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**Intellectuals and Revolution : A Critical Study of Frantz Fanon's A
*Dying Colonialism (1959)***

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Dedication

- *To my family*
- *To my parents*
- *To my siblings: Massyl, Agnes, Maylisse, Lounis, and Ilyas*
- *To my friends*
- *This work is for all of you. I could not have done it without you.*

Dassine

Dedication

- *To my family*
- *To my parents*
- *To my siblings: Kahina, Cylia, Massinissa, Jugurtha*
- *To my fiancé*
- *May this work stand as a humble reflection of all that you have given me.*

Inas

Abstract

This dissertation explores the role of intellectuals in anti-colonial resistance through a critical reading of Frantz Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism* in the light of Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony and organic intellectuals, engaging with key concepts such as counter-hegemony, ideological and symbolic reconfigurations, postcolonial theory, and Marxist thought. By analyzing how Fanon portrays the Algerian War of Independence as a space of both political and cultural transformation, this study highlights how revolutionary change emerges not only through violence but also through symbolic reconfigurations. Drawing on Gramsci's concepts, the dissertation examines how intellectuals whether doctors, women, or community actors serve as catalysts for collective consciousness and cultural resistance. The study argues that Fanon's revolutionary vision aligns with Gramsci's framework, demonstrating that decolonization requires the dismantling of colonial ideologies and the construction of new, liberatory identities through active intellectual engagement. Ultimately, this work reveals how culture becomes both a site and a weapon of resistance.

Key words: Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, Antonio Gramsci, Cultural hegemony, Organic intellectuals, traditional intellectuals, hegemony, counter-hegemony, Algerian war of independence, revolutionary change, violence and resistance, collective consciousness, decolonization, intellectual engagement.

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I. General Introduction

Literature has historically functioned as a foundation means for comprehending communities, and their cultures, offering a sight into the intricate interplay between individuals. Several writers have explored not only political and social situations, but also examined the complex themes of self-awareness and cultural identities. In this perspective, the Algerian revolution (1954-1962) stands out as a key example that the Martinican author, Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) has powerfully studied in his *A Dying Colonialism* (originally published in French as *L'An V de la Révolution Algérienne* in 1959). In this book, he analyzes the impacts of the struggle for liberation, which has transformed the social structures, like family life, gender roles, media, medicine, and national identity of the Algerians during the Revolutionary War. In his work, Frantz Fanon had the role of the intellectual awakener who held an essential place in challenging colonial narratives and raising revolutionary awareness among the colonized.

Emphasizing the Algerian Revolution (1954-1962), Fanon dismantles colonial discourse not only as a tool of political domination but also as a powerful influence on social changes and shared beliefs and cultural identity. In our dissertation, we will attempt to study the role of intellectuals in social struggle, with reference to Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism* with regarding to Antonio Gramsci's (1891–1937) theories, especially cultural hegemony. Gramsci wrote "Prison Notebooks", a collection of essays and notes while he was in prison under the Fascist regime in Italy between 1929 and 1935. Like this theorist, Frantz Fanon addressed important issues, like the dynamics of power, identity, and resistance, though from different backgrounds and frameworks. Based mostly on the way intellectuals challenge colonial narratives and inspire revolutionary awareness, Antonio Gramsci's ideas on cultural hegemony and organic intellectuals strongly resonate with this analysis.

Fanon's work reveals the Algerian Revolution as a multidimensional struggle: a rebellion mixed with restoring cultural and mental freedom. He contends that decolonization necessitates more than just territorial emancipation; it needs to challenge the colonial ideas that are still present in language, gender roles and social structures. According to Fanon, intellectuals challenge the discursive authority of the colonizer and encourage counter-consciousness among the oppressed, therefore acting as Catalysts for this process. This is consistent with Gramsci's claim that hegemony is maintained by cultural institutions as much as by force, making intellectual resistance indispensable to revolutionary change.

Combining Fanon's praxis-oriented approach with Gramsci's theoretical framework, this study questions how intellectuals may be actors of decolonization. Fanon's focus on cultural resistance from redefining social conventions to recovering indigenous practices exemplifies Gramsci's idea of counter-hegemony, whereby marginalized groups challenge dominant ideas via other narratives. The connection of both points of view provides a sophisticated knowledge of revolution as both a physical and ideological battlefield. Analyzing Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism* through Gramsci's theory, this dissertation shows how intellectuals, as Fanon envisioned, measure cultural resistance to challenge colonial authority and create freeing identities.

Review of the Literature

A certain number of studies have been devoted to Fanon's life and times. They have been extensively charted in a biography, notably by David Macey's *Frantz Fanon: A Biography* (2000) and Alice Cherki a colleague of Fanon's at the Blida Joinville hospital, who wrote *Frantz Fanon: A Portrait* (2000). These works covered Fanon's life journey from Martinique to the Algerian Revolution. Others explored his thought and philosophy. We can mention in this sense *Frantz Fanon: Toward a Revolutionary Humanism* by Christopher J. Leel Reader – ed. by Lewis R. Gordon, T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, and Renée T. White

(2016), and *Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of Oppression* by Hussein Abdilahi Bulhan (1985).

Meanwhile, many writers have criticized Fanon. Firstly, Assia Djebar in her book entitled *Women of Algiers in their Apartment* (1980) exposes the gap between symbolic progress during the Algerian revolution and the ongoing persecution women endured after independence. Therefore, critiquing Frantz Fanon's idealistic depiction of women's liberation in *A Dying Colonialism*. Djebar points out:

Frantz fanon's glowing picture of these heady days in *A Dying Colonialism* notwithstanding problems soon developed between progressive, educated young women eager to do their part and traditional regressive, male guerilla fighters eager to stop them," (*Women of Algiers in Their Apartment*, p. 189-190).

She emphasize the "bitter disappointment" (p. 190) of women who were "dispensed with" (p. 190) after the war, reverting to conventional roles and patriarchal domination. Djebar's work offers a nuanced critique of Fanon's perspectives, pushing for a more inclusive and feminist approach to postcolonial liberation, as well as critiquing his limitation, particularly his failure to fully account for the experiences and struggles of women.

Secondly, in her *On Violence* (1970), although Hannah Arendt did not specifically intricate with *A Dying Colonialism*, her criticism of Fanon's perspectives on violence challenges the ideological foundation present in his broader work. According to Arendt Fanon's biological definition of power and violence is theoretically perilous. She asserts that "nothing in my opinion could be theoretically more dangerous than the traditional of organic thought in political matters by which power and violence are interpreted in biological terms." (p. 75). Arendt further explains that "the organic metaphors with which our entire present discussion of these matters, especially of the riots, is permeated the notion of a 'sick society', of which riots are symptoms of disease_ can only promote violence in the end." (p. 75). By criticizing Fanon's notion of "creative madness" (p;75) by pointing out its roots in a

problematic tradition. She warns that using biological analogies to justify violence can be dangerous, as it risks glorifying violence in a way that makes it seem natural or inevitable.

Furthermore, Alistair Horne in *A Savage War Of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962* (1977) challenges Frantz Fanon's idea that revolutionary violence will unite Algeria. Armed struggle against colonial control, according to Fanon, would create a strong national identity and bring the Algerian people together. However, Horne illustrates that the end of the war revealed severe differences among the Algerian elite and left the country with a disorganized political system "Frantz Fanon had predicted that war would achieve unity among the Algerian elite: peace produced quite the opposite" Horne notes (p.535). In other terms, rather than uniting people, the violence ended up breaking them apart, eliminating many possible leaders and causing conflict. According to Horne's detailed analysis, the promise of unification through violence was incorrect because such conflicts only led to chaos and division.

Finally , in *Resistance in Postcolonial African Fiction* (1990) Neil Lazarus critiques Fanon's conception of revolution particularly in *A Dying Colonialism* as a complete break from colonialism, noting that it ignores how colonial systems including social inequities and economic dependence continue after independence; he claims : "Fanon's messianic formulation ... makes the setbacks of the postcolonial era seem incomprehensible " (p.17) and contends that Fanon's belief in the "upward thrust of the people" (p.29) does not explain how often postcolonial leaders repeat colonial patterns of power. Simply said, Lazarus believes that Fanon's hope in *A Dying Colonialism* ignores the complicated reality of postcolonial countries. As evidenced from the previous review of literature, no book has been devoted exclusively to *A Dying Colonialism*.

