-France. Rue Schoekher, rue Victor-Hugo—certainly not rue François-Arago. The Martinican who agrees to make this experiment will share my opinion precisely insofar as he can objectively endure seeing himself stripped naked. An Antillean who meets an acquaint-ance for the first time after five or six years' absence greets him with aggression. This is because in the past each had a fixed position. Now the inferior thinks that he has acquired worth . . . and the superior is determined to conserve the old hierarchy. "You haven't changed a bit . . . still as stupid as ever."

I have known some, physicians and dentists, who have gone on filling their heads with mistakes in judgment made fifteen years before. It is not so much conceptual errors as "Creolisms" with which the dangerous man is belabored. He was put in his place once and for all: nothing to be done about it. The Antillean is character-

Alfred Adler, Le tempérament nerveux, p. 12. (Originally, "Der nervöse charakter," in Festschrift William Stern, Leipzig Barth, 1931).

Martinique, one finds the man on top, the court that surme. Therefore, in any given group (environment) in wish to experience the impact of the object. Contact with to make me uneasy with his wish to have value (his ence to me, I am the center of attention. If the other seeks Other comes on to the stage only in order to furnish it. wish for plenitude) and I recognize no division. The my subjective security. I consider myself fulfilled (the is a fool. I do not try to be naked in the sight of the object unluckily, those eyes show me an unpleasant reflection, of the subject; one never even thinks of the object. I orientation runs through the other. It is always a question without mercy. One can imagine the temperature that thing better), and the losers. These last are slaughtered rounds him, the in-betweens (who are waiting for somewant to see in the eyes of others is a reflection that pleases the object means conflict. I am Narcissus, and what I to exist. I don't want to hear about that fellow. I do not fiction), I simply banish him without a trial. He ceases I am the Hero. Applaud or condemn, it makes no differ-The object is an instrument. It should enable me to realize The object is denied in terms of individuality and liberty. try to read admiration in the eyes of the other, and it, ized by his desire to dominate the other. His line of prevails in that jungle. There is no way out of it, I find that mirror flawed: Unquestionably that other one

salient atom with sharply defined rights of passage, each one of them is. Each one of them wants to be, to emerge. an appearance. Each one of them is an isolated, sterile, recognized in their quest for manhood. They want to make compel the acceptance of their fiction. They want to be Everything that an Antillean does is done for The Other Me, nothing but me.

The Martinicans are greedy for security. They want to

> action in the sense of communication between people that The Other who corroborates him in his search for self-Adler describes,2 but, more primitively, because it is Not because The Other is the ultimate objective of his

Now that we have marked out the Adlerian line of orientation of the Antillean, our task is to look for its

is not just this or that Antillean who embodies the neua psychology of the individual. We have just seen that neurotic society, a society of "comparison." Hence we are rotic formation, but all Antilleans. Antillean society is a the feeling of inferiority is an Antillean characteristic. It but rather in that of the environment. driven from the individual back to the social structure. If there is a taint, it lies not in the "soul" of the individual Here the difficulties begin. In effect, Adler has created

out of Brachfeld's book. Discussing the feeling of racial we should say that the Negro is seeking to protest against strict in applying the conclusions of the Adlerian school with a superiority complex. And this is indeed what comes the Negro has been an inferior, he attempts to react temporary of Lope de Vega: date from this century, since De Claramunte was a conmakes clear that the inferiority of the Negro does not Claramunte, El valiante negro de Flandres. This play inferiority, Brachfeld quotes a Spanish play by André de the inferiority that he feels historically. Since in all periods The Martinican is and is not a neurotic. If we were

Only the color of his skin there lacked That he should be a man of gentle blood

And the Negro, Juan de Mérida, says this:

^{2.} In Understanding Human Nature.

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What a disgrace it is to be black in this world!

Are black men not men?

Does that endow them with a baser soul, a duller, an uglier?

And for that they have earned scornful names.

I rise burdened with the shame of my color

And I let the world know my courage . . . Is it so vile to be black?

Poor Juan cannot be sure any longer what saint to invoke. Normally, the black man is a slave. There is nothing of that sort in his attitude:

For, though I be black, I am not a slave.

Nevertheless he would like to be able to flee that blackness. He has an ethical position in the world. Viewed from an axiological standpoint, he is a white man:

I am more white than snow.

For, after all, on the symbolic level,

What is it really, then, to be black? Is it being that color?
For that outrage I will denounce fate,
my times, heaven,
and all those who made me black!
O curse of color!

