

In colonial ethnography the colonized were turned into objects of knowledge... this is one of the origins of exoticism... Images of Noble Indians decorated shops and advertisements when the Indian Wars were past and they had been defeated for good; images of frightful African warriors, with spear and assegai, became ornamental once machine guns had done away with African resistance. The 'Other' is not merely to be exploited but also to be enjoyed, enjoyment being a finer form of exploitation

Colonial exhibits catered to the voyeurism of the victors of civilization, they were 'allegories of European hegemony' and demonstrations of racial supremacy in which imperialism seemed to be transformed into 'natural history.' (p 94, 95)

In the early 1900's **John Hobson** and **Rosa Luxemburg** warned that imperialist militarism and barbarism would come back on Europe like a boomerang. After the trench warfare of 1914-18 a question arose, also in the colonies, as to what made civilization so appealing. When in the land of 'poets and thinkers' six million human lives were sacrificed the question arose as to what make complacent western jokes at the expense of the colonized people so funny. (p 101)

African intellectuals who criticized European clichés of the 20's and 30's put forward several arguments: (1) European conquest itself was barbaric. There was wide agreement about barbarism of the 'civilizing hordes', from the West African essayist **Tovlou Houénou** to **Rabindranath Tagore** ('You build your Kingdom on corpses'). (2) The colonial system was dehumanizing. Under the cover of civilization the colonized were reduced to savages. (3) There is no necessary development and the level of its civilization. Terms like "high" and "low" can be applied to technological and economic development but not to civilization. This is the argument of cultural relativism and a rejection of evolutionism. (4) Africa's modernizing potential has been blockaded and sabotaged by European interventions: by the slave trade and by incursions targeted against modernizing forces such as **Mohamed Ali** in Egypt and **Samory Touré** in West Africa. (p 100)

'... the white savages of Europe are overrunning the dark savages everywhere... the European nations are vying with one another in political burglaries... [Europe has] entered upon an era of social cannibalism in which the stronger nations are devouring the weaker.'

Entertainers do not threaten the status quo, but embellish it. Emotive, 'feminine' expression by blacks is permitted, conforms to the rhythm myth, the stereotype of musicality.' (p 145)

What was the myth of Africa as 'the Dark Continent' but a symbol of the 'Victorians' own dark subconscious, projected upon a continent? What was the terminology applied to explorers who were said to 'penetrate' the 'interior' of Africa but a cryptogram for European expansion and subliminally presented as sexual penetration? From time to time colonial abuses are cast in the allegory of rape – the rape of a continent, the rape of Bengal, the rape of the Congo. (p 173)

The castration of the black man takes various forms – not in the first place physical, though murder and lynching, but chiefly through his humiliation as a man, economically in the labour market and in his role as a breadwinner, socially in terms of status and prestige, legally in de facto restrictions on his right to self-defence or to carry arms, politically by withholding, until recently, the vote from him. The black male's access to the white man's world is conditional: as a servant or entertainer who does not threaten the status quo; as desexualised figures such as a minister, a notable, a scholar; or, conversely, if he conforms to the stereotype of the bestial black, as the brainless athlete or super-stud. (p 177)

At the bottom of the social hierarchy is the black woman, suppressed both as woman and as black woman, the cheapest item on the labour market, manipulated as sexual object or as servant. Here also two images predominate: the black woman who is regarded as sexually available and equated with the prostitute – 'Brown sugar'; and the desexualised mammy of the Aunt Jemima type. In American iconography the former virtually invisible and the second ubiquitous. In American art and advertising black female beauty has rarely been depicted (p 178)

Césaire and **Fanon** took up where Hobson and Luxemburg had left off and interpreted fascism and Nazism as 'imperialism turned inward.' (p 101)