Nevertheless, only articles are dedicated to this text. We can cite Paul Michael Garrett's "Disordering the World", an article that appeared in *Critical and Radical Social Work* (2020) that explores how Fanon interrogates everyday life in Algeria. As far as these

are concerned, we can mention Emily Apter's *The Translatability of Experience: On Fanon's A Dying Colonialism* (2013) where the author analyzes Fanon's use of language. So, to our knowledge, no research work has been done on *A Dying Colonialism* from our perspective: Fanon as an intellectual awakener. Fanon's text examines how the fight against French colonial control changed the colonized as much as the colonizer. Frantz Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism* offers a compelling study of the Algerian War of independence, where he investigates the profound social, cultural, and psychological transform taking place inside the Algerian society. The book is divided into five chapters: The Algerian Family, Medicine and Colonialism, Algeria unveiled, The Radio and The Algerian War, this is the Voice of Algeria. Through these themes, *A Dying Colonialism* is a fundamental book in postcolonial studies, since it highlights decolonization as a process that transforms identities, destroys colonial power systems and fosters a new national consciousness.

Issue and Working Hypothesis

Through the prior review of the literature, it is obvious that Frantz Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism* has been a significant subject of scholarly concerns, particularly for its perception in the psychological and cultural aspects of colonial dominance and resistance. Our approach in this research combines many concepts. To the best of our knowledge nonetheless, no study has yet analyzed Fanon's work using Antonio Gramsci's theory of intellectuals. Our main objective is to analyze Frantz Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism*, focusing on the roles and strategies of intellectuals' engagement in his examination of the Algerian War of independence, and how these are explored through Antonio Gramsci's theory of intellectuals and hegemony.

The analysis hypothesizes that Gramsci's approach, especially his distinction between 'conventional' and 'organic intellectuals,' will provide a valuable framework for examining Fanon's narrative. It aims to explore how 'organic intellectuals,' closely linked to the

hardships of the colonized, therefore enabling the development of a counter-hegemonic culture and political consciousness in the context of colonial movements. The research investigates the transforming power of intellectuals in decolonization as portrayed in *A Dying Colonialism*, with an eye on their participation in reclaiming cultural identity and organizing the masses. Furthermore, it will analyze the concept of cultural hegemony and its subversion, utilizing Gramsci's theory of hegemony to comprehend the mechanism that maintain power structures and the methods for their deconstruction. To further frame and enhance our study, we will also include secondary readings on postcolonial theory and critical theory.

Objectives and Importance of the Study

This study aims to analyze Frantz Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism* through Antonio Gramsci's theory of intellectuals and hegemony, focusing on the interaction of ideology, culture and opposition in colonial settings. Inspired by Gramsci's concept of hegemonic intellectuals, those who emerge from and speak for the underprivileged classes and his theory of counter-hegemonic struggle, the study explores how Fanon presents the function of intellectuals, not only as political theorists but also as active participants in the liberation struggle. It investigates how intellectuals serve to create revolutionary consciousness and collective agency among colonized people by serving as mediators between the masses and radical change. Fanon's portrayal of the evolution of social roles, particularly concerning women and former colleagues, the reconfiguration of identity under colonial oppression, and the strategies, both discursive and material, through which colonized individuals negotiate, subvert and ultimately oppose subjugation are emphasized. Employing a close reading approach, the study places Fanon's criticism of colonialism within the larger dynamics of cultural and political struggle by examining his narratives of Algerian resistance as sites where hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces cross and conflict.

Fanon's investigation of cultural institution (such as family) and communication technology (such as Radio) as tools of both colonial control and revolutionary awakening receives particular focus. This method provides interdisciplinary insights on the mechanism of social transformation and the building of political subjectivities under colonial control, therefore bridging postcolonial theory with Marxist theory. Ultimately, the research emphasizes the ongoing relevance of both Fanon's and Gramsci's ideas, showing how their theories continue to inform modern movements against systematic oppression, settler colonialism, and neoliberal exploitation, while also highlighting the vital role of intellectual activism in the pursuit of liberation, social justice, and decolonial futures.

Methodological Outline

This dissertation explores the concepts of revolution, and intellectuals' resistance in Frantz Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism* (1959), by applying Antonio Gramsci's theory of intellectuals and cultural hegemony. This dissertation is composed of an introduction that contains the main research questions and the working hypothesis, and the literary review. In Methods and Materials, we have introduced the theoretical framework, focusing on Antonio Gramsci's ideas of cultural hegemony, the role of intellectuals and counter-hegemony. Along with a short biography of Frantz Fanon and a synopsis of *A Dying Colonialism*, we attempted to offer a brief historical background of the Algerian Revolution, which is the key topic of the book. The results are then presented, which objectives are to summarize the primary findings of our analysis. In the discussion, we attempted to suggest a reinterpretation of Fanon's points of view through the lens of organic rather than conventional intellectuals and the subversion of cultural hegemony, applying Gramsci's theory to *A Dying Colonialism*.

II. Methods and Materials

1-Methods

a) Cultural Hegemony

Cultural hegemony is a concept in sociology and cultural studies, developed in the 1920s and 1930s by the Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) in his famous *Prison Notebooks*. This concept describes how one class or group in a society dominates and controls the ideas, values and ideology of the culture. Gramsci claims that this control is accomplished via manipulating cultural resources such as institutions, the media, education, and other non-coercive methods of influencing people's opinions. The word 'hegemony' means leader or dominant state (Gramsci, 1937, p. 20). Gramsci refers to the cultural leadership used by the ruling class as 'cultural hegemony'. According to him, one of the main arenas in which the fight for hegemony occurs is culture. Therefore, he believes that power is upheld not only by using force but also by influencing people's thoughts through non-coercive methods like language, media, and education. Additionally, he is adamant about how ideology helps the ruling elite continue to dominate society.

The spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is historically caused by the prestige and consequent confidence which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production (Gramsci, 1937, p. 142).

According to Gramsci, there are two types of society that help build hegemony: political society, which fosters coercion and civil society, which promotes consent through the diffusion of ideology and culture. The political one, on the other hand, is a state that employs institutions of coercion, such as the legal, governmental, and police forces, to obtain agreement from social classes that do not accept it. Additionally, political parties and the media are examples of non-coercive civil society entities as Gramsci argues: "Everything which influences or is able to influence public opinion, directly or indirectly, belongs to it:

libraries, schools, associations and clubs of various kinds, even architecture and the layout and names of streets” (Ibid., p. 389). Furthermore, Gramsci observes that the ‘subaltern’ and ‘subordinate’ or what he referred to as “non-hegemonic classes,” are controlled to prevent them from challenging the prevailing system, which is considered the standard. The ruling class tries to gain the support of the other classes in order to preserve its hegemony and power. Dominic Strinati maintains in his book *An introduction to theories of popular culture*:

“Dominant groups in society, including fundamentally but not exclusively the ruling class, maintain their dominance by securing the “spontaneous consent” of subordinate groups, including the working class, through the negotiated construction of a political and ideological consensus which incorporates both dominant and dominated groups” (Strinati, 1995, p. 165).

Antonio Gramsci adds that “the supremacy of a social group or class manifested itself in two different ways: ‘domination’ or ‘coercion’, and ‘intellectual and moral leadership’ (Gramsci, 1937, p. 24). So, domination is exercised by force by the political society. Meanwhile, hegemony is exercised through consent by the civil society. This means “hegemony is attained through the myriad ways in which the institutions of civil society operate to shape, directly or indirectly, the cognitive and effective structure where men perceive and evaluate problematic social reality” (Ibid., p. 24). For Gramsci therefore, physical force is used only against those who refuse to consent.

b) The Role of Intellectuals

Antonio Gramsci maintained that intellectuals are not a separate, elite group but members of every social class; he said: “All men are intellectuals, one could therefore say: but not all men have in society the function of intellectual” (*Prison Notebooks*, 1971, p.131). This implies that although everyone has the capacity to think, challenge, and influence only certain people adopt the social role of directing ideas, planning movement, or changing public opinion. Gramsci believed that subaltern people, workers, activists and community leaders can be intellectuals provided they enable their communities to be understood and responded to.