In his isolation, Juan sees that the wish cannot save him. His appearance saps, invalidates, all his actions:

What do souls matter? I am mad.

Frantz Fanon / 215

What can I do but despair?
O heaven what a dread thing black.

At the climax of his anguish there remains only one solution for the miserable Negro: furnish proofs of his whiteness to others and above all to himself.

If I cannot change my color I want Luck,⁸

As we can see, Juan de Mérida must be understood from the viewpoint of overcompensation. It is because the Negro belongs to an "inferior" race that he seeks to be like the superior race.

But we have a means of shaking off the Adlerian leech. In the United States, De Man and Eastman have applied Adler's method somewhat excessively. All the facts that I have noted are real, but, it should not be necessary to point out, they have only a superficial connection with Adlerian psychology. The Martinican does not compare himself with the white man *qua* father, leader, God; he compares himself with his fellow against the pattern of the white man. An Adlerian comparison would be schematized in this fashion:

Ego greater than The Other

But the Antillean comparison, in contrast, would look like this:

White

Ego different from The Other

The Adlerian comparison embraces two terms; it is polarized by the ego. The Antillean comparison is surmounted by a third term: Its governing fiction is not personal but social.

My own translation from the Spanish—F.F.

The Martinican is a man crucified. The environment that has shaped him (but that he has not shaped) has horribly drawn and quartered him; and he feeds this cultural environment with his blood and his essences. Now, the blood of Negroes is a manure prized by experts.

If I were an Adlerian, then, having established the fact that my friend had fulfilled in a dream his wish to become white—that is, to be a man—I would show him that his neurosis, his psychic instability, the rupture of his ego arose out of this governing fiction, and I would say to him: "M. Mannoni has very ably described this phenomenon in the Malagasy. Look here: I think you simply have to resign yourself to remaining in the place that has been assigned to you."

Certainly not! I will not say that at all! I will tell him, "The environment, society are responsible for your delusion." Once that has been said, the rest will follow of itself, and what that is we know. The end of the world.

I wonder sometimes whether school inspectors and government functionaries are aware of the role they play in the colonies. For twenty years they poured every effort into programs that would make the Negro a white man. In the end, they dropped him and told him, "You have an indisputable complex of dependence on the white man."

B. The Negro and Hegel

Self-consciousness exists in itself and for itself, in that and by the fact that it exists for another self-consciousness; that is to say, it is only by being acknowledged or recognized.

—Hegel, The Phenomenology of Mind

Man is human only to the extent to which he tries to impose his existence on another man in order to be recognized by him. As long as he has not been effectively

recognized by the other, that other will remain the theme of his actions. It is on that other being, on recognition by that other being, that his own human worth and reality depend. It is that other being in whom the meaning of his life is condensed.

There is not an open conflict between white and black One day the White Master, without conflict, recognized the Negro slave.

But the former slave wants to make himself recognized. At the foundation of Hegelian dialectic there is an absolute reciprocity which must be emphasized. It is in the degree to which I go beyond my own immediate being that I apprehend the existence of the other as a natural and more than natural reality. If I close the circuit, if I prevent the accomplishment of movement in two directions, I keep the other within himself. Ultimately, I deprive him even of this being-for-itself.

The only means of breaking this vicious circle that throws me back on myself is to restore to the other, through mediation and recognition, his human reality, which is different from natural reality. The other has to perform the same operation. "Action from one side only would be useless, because what is to happen can only be brought about by means of both. . . "; "they recognize themselves as mutually recognizing each other."

In its immediacy, consciousness of self is simple beingfor-itself. In order to win the certainty of oneself, the incorporation of the concept of recognition is essential. Similarly, the other is waiting for recognition by us, in order to burgeon into the universal consciousness of self. Each consciousness of self is in quest of absoluteness. It wants to be recognized as a primal value without reference

^{4.} G. W. F. Hegel, The Phenomenology of Mind, trans. by J. B. Baillie, 2nd rev. ed. (London, Allen & Unwin, 1949), pp. 230, 231.

to life, as a transformation of subjective certainty (Gewissheit) into objective truth (Wahrheit).

not its mere absorption in the expanse of life."5 mediate form in which it at first makes its appearance, is consciousness is not bare existence, is not the merely im-"It is solely by risking life that freedom is obtained; only consequently it threatens the other in his physical being spirit. Self-consciousness accepts the risk of its life, and first milestone on the road that leads to the dignity of the consciousness undergoes the experience of desire-the thus is it tried and proved that the essential nature of self-When it encounters resistance from the other, self-

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

something other than life; insofar as I do battle for the somewhere else and for something else. I demand that creation of a human world-that is, of a world of recinotice be taken of my negating activity insofar as I pursue not merely here-and-now, sealed into thingness. I am for procal recognitions. As soon as I desire I am asking to be considered. I am

a savage struggle I am willing to accept convulsions of the impossible. death, invincible dissolution, but also the possibility of He who is reluctant to recognize me opposes me.

doubt, be recognized as a person, but he has not attained the truth of this recognition as an independent self-con-"The individual, who has not staked his life, may, no The other, however, can recognize me without struggle

servitude was set free by his master. He did not fight for Historically, the Negro steeped in the inessentiality of

once every year to dance in the drawing room, the Negro is looking for a prop. The Negro has not become a master. masters. When there are no longer slaves, there are no longer his masters stood. Like those servants who are allowed Out of slavery the Negro burst into the lists where

the attitude of a master. The Negro is a slave who has been allowed to assume

to eat at his table. The white man is a master who has allowed his slaves

study of the death wish among Negroes. I believed it necessary because people are forever saying that Negroes never commit 5. Ibid., p. 233.6. When I began this book, I wanted to devote one section to a

a Negro could submit to such treatment without feeling drawn Richard Wright, in one of his stories, has a white character say, "If I were a Negro I'd kill myself . . . ," in the sense that only M. Achille did not hesitate to maintain this in a lecture, and

who contrasted the disintegrated personality "type" (blue eyes, white skin) to the integrated personality "type" (brown eyes and skin), are predominantly specious. subject of his thesis. He demonstrates that the studies by Jaensch, Since then, M. Deshaies has taken the question of suicide as the

According to Durkheim, Jews never committed suicide. Now it is the Negroes. Very well: "The Detroit municipal hospital found that 16.6% of its suicide cases were Negroes, although the proportion of Negroes in the total population is only 7.6%. In Cincinnati, the ogie du suicide, note 23.)
7. Hegel, op. cit., p. 233 suicides: 358 women against 76 men." (Gabriel Deshaies, Psychol may result in part from the amazing sexual disparity among Negro number of Negro suicides is more than double that of whites; this

to his friends, "Let's be nice to the niggers. . . . ' One day a good white master who had influence said

easy thing, but then they decided to promote the machineanimal-men to the supreme rank of men. The other masters argued, for after all it was not an

Slavery shall no longer exist on French soil.

duced psychoses and sudden deaths. announcement of the liberation of the black slaves profrom one life to another. Just as when one tells a much Negro. He went from one way of life to another, but not round him. The upheaval did not make a difference in the created by his actions, values that had not been born of from the hospital, he thereupon suffers a relapse, so the improved patient that in a few days he will be discharged the systolic tide of his blood, danced in a hued whirl black man was acted upon. Values that had not been The upheaval reached the Negroes from without. The

hair of this nice Negro whose chains had just been and the colonies to show white France stroking the kinky the impressive number of statues erected all over France the white man, and the most forceful proof of the fact is lifetime. The black man contented himself with thanking broken, It is not an announcement that one hears twice in a

sion.... dying to scream some other, more resounding expreslittle boy . . . but we know that often the little boy is "Say thank you to the nice man," the mother tells her

Negro, "From now on you are free." The white man, in the capacity of master,8 said to the

on the tightrope of existence. moved before the young white man singing and dancing anguish of liberty of which Kierkegaard speaks, sits unmemory no trace of the struggle for liberty or of that by his masters. The former slave, who can find in his white liberty and white justice; that is, values secreted fought for Liberty and Justice, but these were always for he has not fought for it. From time to time he has But the Negro knows nothing of the cost of freedom,

would have that unique chance-to "show them. . . . man to turn on him and shout: "Damn nigger." Then he is no difference between us." And yet the Negro knows that there is a difference. He wants it. He wants the white the white man, the white man tells him: "Brother, there When it does happen that the Negro looks fiercely at

ence, or a paternalistic curiosity. But most often there is nothing-nothing but indiffer-

a different play. In the United States, the Negro battles and is battled. There are laws that, little by little, are be sure that nothing is going to be given free. that forbid certain forms of discrimination. And we can invalidated under the Constitution. There are other laws Negro is doomed to bite himself and just to bite. I say he wants a conflict, a riot. But it is too late: The French "the French Negro," for the American Negro is cast in The former slave needs a challenge to his humanity

There is war, there are defeats, truces, victories.

the master described by Hegel. For Hegel there is reciprocity; here from the slave is not recognition but work. the master laughs at the consciousness of the slave. What he wants 8. I hope I have shown that here the master differs basically from

In the same way, the slave here is in no way identifiable with the slave who loses himself in the object and finds in his work the

source of his liberation.