Scholars or academics are not the only ones with this responsibility. Gramsci also set clear differences between ‘traditional’ and ‘organic intellectuals’. Traditional intellectuals, such as priests, educators and philosophers who frequently view themselves as timeless and impartial stand outside of class struggle. However, Gramsci challenged this perspective, arguing that even if these intellectuals assert independence they are frequently associated with the dominant class. On the other hand, ‘organic intellectuals’ serve to represent and arrange the interests of a social class since they originate straight from there. He notes that the ‘Organic Intellectuals’ are those who provide their class:

Every social group, coming into existence on the original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production, creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields”, (Prison Notebooks 1971, p. 134, 135).

Deeply engaged in their communities, these intellectuals help others in comprehending their situation, build unity and pursue change. For Antonio Gramsci, real revolution calls for the active involvement of ‘organic intellectuals,’ thinkers as well as performers. He writes: “The mode of being of the new intellectual can no longer consist in eloquence, ... but in active participation in practical life, as constructor, organizer, ‘permanent persuader” (Prison *Notebooks*,1971, p.141.142). These intellectuals not only discuss issues but actively engage in the fight for solutions. They help to raise awareness, inspire group strength and provide individuals with the confidence to picture another future. For him, building a new class of organic intellectuals rooted in the working class is important to challenging the dominance of ruling class ideas and creating a more just and equal society.

Materials

1-Historical Background of *A Dying Colonialism*

Frantz Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism*, originally published in French as *L'An V de la Révolution Algérienne* (1959), explores the changing political and cultural dynamics of the Algerian War of Independence. Using the fifth year of the Algerian Revolution as a focal point, as a psychiatrist and a revolutionary theorist, Fanon examines how colonial oppression changed Algerian culture and how opposition inspired significant changes in cultural practices and identity.

French colonialism was characterized by severe repression, cultural erasure, and economic exploitation, with policies designed to assimilate Algerians into French culture while separating them from their Arab-Islamic roots. Land acquisition, forced labor and cultural repression were among the violent and non-violent tools the French used to dominate the Algerian culture. However, as evidenced by the start of the Algerian War of Independence in (1954), these efforts only served to increase resistance. The war was characterized by widespread violence, torture and relocation, with the French using tactics like electric and water torture to eliminate opposition. Despite these terrible policies, Algerian resistance continued with the National Liberation Front (FLN) leading the struggle for independence.

Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism* caught the transforming political and cultural dynamics of this era, illustrating how resistance not only challenged colonial control but also changed Algerian identity and society; the war became a worldwide icon of anti-colonial struggle. The book's was published during a turning point in the conflict as Algerians were progressively organizing against French control, resulting in final independence in 1962. *A Dying Colonialism* which was translated into English in 1965, became a seminal work in anti-colonial thought by showing how oppressed peoples may actively oppose colonial structures and reclaim their culture.

2-Biography of Frantz Fanon

From our stand point, including an author's biography in such a work is important for several reasons. Examining these aspects allows helping readers interpret the text more deeply. In addition, biographical details can offer insight into the author's motivations and ideological leanings in an author's work.

Frantz Fanon (also known as Ibrahim Omar Fanon) was born on July 20, 1925, in Fort-de-France, Martinique. He was a psychiatrist, philosopher, and anti-colonial writer, best known for his works *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952), *A Dying Colonialism* (1959), and *The Wretched of the Earth*. Emphasizing the importance of opposition and emancipation, his writings concentrate on the psychological and political effects of colonialism (1961, p. 1). Following WW2 service in the free French Forces, he pursued studies in Medicine and Psychiatry in France. His critique of colonial structures was significantly impacted by his experience of prejudice and exclusion during his education.

Later, Fanon worked in Algeria as a psychiatrist and became more active in the country's independence movement. (Macey, 2000, p. 37). Fanon joined the National Liberation Front (FLN) and supported the anti-colonial movement by means of his medical practice and writings while living in Algeria. His book *A Dying Colonialism* (1959) examines how the Algerian War transformed social and cultural practices under colonialism. Exploring issues such as gender roles, communication, and medicine, demonstrating how resistance alters both individual and collective identities. (1959, p. 12). Frantz Fanon passed away on December 06, 1961, in the United States, following a protracted battle with Leukemia.

Though his early death, his revolutionary thoughts and powerful writings still shape postcolonial theory and liberation campaigns all around. (Macey, 2000, p. 312). Frantz Fanon is widely regarded as an intellectual awakener because his work catalyzed deep political,

psychological, and cultural awakening, particularly among colonized peoples and those fighting for liberation. We will attempt to explain that Fanon did not only diagnose oppression, but also energized minds and movements to resist it as well.

3- Synopsis of *A Dying Colonialism*

A Dying Colonialism is a thoughtful examination of the significant transformation that occurred inside the Algerian society during the revolutionary period. Fanon explains how the revolution changes the fundamental fabric of daily life affecting culture, family, gender roles, communication and even the way people see themselves rather than viewing the struggle as only a political or military fight.

Over five pieces, he explores several aspects of Algerian society and how the independence movement is changing it. In 'Algeria Unveiled', he investigates how Algerian women defied conventional roles and colonial expectations by actively supporting the fight, thereby using the veil in strategic and symbolic ways. 'This is the Voice of Algeria' emphasizes how Algerians' usage of radio helped them to recover their story and foster solidarity all throughout their nation. Fanon demonstrates in 'The Algerian Family' how war alters family dynamics, subverts conventional hierarchies, and promotes fresh kinds of equality and cooperation. Then 'Medicine and Colonialism' shows how the revolution helped Algerians take back control of their bodies and communities as well as how colonial authority exploited healthcare as a tool for control. In 'From Non-being to Being' he contends at last that colonialism dehumanizes the underprivileged and that the Algerian people start to recover their dignity, humanity, and identity by revolt. Decolonization for Fanon is not only about overthrowing foreign rule; it is a whole transformation of consciousness and society in which once quiet and controlled people learn to speak, act and live freely.

III. Results

This section of our dissertation is dedicated to presenting the key findings derived from our analytical study of Frantz Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism* examined through Antonio Gramsci's theoretical framework of 'cultural hegemony' and the concept of the 'organic intellectual'. Our research has sought to illuminate the dynamic role of intellectuals within colonial societies, not as distant observers or institutional elites, but as embedded agents of resistance. Fanon's revolutionary text reveals that in times of collective upheaval, intellectuals are redefined by their proximity to the people and by the transformative function they assume within the struggle for liberation.

One of the primary conclusions we reached is that intellectual resistance in colonial Algeria was not centralized in traditional figures such as academics or politicians, but emerged organically from within the oppressed classes themselves. Algerian doctors, women revolutionaries, and community organizers evolved into key intellectual actors, not merely because they possessed formal knowledge, but because they mediated between revolutionary consciousness and social action. Their intellectualism was grounded in lived experience and political urgency, reflecting Gramsci's belief that the organic intellectual must be both rooted in and responsive to the material conditions of their community.

We also found that the transformation of everyday practices into tools of resistance was a defining feature of Fanon's portrayal of decolonization. Cultural symbols such as the veil, religious rituals, and radio communication were re-appropriated by Algerians in ways that subverted colonial meaning. These acts of cultural resistance were not only spontaneous but strategically informed by a new class of intellectuals who helped reframe these tools as elements of counter-hegemony. In this sense, intellectual labor became inseparable from revolutionary practice, and culture itself emerged as a battleground where power was contested through meaning. Furthermore, language, as both a medium and a symbol, played a

decisive role in the intellectual dimensions of resistance. Fanon illustrates how the colonial language, French, initially associated with domination and shame, was gradually stripped of its oppressive charge and re-imagined as a means of revolutionary expression. This "exorcism" of language reflects a broader shift in political consciousness, wherein intellectuals participated in not only critiquing but reshaping the symbolic structure of colonial society. In this vein, Gramsci's insights prove relevant: cultural hegemony is challenged not only by counter-violence, but also by counter-narratives constructed from within the linguistic and symbolic order of the colonized.

A final yet critical result of our study is the emphasis on intellectuals not as isolated voices, but as facilitators of collective political subjectivity. In Fanon's framework, the intellectual does not lead from above but walks beside the people engaging in dialogue, absorbing experience, and helping articulate a new social imaginary. This repositioning of the intellectual from a position of authority to one of solidarity represents a radical departure from colonial hierarchies of knowledge and power. Resistance, therefore, is not merely an act of defiance, but a sustained cultural and ideological project that requires intellectual mediation at every level of society.

These findings affirm the notion that decolonization is not only a political and military process, but also a deeply intellectual and cultural one. Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism*, read in the light of Gramsci's theory, demonstrates how the intellectual becomes essential not because of credentials or status, but because of his capacity to articulate collective experience into a coherent vision of liberation. The revolution, then, is not only fought with weapons, but also with ideas, redefinitions, and the cultural labor of those who dare to imagine otherwise.

IV. Discussion

This part of our dissertation examines Frantz Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism* through Antonio Gramsci's theories of hegemony and the role of intellectual. Our aim has been to explore how intellectuals function not only as thinkers, but also as active agents within the colonial struggle for liberation. This discussion has focused on the historical and theoretical context of the Algerian war, as well as Fanon's portrayal of resistance. It shows how colonial domination extended into cultural and psychological realms, and how intellectuals emerged from within the masses to challenge it. Then, we have applied Gramsci's framework, analyzing how Fanon's figures, such as doctors, women, and everyday revolutionaries embody the role of organic intellectuals. These individuals redefined cultural practices and contributed to dismantling colonial ideology from within. In this discussion, we highlighted how both Fanon and Gramsci viewed resistance as a process that involves reclaiming identity, reshaping culture, and transforming collective consciousness through intellectual and ideological struggle.

Chapter One: Analytical Framework

1. The Impact of the Algerian Revolution on Fanon

The Algerian Revolution stands as one of the most crucial decolonization conflicts of the 20th century, thanks to its severity and ideological and geopolitical dimensions. Rooted in a long history of colonial oppression following the French conquest in 1830, the war was driven by the deliberate and systematic exclusion of Algeria's indigenous population. French colonial policies had deprived many Algerians of their land, imposed cultural assimilation through education and language, and condemned the majority Muslim population to second-class status. The Pied-Noirs settler community, which numbered nearly one million, maintained a dominant influence over economic and political affairs, deepening social radical disparities. Eventually armed resistance emerged from this structural violence.

The Algerian Revolution became a cornerstone of decolonization movements around the world and informed revolutionary theories and practice, including those of Frantz Fanon. His *A Dying Colonialism* and *The Wretched of the Earth* examine the psychological and cultural effects of colonialism. His books also become manifestos for liberation movements in Africa and Latin America, as well as for the Black liberation movement in the United States. The war also exposed the contradictions of French republicanism, which claimed to uphold liberty and equality while maintaining a brutal colonial empire. It also caused a review of military ethics, international laws and the validity of colonial domination. This violent rupture of colonial rule reshaped Algeria's political destiny and profoundly impacted Frantz Fanon, who saw in the revolution a deeper transformation in social, cultural, and psychological that redefined both individual consciousness and collective identity.

French colonialism profoundly disrupted the Algerian society by imposing not only political and economic domination but also a deep reconfiguration of its social fabric. The

colonial system sought to undermine indigenous structures, particularly the traditional family unit, by instilling dependency, submission, and internal division. Algerian social roles, gender relations, and generational hierarchies were all subjected to pressure from the colonial state's assimilationist policies and its attempts to control everyday life. These distortions eroded communal cohesion and implanted a sense of inferiority and fragmentation within colonized communities.

Transformation of the Family Unit

One of the most significant social effects of colonialism, as Fanon observed, was its impact on the family. The traditional Algerian family 'patriarchal and conservative' served as a stabilizing social institution. However, under colonial pressure and in the context of revolutionary upheaval, these structures began to shift. Fanon writes, "The old stultifying attachment to the father melts in the sun of the revolution" (*A Dying Colonialism*, 1959, p.94), emphasizing how the war challenged established roles and allowed for new relationships to form within the household. The authority of the father, once absolute, became contested as revolutionary ideals infiltrated domestic life.

Reconfiguration of Gender Roles

Colonialism both exploited and reinforced the marginalization of Algerian women by portraying them as passive symbols of a backward society. However, during the revolution, women's roles underwent a radical transformation. They moved from being invisible and confined to domestic spaces to becoming active participants in the national struggle. Fanon highlights this shift: "The unveiled Algerian woman, who assumed an increasingly important place in revolution action, developed her personality, and discovered the exalting realm of responsibility" (p. 52). Participation in combat, intelligence, and urban resistance broke the

binary of colonized and colonizer and redefined what it meant to be both a woman and a revolutionary subject.

Psychological Impact

Fanon, a psychiatrist and revolutionary thinker, saw colonialism not only as a system of political and economic domination but also as a profound assault on the native psyche, also inflicted profound psychological trauma on the Algerian population. It not only dominated their physical spaces but also invaded their minds, warping their perception of language, authority, and self-worth. Fanon writes that the French language, previously a symbol of threat and humiliation, began to change its connotation only through the revolution: “In psychopathology, sentences in French lose their automatic character of insult and malediction, hallucinations in the language of the occupier assume a friendly character of support, of protection” (*A Dying Colonialism*, 1959, p. 90). This transformation reflects a broader psychological reclamation, a shift from internalized inferiority and alienation to empowerment and resistance. Algerians were made to reject their language, culture, and even their bodies in favor of French norms. Fanon highlights how the revolution enabled Algerians to “exorcize the French language” and turn it into an “instrument of liberation” (p. 90). Thus, the psychological impact was twofold: colonialism initially imposed fear, alienation, and mental subjugation, but the revolution catalyzed a reversal, enabling psychological emancipation and collective healing.

Culture as Resistance

While colonialism aimed to erase indigenous culture, Fanon noted that the revolution changed traditional activities into acts of rebellion. For instance, Algerian women used the veil as a tactical tool, either adopting or rejecting it to hide from French surveillance, therefore challenging colonial notions of “submissive” Muslim women. Fanon wrote: “The Algerian

woman and body, which in an initial phase were pared down, now swelled. Whereas in the previous period the body had to be made slim and disciplined to make it attractive and seductive, it now had to be squashed, made shapeless and even ridiculous” (p.62).This demonstrated the deliberate reclaiming of cultural icons to support revolutionary objectives.

Religion Reframed as Revolutionary

Through the revolution, Fanon saw a radical change; Islam became a mobilizing agent rather than a quiet haven. In view of the liberation fight, Algerians started to reconsider their faith as a source of dignity, justice and resistance, so changing their spiritual perspective. This significantly influenced Fanon’s vision on religion, not as fixed or passive, but as dynamic and revolutionary when appropriated by the individuals. This moment draws Fanon’s understanding that the revolution had changed the entire meaning of belief. It showed him that culture and religion are not fixed in tradition, but are reshaped via political conflict. For Fanon, this represented a better awareness of how colonial people creatively reinterpret their cultural roots in the process of struggle for independence.

Political Impact

The Algerian Revolution deeply radicalized Frantz Fanon politically; he became a devoted revolutionary thinker who saw armed struggle as indispensable for decolonization and social change. Frantz Fanon came to see violence as an essential and liberating force, not merely a strategy, but a way for the colonized to regain their humanity and dignity. He supported the FLN use of armed resistance because he thought it was necessary to end colonial rule. He argues:

“The armed combatants, the guerrilla fighters, are only centers of support, of encouragement, of organization for this massive movement that reaches into every nook and cranny of the population. For this reason, the power of each guerrilla fighter does not rest simply in himself, his weapon, and his army unit. He is the incarnation of the will of the people to struggle, of the resistance, of the anonymous and innumerable ways in which the people seek to harass and liquidate

the oppressor and refuse to collaborate with him” (Adolfo Gilly’s introduction in *A Dying Colonialism*, 1959, p.6).