The Negro wants to be like the master.

Therefore he is less independent than the Hegelian slave.

In Hegel the slave turns away from the master and turns toward

Here the slave turns toward the master and abandons the object

"The twelve million black voices" howled against the curtain of the sky. Torn from end to end, marked with the gashes of teeth biting into the belly of interdiction, the curtain fell like a burst balloon.

On the field of battle, its four corners marked by the scores of Negroes hanged by their testicles, a monument is slowly being built that promises to be majestic.

And, at the top of this monument, I can already see a white man and a black man hand in hand.

For the French Negro the situation is unbearable. Unable ever to be sure whether the white man considers him consciousness in-itself-for-itself, he must forever absorb himself in uncovering resistance, opposition, challenge.

This is what emerges from some of the passages of the book that Mounier has devoted to Africa. The young Negroes whom he knew there sought to maintain their alterity. Alterity of rupture, of conflict, of battle.

The self takes its place by opposing itself, Fichte said. Yes and no.

I said in my introduction that man is a yes. I will never stop reiterating that.

Yes to life. Yes to love. Yes to generosity.

But man is also a *no*. No to scorn of man. No to degradation of man. No to exploitation of man. No to the butchery of what is most human in man: freedom.

Man's behavior is not only reactional. And there is always resentment in a reaction. Nietzsche had already pointed that out in *The Will to Power*.

To educate man to be actional, preserving in all his relations his respect for the basic values that constitute a human world, is the prime task of him who, having taken thought, prepares to act.

Chapter Eight

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION

The social revolution . . . cannot draw its poetry from the past, but only from the future. It cannot begin with itself before it has stripped itself of all its superstitions concerning the past. Earlier revolutions relied on memories out of world history in order to drug themselves against their own content. In order to find their own content, the revolutions of the nine-teenth century have to let the dead bury the dead. Before, the expression exceeded the content; now, the content exceeds the expression.

-Karl Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire

I can already see the faces of all those who will ask me to be precise on this or that point, to denounce this or that mode of conduct.

It is obvious—and I will never weary of repeating this—that the quest for disalienation by a doctor of medicine born in Guadeloupe can be understood only by recognizing motivations basically different from those of the Negro laborer building the port facilities in Abidjan. In the first case, the alienation is of an almost intellectual character.

^{9.} In English in the original. (Translator's note.)

Emmanuel Mounier, L'éveil de l'Afrique notre (Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1948).

Insofar as he conceives of European culture as a means of stripping himself of his race, he becomes alienated. In the second case, it is a question of a victim of a system based on the exploitation of a given race by another, on the contempt in which a given branch of humanity is held by a form of civilization that pretends to superiority.

I do not carry innocence to the point of believing that appeals to reason or to respect for human dignity can alter reality. For the Negro who works on a sugar plantation in Le Robert, there is only one solution: to fight. He will embark on this struggle, and he will pursue it, not as the result of a Marxist or idealistic analysis but quite simply because he cannot conceive of life otherwise than in the form of a battle against exploitation, misery, and hunger.

It would never occur to me to ask these Negroes to change their conception of history. I am convinced, however, that without even knowing it they share my views, accustomed as they are to speaking and thinking in terms of the present. The few working-class people whom I had the chance to know in Paris never took it on themselves to pose the problem of the discovery of a Negro past. They knew they were black, but, they told me, that made no difference in anything. In which they were absolutely right.

In this connection, I should like to say something that I have found in many other writers: Intellectual alienation is a creation of middle-class society. What I call middle-class society is any society that becomes rigidified in predetermined forms, forbidding all evolution, all gains, all progress, all discovery. I call middle-class a closed society in which life has no taste, in which the air is tainted, in which ideas and men are corrupt. And I

think that a man who takes a stand against this death is in a sense a revolutionary.

The discovery of the existence of a Negro civilization in the fifteenth century confers no patent of humanity on me. Like it or not, the past can in no way guide me in the present moment.