The Overview of *A Dying Colonialism*

A Dying Colonialism presents a profound exploration of the psychological and social changes brought about by the Algerian War of Independence. Through a series of essays, Fanon examines the transformation of Algerian society under the tension of colonial domination and the resistance against it. His analysis is not limited to the physical struggle for liberation but extends to the cultural, psychological, and personal revolutions that arise in a colonized people. Fanon emphasizes that colonialism does more than exploit land and resources; it dehumanizes and erases cultural identities. In this book, he reflects on the ways colonialism reconfigures both the colonizer and the colonized. The resistance, however, becomes a powerful force of reclaiming identity. Fanon argues that the colonial system is designed to maintain a strict hierarchy that keeps colonized peoples in a state of inferiority. By controlling culture, language, and social structures, colonial powers cultivate a deep-rooted perception of inferiority among the native population. Fanon argues that the adopted oppression inflicted by colonialism is more insidious and durable than its external control. As the Algerian people engage in their struggle for independence, Fanon observes a dramatic shift in their self-conception. The liberation movement became more than just a fight against the French colonizer; it became a vehicle for self-reclamation. The act of resisting colonial domination, whether through armed struggle or cultural defiance, dehumanizes the colonized. Fanon describes how the once-passive population became active participants in their own history, shedding the mental chains that colonialism had imposed on them. This change is not merely ideological but also functional, as traditional social structures are re-evaluated and often abandoned. Building on this foundation, Fanon presents a compelling analysis of how decolonization reshapes every aspect of life. Rather than limiting his focus to political or

military dimensions, he delves into how the struggle transforms consciousness and daily practices. The resistance movement, in his view, is not only a confrontation with an occupying power but also a confrontation with internalized oppression. As colonized individuals become agents of change, they redefine themselves and their societies beyond the confines of colonial narratives.

Fanon views this collective awakening as revolutionary in scope. It involves reclaiming not only land but also language, identity, and dignity. The decolonization process becomes a re-humanizing force, breaking the psychological hold of colonialism and giving rise to new forms of self-expression and social organization. He makes it clear that liberation is not granted, it is seized, and in the act of seizing it, people are transformed. Another significant idea in *A Dying Colonialism* is the role of everyday symbols and tools of colonial control and how they are reappropriated by the resistance. Fanon explores how elements such as media, customs, and even gender roles are transformed during the struggle. These formerly oppressive structures take on new meanings in the context of resistance, reflecting a dynamic process in which culture itself becomes a battleground. This shows that decolonization is not merely a negation of colonialism, but a creative and reconstructive effort a forging of new values, practices, and understandings rooted in liberation.

Fanon also sheds light on the moral and existential dimensions of colonialism. He does not view the colonial situation as a neutral conflict between two opposing sides, but rather as an ethical crisis that distorts human relationships at their core. Colonizers are also deformed by the system of domination they maintain, becoming alienated and morally corrupted by their position of power. This dual degradation of both colonizer and colonized reinforces Fanon's belief that colonialism is fundamentally incompatible with human dignity and must be completely dismantled for true healing to begin.

Ultimately, *A Dying Colonialism* stands as a powerful meditation on the nature of colonial power and the transformative force of resistance. While rooted in the specific context of the Algerian War, Fanon's reflections resonate far beyond it, offering deep insights into the enduring psychological legacy of colonialism and the radical potential of decolonization. The book advocates readers to understand that the fight against colonialism is as much about reclaiming the mind and spirit as it is about ending political domination. Fanon challenges us to see resistance not simply as an act of defiance, but as the foundation of a new, liberated way of being.

2. Key chapters

a. Algeria Unveiled

Fanon posits that the most distinctive aspect of a society's uniqueness is the manner in which individuals dress themselves. In the Arab world, the most obvious piece of clothing is the veil worn by women. Almost like a uniform, the veil "demarcates Algerian society and its feminine component". An Algerian woman is to an outsider "she who hides behind the veil".

For him, veils are like a battlefield for colonial oppression. Targeting the wearing of the veil in the 1930's, the French authorities aimed to win over Algerian women. While Algerians felt the veil confirmed "the more significant existence of a basic matriarchy", the colonialist considered it as a symbol of patriarchal society. By encouraging women to discard the veil, the French occupants sought to undermine the Algerian society. They started a massive propaganda effort, and men are supposed to feel ashamed if their wives wore haiks. Women were told to reject the veil. The colonists destroyed a basic component of Algerian life and reconstructed the country in the French image. The French achieved some success but they misinterpreted their victory. The French males objectify the exposed Algerian women; hence, they have an irrational and too strong attraction in any Algerian woman who does not wear

the veil. They seek to make the woman a possible object of possession. While the Algerian male purposefully does not gaze at the Algerian lady, the colonist found veiled women frustrating as she limits her availability to be desired. For ages, French armies pillaged and raped; that sense of entitlement over conquered people still exists in 1959. The removal of women's veils is equated with sexual domination. The determination to transform Algerian society resulted in an ordinary reactionary response from the people. Algerian men felt compelled to defend a "formerly inert" quality of their society prior to the 1950's. Algerian women's attitudes toward the veil experienced significant modifications during the revolution. The absolute intensity of the French violence forces the Algerians to violate conventional taboos in search of victory. Women become an essential part of the military force and conventional gender roles are dropped in order to win the war. Unveiled women help the resistance since the absence of a veil points an allegiance to the French colonizer. Women may hide themselves in the European areas of the city by removing their veil. They can deliver messages, smuggle guns or money, and provide warnings to any fellow revolutionaries nearby. By 1959, the Algerian revolutionaries realize they must use terrorist methods to equal the horror of their colonists. Women are crucial in this period as suicide bombers or fighters, though efforts are made not to attack innocent citizens. "No one takes the step of placing a bomb in a public place without a battle of conscience", (p.55). The removal of the veil is part of an Algerian woman's preparation process for an attack. Ironically, this removal hurts the French even though they started the process. The fathers of these women no longer feel shame over their daughters rejecting their veil. Their participation in the revolution replaces the shame with a concern. In addition, they are committed to Algeria and so understand the sacrifice.

The cultural significance of the veil has been fundamentally changed by the revolution. The abolition of the veil has empowered Algerian women to resist colonization. As the French

become aware of these tactics, women resume wearing the veil. This act does not signify approval of patriarchal subjugation but rather illustrates the women's dedication to the revolution. Traditional cultural norms neglected to combat the colonizers and their meaning is changed even if they return.

b. This is The Voice of Algeria

In *A Dying Colonialism*, Fanon discusses how the radio shaped Algerian culture. Over the years, Radio-Alger has transmitted French propaganda; prior to 1945, only the middle-class Europeans and Algerians had access to radios. Since radios represent the French colonial presence, Algerians determined together they did not need them. "Radio-Alger is a confirmation of the settler's right and strengthens his certainty in the historic continuity of the conquest, hence of his farm" (p.71). For European colonists, the radio helps them to feel civilized and linked to their hometown; in contrast of the Algerians it reminds them that they are a colonized people. Once non-European broadcasts from Syria, Egypt, and Lebanon are available, Algerians start tuning in to the radio after 1945. Early 1950s anti-colonial upheavals start in Tunisia and Morocco; Algerians start to show interest in the international radio reports. The Europeans try to premonitionally stifle such a movement after noticing the revolutionary ideas in Algeria. This alerts Algerians to the real possibility that they might win their independence. Algerians feel the need to engage with the radio.

The French forbid Algerians' attempt to create their own news sources or support already-existing media networks. This suppression only strengthens Algerians' resolve. The lack of objective news sources irritates the Algerians, while several French sources first highlight the great potential of the revolution "rather objectively". Within the Algerian community, claims of wildly inflated fight for independence accomplishments proliferated. The term 'Arab telephone' used by Europeans to describe the rapid spread of rumors among Arab

populations, came to be seen as a highly functional intelligence system connecting various revolutionary factions.

As the French began to realize that their lives are built on the agony of the colonized, they slowly lose their assurance, while the Algerians, seized by an undue confidence, believe they are already winning, and the Europeans become convinced that the end is near.

The regularity of censorship of domestic media leads Algerians to seek objective news from French newspapers imported from mainland France. Buying a French newspaper is a “nationalist act” and Algerians are reported to the police by news kiosk vendors. The censored Algerian newspapers are boycotted by revolutionaries. Radios become the sole source Algerians can get news by the year of 1955. Algerians in exile broadcast news about the revolution to Algerians in Algeria.

This drive to the radio is hastened in 1956 when the voice of free Algeria comes in to being. The program is meant to enlighten Algerians on the revolution. Radios in Algeria are sold out within a matter of days. The radio’s cultural function is transformed. “The radio set was no longer a part of the occupier’s arsenal of cultural oppression”, (F. Fanon, p.84) but a means of drawing people closer to the nationalist movement. The programs are presented in different languages and unite Algerians from across the nation and various ethnic groups.

The French recognized the new significance of the radio. They restricted batteries' and radio set sales. Algerians have to smuggle both into the country. The Algerian radio stations' broadcasts are jammed by the French government, and a race to get around this restriction starts. Great narratives of wars and positive descriptions of a future free from colonial control abound on Algerian radio. Algerians grow increasingly involved in the radio the more the French try to forbid it. Lying abound in both the Algerian and the French reports Deciding

which lie to believe turns into a radical act. The radio also helped to change the view of the French language, which stopped to be only an instrument of colonial control's aid.

c. The Algerian Family

Fanon explores how the Algerian revolution has reshaped the traditional family structure. Once a unified and patriarchal unit, the Algerian family begins to fragment as the revolution demands new priorities and behaviors. Established social patterns quickly become ineffective. Before 1954, political activism was already creating cracks in the traditional model. Activists began freeing themselves from anything deemed non-essential to revolutionary life, including conventional family expectations. The revolution brings the realization that Algerian society must be rebuilt entirely.

A major generational divide emerges: sons often surpass their fathers in revolutionary awareness. While older generations held anti-colonial sentiments, they were generally passive. In contrast, young men embrace open revolt, challenging their fathers' fear of colonial violence. However, they do not reject their fathers; instead, they try to convert them. Eventually, many fathers abandon traditional authority, adopt revolutionary discipline, and let go of their previous fears. The authority structure flips, with sons now leading and educating fathers. This creates tensions in cases where the father is a colonial collaborator; some sons have had to condemn or even execute their own fathers for betraying the cause.

The Algerian society, traditionally patriarchal, also underwent significant gender changes. Men previously valued sons over daughters, who were expected to be obedient and marry early through arranged marriage. In this perspective, Fanon writes: "In the Algerian family, the girl is always one notch behind the boy", (*A Dying Colonialism*, P. 105). This structure is upended as women begin participating actively in the revolution. The unveiled Algerian woman becomes a powerful revolutionary symbol. No longer seen only as wives or mothers, women engage directly in combat, endure torture, and become passionate leaders.

Their transformation is not symbolic they are deeply involved in the struggle and must be encouraged to maintain focus and discipline. This active participation forces families to confront new realities. Daughters disappear for months at a time, fight disguised as men, or are imprisoned. Through these experiences, women carve out a new role in society through sheer determination. Within families, traditional roles continue to collapse. The eldest son no longer holds authority over younger siblings; military rank and revolutionary dedication now determine status. Even within marriages, power shifts. Wives question their husbands' commitment and no longer remain silent. Revolutionary couples emerge, united as equals in militancy and ideology.

The revolution also affects marriage and family life on a systemic level. Formal institutions begin to replace family traditions in overseeing marriages, births, and deaths. Revolutionary duty overrides parental authority; fathers no longer control their children's marital choices if those choices are made in the context of the struggle. Children born from such unions are often raised by grandparents, a model that spreads beyond the battlefield.

Women's roles continue to evolve. Those who survive prison camps often return more politically radical, even if they had no prior involvement. In towns where men have been killed by colonial forces, women take up leadership, mourn in silence, and celebrate the martyrs. Meanwhile, French colonial tactics deliberately aim to fragment Algerian society by dispersing families, interning thousands, and creating widespread loss. As men are killed, women raped, and children orphaned, Algerian families must reorganize themselves to endure and resist. Fanon argues that the revolution does more than fight colonial power; it restructures the Algerian society from within. Family hierarchies, gender norms, and generational authority are all redefined. The revolution has created new forms of solidarity, identity, and social organization rooted in shared struggle and sacrifice.

d. Medicine and Colonialism

Frantz Fanon, in his analysis of colonialism and medicine, reveals how colonial powers use healthcare systems not as neutral services but as tools to deepen their control over colonized people. Medicine, like other colonial institutions, is seen by the colonized through a lens of confusion and mistrust. Hospitals become extensions of propaganda, and any benefits they provide are overshadowed by the skepticism that they serve colonial interests. The colonized cannot disentangle the medical care they receive from the broader political context of occupation, making it difficult to trust doctors, hospitals, or medical advice, “Every pill absorbed or every injection taken invites the application of a preparation or the visit to a saint” (p.131). This lack of trust is further compounded by rumors and experiences of abuse, such as French doctors reportedly experimenting on Algerian patients. As a result, many Algerians prefer traditional medicine not because of ignorance, but as a form of resistance to the colonial system. Fanon emphasizes that when Algerians are criticized for relying on traditional healing, it is perceived as another attempt by the colonizer to degrade and dominate them. The experience of visiting a doctor is vastly different for colonized people than it is for the colonizers. Patients give short, guarded responses, and their bodies remain tense and uncooperative during exams, making diagnosis difficult. These strained interactions lead to mutual resentment: patients distrust doctors, and doctors become frustrated with their patients. European doctors cannot understand why colonized people fail to follow through on treatments or avoid follow-up visits. While some sociologists blame cultural misunderstandings, Fanon argues that these actions are often deliberate choices political acts of resistance rooted in a desire to reject the colonizer’s authority. Even when doctors are themselves natives of the colonized society, they are not necessarily trusted. Once they become "Europeanized" through education and practice, they are often seen as traitors, similar to native police officers who enforce colonial rule. These doctors frequently react by harshly

criticizing traditional practices, further alienating themselves from their communities. They become trapped between two worlds, never fully accepted by either side. Fanon also highlights the economic involvements of colonial doctors. Many live privileged lives, engage in corrupt practices such as charging for fake services, and hold land roles that make them not only medical professionals but also economic beneficiaries of the colonial system. As such, they become key actors in maintaining colonial dominance. This leads Fanon to conclude that colonialist doctors should not be seen as part of a healing profession but as participants in war crimes, deeply complicit in the mechanisms of oppression. Medical services in colonial Algeria are deeply infiltrated by the colonial security system. Doctors pass information to the police, provide cover for abuse in legal settings, and even assist in torture by supplying drugs or electroshock treatments. There are accounts of doctors letting wounded Algerian fighters die rather than treating them. This weaponization of medicine reflects the broader violence of the colonial system. The colonizers also use access to medicine as a tool of control. French authorities restrict anti-tetanus treatments and other essential medicines, forcing Algerians to find alternatives under extremely difficult conditions. The revolution eventually reorganizes to prioritize medical access, recognizing that healthcare is a key battleground in the struggle for independence. Toward the latter stages of the war, Algerians create their own medical institutions out of necessity. In this new system, previously distrusted Algerian doctors are reintegrated into society and seen in a new light. They help to improve public health knowledge, including hygiene and battlefield medical care. As trust grows, long-held beliefs start to break down, and a new medical consciousness takes root. This transformation proves that mistrust of modern medicine among the colonized was not due to inherent resistance or ignorance, but because of the oppressive context in which it was introduced. Once medicine is freed from the colonial structure, it can be embraced and understood on its own terms.

e. Algeria's European Minority

Fanon argues that while many European intellectuals claim to support anti-colonialism, they have mostly taken the side of the colonizers, and young French activists have done little to truly help the Algerian people. However, he also makes it clear that Algeria's European population is not one single group with the same views. Before the war, some Europeans met with Algerians to discuss ways to gain independence, and some eventually came to believe that armed resistance was necessary. Their involvement proves that the Algerian independence movement did not ignore or exclude Europeans. Fanon points out that although these European supporters existed, their impact was limited. "French colonialism refuses to admit that a genuine European can really fight side by side with the Algerian people" (*A Dying colonialism*, p.160)

In France, it was easier to speak out and protest and some used the French political system to support the cause. French citizens were often shocked by reports of torture and violence in Algeria, and some helped reveal how extreme and racist the colonial government had become. These revelations would, over time, help weaken France's control over Algeria. "For my part, I considered it understandable, like an excess made possible by the excesses of colonialism, but I refused to accept the validity of violence" (*A Dying colonialism* , p.165)

In Algeria itself, it was dangerous for Europeans to openly support the revolution. Those who sympathized had to act in secret. Some were arrested, tortured, or even killed, yet many continued to help by hiding weapons, treating the wounded, or sheltering revolutionary leaders. These Europeans were not given special praise they were treated like any other member of the movement, equally committed to the cause.

One-fifth of Algeria's non-Muslim population was Jewish, and their support for independence was mixed. Some were tied to the colonial system, while others actively joined the struggle. Fanon says that colonial Algeria was deeply racist, affecting Jews, Muslims, and

Europeans alike. In 1956, the revolutionaries directly reached out to Jewish communities, and some pledged their support.