The situation that I have examined, it is clear by now, is not a classic one. Scientific objectivity was barred to me, for the alienated, the neurotic, was my brother, my sister, my father. I have ceaselessly striven to show the Negro that in a sense he makes himself abnormal; to show the white man that he is at once the perpetrator and the victim of a delusion.

There are times when the black man is locked into his body. Now, "for a being who has acquired consciousness of himself and of his body, who has attained to the dialectic of subject and object, the body is no longer a cause of the structure of consciousness, it has become an object of consciousness."

The Negro, however sincere, is the slave of the past. None the less I am a man, and in this sense the Peloponnesian War is as much mine as the invention of the compass. Face to face with the white man, the Negro has a past to legitimate, a vengeance to exact; face to face with the Negro, the contemporary white man feels the need to recall the times of cannibalism. A few years ago, the Lyon branch of the Union of Students From Overseas France asked me to reply to an article that made jazz music literally an irruption of cannibalism into the modern world. Knowing exactly what I was doing, I

Maurice Merleau-Ponty, La Phénoménologie de la perception (Paris, Gallimard, 1945), p. 277.

rejected the premises on which the request was based, and I suggested to the defender of European purity that he cure himself of a spasm that had nothing cultural in it. Some men want to fill the world with their presence. A German philosopher described this mechanism as the pathology of freedom. In the circumstances, I did not have to take up a position on behalf of Negro music against white music, but rather to help my brother to rid himself of an attitude in which there was nothing healthful.

The problem considered here is one of time. Those Negroes and white men will be disalienated who refuse to let themselves be sealed away in the materialized Tower of the Past. For many other Negroes, in other ways, disalienation will come into being through their refusal to accept the present as definitive.

I am a man, and what I have to recapture is the whole past of the world. I am not responsible solely for the revolt in Santo Domingo.

Every time a man has contributed to the victory of the dignity of the spirit, every time a man has said no to an attempt to subjugate his fellows, I have felt solidarity with his act.

In no way should I derive my basic purpose from the past of the peoples of color.

In no way should I dedicate myself to the revival of an unjustly unrecognized Negro civilization. I will not make myself the man of any past. I do not want to exalt the past at the expense of my present and of my future.

It is not because the Indo-Chinese has discovered a culture of his own that he is in revolt. It is because "quite simply" it was, in more than one way, becoming impossible for him to breathe. When one remembers the stories with

which, in 1938, old regular sergeants described the land of piastres and rickshaws, of cut-rate boys and women, one understands only too well the rage with which the men of the Viet-Minh go into battle.

An acquaintance with whom I served during the Second World War recently returned from Indo-China. He has enlightened me on many things. For instance, the serenity with which young Vietnamese of sixteen or seventeen faced firing squads. "On one occasion," he told me, "we had to shoot from a kneeling position: The soldiers' hands were shaking in the presence of those young 'fanatics." Summing up, he added: "The war that you and I were in was only a game compared to what is going on out there."

Seen from Europe, these things are beyond understanding. There are those who talk of a so-called Asiatic attitude toward death. But these basement philosophers cannot convince anyone. This Asiatic serenity, not so long ago, was a quality to be seen in the "bandits" of Vercors and the "terrorists" of the Resistance.

The Vietnamese who die before the firing squads are not hoping that their sacrifice will bring about the reappearance of a past. It is for the sake of the present and of the future that they are willing to die.

If the question of practical solidarity with a given past ever arose for me, it did so only to the extent to which I was committed to myself and to my neighbor to fight for all my life and with all my strength so that never again would a people on the earth be subjugated. It was not the black world that laid down my course of conduct. My black skin is not the wrapping of specific values. It is a long time since the starry sky that took away Kant's breath revealed the last of its secrets to us. And the moral law is not certain of itself.

As a man, I undertake to face the possibility of annihilation in order that two or three truths may cast their eternal brilliance over the world.

Sartre has shown that, in the line of an unauthentic position, the past "takes" in quantity, and, when solidly constructed, informs the individual. He is the past in a changed value. But, too, I can recapture my past, validate it, or condemn it through my successive choices.

The black man wants to be like the white man. For the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white. Long ago the black man admitted the unarguable superiority of the white man, and all his efforts are aimed at achieving a white existence.

Have I no other purpose on earth, then, but to avenge the Negro of the seventeenth century?

In this world, which is already trying to disappear, do I have to pose the problem of black truth?

Do I have to be limited to the justification of a facial conformation?