Fanon also shows that not all European settlers were against independence. Some secretly supported the revolution and helped when they could. These settlers often kept up the appearance of loyalty to avoid suspicion, but in private, they stored weapons, treated wounded fighters, or provided other help. Because they were settlers, they were less likely to be searched or punished though when they were caught, the French government sometimes took away their land and labeled them as communists. In the cities, European support continued in many forms. Doctors, nurses, women and even young people were helped with medical aid, logistics, and hiding leaders. Because Europeans were less likely to be searched, their cars were often used to transport weapons. Some of these supporters even died fighting for Algerian freedom.

To show how people could come to support the movement, Fanon tells the stories of Charles Geromini and Bresson Yvon. Geromini at first did not believe in using violence, but after getting involved in student activism, he changed his mind and joined the revolution, where he was treated like any other Algerian. Bresson Yvon was born in Algeria, studied in France, and joined the police. But after seeing the reality of colonial rule, he began secretly working for the revolution. He was arrested, but never regretted his choice. Fanon shows that while most Europeans supported colonial rule, a significant number both in Algeria and France chose to stand with the Algerians. Their help may have been limited, but it was real, and it proved that the fight for independence crossed racial and national lines

3. Intellectuals and Resistance

The intersection between intellectual activity and political resistance has long stood at the heart of neocolonial and anti-imperialist thought. In colonized societies, the role of the intellectual is not limited to producing knowledge, but rather involves a strategic positioning

within the structures of power, culture, and historical struggle. Intellectuals, especially within the context of colonization, must navigate a terrain shaped by both the imperative to critique domination and the demand to contribute actively to collective liberation. Far from being detached theorists, they are often thrust into a space where thought and action collapse into one another where cultural production becomes a battlefield of resistance. Frantz Fanon offers a radical vision of this dynamic, emphasizing that true intellectual engagement in the colonial context is not a matter of abstract discourse, but a commitment to the lived realities of the oppressed. He challenges the intellectual to experience a profound transformation shedding the elitist trappings of colonial education and immersing themselves in the rhythms, languages, and resistance strategies of the colonized.

At the same time, cultural expression itself becomes a tool of subversion. Art, narrative, oral traditions, and memory are not just aesthetic practices but potent acts of resistance that redefine identity and reorient collective consciousness. Thus, to study intellectuals in resistance is to examine a revolutionary synthesis of thought, culture, and insurgency.

Fanon and Intellectual Engagement

For Frantz Fanon, the intellectual in the colonial context cannot maintain the illusion of ideological neutrality. The very structures that produce the colonial intellectual, language, institutions, and professional roles are embedded in the machinery of domination. Fanon demands a radical repositioning instead of any romantic notion of intellectual departure; the intellectual must actively, materially unite with the colonized, not just in theory. But this alignment requires a rupture, a break from colonial frameworks and an entry into the lived reality of resistance not just empathy or critique.

Fanon provides an effective analysis of this process in *A Dying Colonialism*, especially in his comments on Algerian professionals during the fight of independence. Of these, doctors make a fascinating case study. Educated in French institutions and trained to privilege Western medical epistemology, these doctors were often distanced from the people they served. Fanon recounts how many initially reproduced colonial attitudes, dismissing Algerian traditions and regarding indigenous practices as obstacles to progress. But the conflict threw off this posture. As the revolution gained momentum, these same intellectuals began to repurpose their knowledge in service of the struggle. Fanon notes: “We are dealing here with the drama of the colonized intellectuals before the fight for liberation. We shall soon see what important modifications have been introduced into Algeria by the national war of liberation” (p. 132). This apparently act set up a political revolution. Once a functionary of colonial rule, the doctor starts to participate in the reverse.

Fanon's study transcends particular events to identify the structural location of the intellectual inside colonial society. Colonialism, he contends, not only exploits but also creates subjectivities especially that of the educated native. Praised for absorbing European knowledge, the colonial intellectual is also denied full humanity inside the colonial system, therefore creating a double bind. Intellectual participation thus starts with the understanding that colonial knowledge is not neutral. It is a weapon; thus it has to be directed against its source. The engaged intellectual must first unlearn this imposed inferiority, and then participate in the construction of new, insurgent modes of knowing grounded in the rhythms, needs, and resistance of the people. Fanon's point of view is particularly extreme since he insists that conflict must be inseparable from ideas. The intellectuals' values reside in their readiness to reorient knowledge creation itself, not in their ability to criticize. Writing, speaking, teaching, all has to become habits of insurgency. This implies refusals to mediate or transform colonial violence into clean academic discourse. Rather, Fanon exhorts

intellectuals to face this violence squarely and to become part of the transforming praxis of emancipation. From this perspective, intellectuals are comrades changing their own consciousness in group action with the people, not a guide above them.

Fanon admits that this process is tough, dangerous, and prone for personal breakdown; he does not romanticize it. The intellectual must endure a kind of death, the death of colonial identity, professional safety, and inherited privilege in order to be reborn as part of a collective political subject. Engagement is not an abstract position but a lived commitment that takes shape in moments of concrete resistance, often at the cost of one's former self. Therefore, according to Fanon, intellectual involvement is a necessary component of revolution rather than a complementing factor. It is through this deep, often painful transformation that the intellectual ceases to be an agent of colonial continuity and becomes, instead, a participant in decolonial rupture.

Culture and Subversion

There is a relationship between culture and resistance. To approach their complexity in a colonial context is to interrogate how domination operates not only through violence and law, but through the everyday structures of life through gestures, rituals, technologies, and silences. Frantz Fanon subverts any oversimplified conception of culture as a historical legacy or symbolic expression in *A Dying Colonialism*. He portrays it instead as a location of tactical inventiveness, where the colonized retool the entire fabric of their everyday life to respond to dominance. Within the framework of resistance, culture becomes a dynamic force improvised, negotiated, and weaponized. Fanon's approach of culture is distinctive in that it refuses to isolate symbolic rituals from actual conflict. He demonstrates how colonial power shapes the most personal levels of daily life religious habits, gender norms, family ties, and even the use of contemporary technologies. More crucially, though, Fanon shows how these very sites are reconfigured into instruments of opposition. Once considered by the colonial regime as a sign

of backwardness, the veil becomes a strategic and revolutionary tool used to disrupt surveillance, conceal fighters, and reject assimilation based on his study of Algerian women and the veil. This re-signification is not merely tactical; it is cultural insurgency. "Culture, like truth, is concrete. And for the masses the most elevated form of culture, that is to say, of progress is to resist imperialist domination and penetration, although this might come wrapped up in valid forms of "culture" or "civilization", " Fanon notes, (p.8). Refusing this internalized devaluation and culture becomes the first line of defense, the ground upon which dignity and identity are reclaimed resistance to colonialism starts then. Fanon's cultural resistance is not rooted in nostalgia for a pre-colonial past. He does not idealize tradition or seek a return to a pure, uncorrupted identity. Rather, he argues that culture has to change by means of struggle that it has to become a weapon. In *A Dying Colonialism*, culture is reinvented as a site of political action where individuals seize control of the meanings imposed upon them. The veil and the radio turn into a contested object by which colonial logic is both exposed and challenged.

Fanon's narrative reveals cultural transformation rather than only a portrayal of cultural survival. The colonized subject does not resist by preserving tradition untouched, but by reconfiguring culture under the pressures of war and occupation. This aligns with a radical conception of resistance, where culture is not merely reflective of resistance but constitutive of it. It lets colonized people carve out a place for new subjectivities and collective action, cultural practices become the ground upon which revolutionary consciousness is developed and performed. In this sense, Fanon compels us to understand that culture is not peripheral to liberation; it is central to it. He guides us toward a politicized conception of cultural activity that is dynamic, incomplete, and inseparable with the actual struggle against dominance. In *A Dying Colonialism*, resistance starts in the body, the house, the voice, the ritual rather than

only in ideology. It starts in culture, which, far from being decorative, is the fundamental ground from which decolonization spreads.