I as a man of color do not have the right to seek to know in what respect my race is superior or inferior to another race.

I as a man of color do not have the right to hope that in the white man there will be a crystallization of guilt toward the past of my race.

I as a man of color do not have the right to seek ways of stamping down the pride of my former master.

I have neither the right nor the duty to claim reparation for the domestication of my ancestors.

There is no Negro mission; there is no white burden. I find myself suddenly in a world in which things do evil; a world in which I am summoned into battle; a world in which it is always a question of annihilation or triumph.

I find myself—I, a man—in a world where words wrap themselves in silence; in a world where the other end-lessly hardens himself.

No, I do not have the right to go and cry out my hatred at the white man. I do not have the duty to murmur my gratitude to the white man.

My life is caught in the lasso of existence. My freedom turns me back on myself. No, I do not have the right to be a Negro.

I do not have the duty to be this or that. . . .

If the white man challenges my humanity, I will impose my whole weight as a man on his life and show him that I am not that "sho' good eatin'" that he persists in imagining.

I find myself suddenly in the world and I recognize that I have one right alone: That of demanding human behavior from the other.

One duty alone: That of not renouncing my freedom through my choices.

I have no wish to be the victim of the *Fraud* of a black world.

My life should not be devoted to drawing up the balance sheet of Negro values.

There is no white world, there is no white ethic, any more than there is a white intelligence.

There are in every part of the world men who search. I am not a prisoner of history. I should not seek there for the meaning of my destiny.

I should constantly remind myself that the real leap consists in introducing invention into existence.

In the world through which I travel, I am endlessly creating myself.

I am a part of Being to the degree that I go beyond it. And, through a private problem, we see the outline of

the problem of Action. Placed in this world, in a situation, "embarked," as Pascal would have it, am I going to gather weapons?

Am I going to ask the contemporary white man to answer for the slave-ships of the seventeenth century?

Am I going to try by every possible means to cause Guilt to be born in minds?

Moral anguish in the face of the massiveness of the Past? I am a Negro, and tons of chains, storms of blows, rivers of expectoration flow down my shoulders.

But I do not have the right to allow myself to bog down. I do not have the right to allow the slightest fragment to remain in my existence. I do not have the right to allow myself to be mired in what the past has determined.

I am not the slave of the Slavery that dehumanized my ancestors.

To many colored intellectuals European culture has a quality of exteriority. What is more, in human relationships, the Negro may feel himself a stranger to the Western world. Not wanting to live the part of a poor relative, of an adopted son, of a bastard child, shall he feverishly seek to discover a Negro civilization?

Let us be clearly understood. I am convinced that it would be of the greatest interest to be able to have contact with a Negro literature or architecture of the third century before Christ. I should be very happy to know that a correspondence had flourished between some Negro philosopher and Plato. But I can absolutely not see how this fact would change anything in the lives of the eight-year-old children who labor in the cane fields of Martinique or Guadeloupe.

No attempt must be made to encase man, for it is his destiny to be set free.

The body of history does not determine a single one of my actions.

I am my own foundation.

And it is by going beyond the historical, instrumental hypothesis that I will initiate the cycle of my freedom.

The disaster of the man of color lies in the fact that he was enslaved.

The disaster and the inhumanity of the white man lie in the fact that somewhere he has killed man.

And even today they subsist, to organize this dehumanization rationally. But I as a man of color, to the extent that it becomes possible for me to exist absolutely, do not have the right to lock myself into a world of retroactive reparations.

I, the man of color, want only this:

That the tool never possess the man. That the enslavement of man by man cease forever. That is, of one by another. That it be possible for me to discover and to love man, wherever he may be.

The Negro is not. Any more than the white man.

Both must turn their backs on the inhuman voices which were those of their respective ancestors in order that authentic communication be possible. Before it can adopt a positive voice, freedom requires an effort at disalienation. At the beginning of his life a man is always clotted, he is drowned in contingency. The tragedy of the man is that he was once a child.

It is through the effort to recapture the self and to scrutinize the self, it is through the lasting tension of their freedom that men will be able to create the ideal conditions of existence for a human world.

Superiority? Inferiority?

Why not the quite simple attempt to touch the other, to feel the other, to explain the other to myself?

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Was my freedom not given to me then in order to build the world of the You?

At the conclusion of this study, I want the world to recognize, with me, the open door of every consciousness.

My final prayer:

O my body, make of me always a man who questions!