Chapter Two: Intellectuals and Revolution: A Gramscian Approach

Intellectual life under colonialism cannot be neutral. It is set up by hierarchy, exclusion, and the power to specify whose knowledge counts. In *A Dying Colonialism*, Frantz Fanon confronts a society in the midst of revolutionary transformation, where knowledge, identity, and cultural legitimacy are torn from colonial structures and reassembled under the pressure of grassroots resistance. What results is a basic change in who generates meaning as much as a change in political power. Once marginal, Algerian women, rural doctors, militant organizers start to occupy new intellectual roles, not by institutional appointment but by historical necessity. In this framework, Antonio Gramsci's typology of intellectuals especially the difference between organic and traditional forms offers a critical conceptual framework through which these changes in intellectual identity might be understood.

Examining the figures in Fanon's work gains a solid foundation from Gramsci's insight that intellectuals are not a detached elite but rather socially situated actors either bound to the dominant order (traditional) or emerging from and linked to the struggles of a class or oppressed group. Intellectual activity in Algeria's anti-colonial revolution takes place in the field hospital, the unauthorized press, the house, the battlefield not just in speeches or written books. Gramsci's theory becomes active in the colonial setting in several spheres. Through the Gramscian distinction between 'organic' and 'conventional intellectuals', this analysis aims to highlight the manner by which Fanon creates a revolutionary sociology of knowledge one in which the legitimacy of intellectuals is tested by their involvement in the liberation struggle. In fanon's narrative, describes the way in which Algerian militants, women, or revolutionary doctors reflect the traits of Gramsci's 'organic intellectuals'. Most

importantly, the extent to which colonial brutality affects not only the purpose but also the emergence of intellectuals within oppressed countries.

With this framework, the aim is to use a coherent conceptual tool to deepen the knowledge of Fanon's revolutionary account. Gramsci's categories act as a framework for following the political and epistemic reorganization Fanon describes a reorganization in which intellectual activity becomes inseparable with the lived reality and aspirations of the colonized.

1. The Notion of Organic Intellectuals in *A Dying Colonialism*

Antonio Gramsci's concept of 'organic intellectuals' offers a powerful interpretive framework for comprehending the change of subjectivity in Frantz Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism*. In contrast to the conventional view of intellectuals as an elite, detached group devoted to abstract knowledge, Gramsci argues that each class especially emerging or oppressed ones produces its own intellectuals, who arise from within and reflect the life, values, and consciousness of that class. He writes:

Every social group coming into existence on the original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production, creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function in the economic but also in the social and political fields (The Prison Notebooks, 1971, p. 5).

In *A Dying Colonialism*, Fanon portrays such intellectuals not in theoretical abstraction, but in concrete and lived moments of change within the Algerian struggle against French colonialism. The emergence of these figures aligns closely with Gramsci's definition of organic intellectuals: they are neither imposed from above nor imported from outside, but arise naturally from within the colonized society as it undergoes radical upheaval.

One of the clearest examples is found in Fanon's discussion of native Algerian doctors. Initially educated and shaped by colonial institutions, these individuals experience a profound transformation. Fanon shows that their relationship to both knowledge and

community shifts as the war intensifies. They begin to break from the colonial ideological apparatus that trained them and to redefine their function within the emerging revolutionary context. Though trained in French medicine, these doctors no longer serve as technical extensions of colonial rule, but begin to embody the perspectives and lived realities of the oppressed. Their intellectual identity becomes inseparable from the experience of colonial violence and the need to resist it.

In Gramsci's terms, they become "permanent persuaders" of the oppressed class not merely with political slogans, but by expressing through knowledge and speech the consciousness of their community. Gramsci writes: "These organic intellectuals are distinguished less by their profession, which may be any job characteristic of their class, than by their function in directing the ideas and aspirations of the class to which they organically belong"(Gramsci, 1971, p. 6). Similarly, Fanon presents Algerian women who, while not traditionally recognized as intellectuals, begin to perform intellectual functions. In the chapter "Algeria Unveiled," women take up roles that require strategic awareness, cultural interpretation, and the ability to pilot colonial and traditional power structures. These women do not operate within official institutions of thought, but they embody what Gramsci calls the "language of culture" conveying the emotional and symbolic transformations of an entire population. Their emergence from everyday life, and their rootedness in the cultural and social world of the colonized, firmly places them within the Gramscian understanding of organic intellectuals.

What defines these figures is not academic status or professional title, but their embeddedness within the community and their ability to interpret and articulate its changing reality. Fanon highlights this transformation: "The people who take their destiny into their own hands assimilate the most modern forms of technology at an extraordinary rate", (*A Dying Colonialism*, 1959, p. 9). This speaks directly to Gramsci's emphasis on the organic intellectual not being defined by traditional education, but by practical leadership and cultural

articulation emerging from the ground up. Moreover, Fanon's narrative avoids romanticizing these figures; rather, he shows that their emergence is a process often painful and fraught with internal contradictions. They are not born as intellectuals; they become intellectuals through their historical moment, a defining feature of what Gramsci describes as organic development.

A Dying Colonialism offers, then, a compelling depiction of organic intellectuals as defined by Gramsci. Whether they are doctors who reject colonial complicity or women who renegotiate their social roles, these individuals represent the intellectual ferment that arises within a subordinated group undergoing transformation. They are not inserted into the revolution from outside they are produced by it. Their identity as intellectuals is rooted not in title or tradition, but in their link to a community in motion and their capacity to make sense of and express that transformation from within.

2. Traditional Intellectuals in *A Dying Colonialism*

Antonio Gramsci's theory of traditional intellectuals is rooted in the idea that intellectual life is historically and socially situated. These intellectuals, unlike their organic counterparts, do not arise from the social movement or class struggles of the present. Rather, they are carried forward from older social formations like the church, the legal profession, the university and maintain the appearance of neutrality or universality while preserving the existing order. Gramsci notes that traditional intellectuals often see themselves as independent of the dominant class, but this perception masks their functional attachment to it. He writes:

Since these various categories of traditional intellectuals experience through 'esprit de corps' their uninterrupted historical continuity and their special qualification, they thus put themselves forward as autonomous and independent of the dominant social group. (Prison Notebooks, 1971, p. 7)

In *A Dying Colonialism*, Fanon illustrates this phenomenon through the figures who serve the colonial regime under the guise of professionalism, objectivity, or moral guidance. The colonial doctor, for example, is presented not as a neutral healer but as an instrument of control. Fanon writes:

We have seen doctors assigned full time to the dispensaries of the judicial police, and we know that philosophers and priests in the relocation or internment centers, assume the mission of brain-washing, of probing souls, of making the Algerian man unrecognizable, (*A Dying Colonialism*, 1959, p. 148).

These doctors and priests reflect the classic Gramscian notion of traditional intellectuals: they hold social power not because they speak for the people, but because they maintain the ideological structure of the colonial order. They present their authority as universal and scientific, but their function is to maintain colonial legitimacy. They neither emerge from nor speak to the oppressed; instead, they speak about them, often in terms that pathologies or dehumanization.

Gramsci emphasizes that ‘traditional intellectuals’ ‘conceive themselves as a continuation of an uninterrupted historical tradition’. This self-perception is evident in the way French-educated Algerian elites are portrayed in Fanon's work. These individuals, though colonized themselves, are trained to serve the colonial system. Fanon notes that even the assimilated Algerian who achieves professional status remains marked, “For all that he is a doctor, people will say, he still remains an Arab. You can’t get away from nature,” (p. 40).

This quote highlights the alienation and contradiction inherent in the identity of traditional intellectuals within the colonial world. They aim to align themselves with the dominant colonial culture, yet are never fully accepted by it. Their authority is derived from colonial structures, not from the people they share identity with. As such, they occupy a transitional space not wholly colonizer, not wholly colonized. Moreover, Fanon’s tone toward these figures is often coldly diagnostic. They are not framed as tragic or misguided individuals but as fixtures of a system that manufactures passivity and complicity. Their education, their language, and their worldview all reflect the ideological inheritance of the colonial power. They are precisely what Gramsci meant by intellectuals who appear “above classes” but are functionally rooted in the power structures of the dominant class.

Another group Fanon highlights in this context is the European intellectuals living in Algeria. Even those who are not overtly political are shown to contribute to the colonial order through silence, falsehood, or selective engagement. Fanon states: “Some of Algeria's European intellectuals because they have links with the colonial power, have often contributed to giving the Algerian war its hallucinatory character”, (p. 147). These are intellectuals who, rather than conveying the truth of colonial violence, obscure or aestheticize it, thereby reinforcing colonial mythology. Their function, as Gramsci would say, is to preserve the “common sense” of the ruling order under the appearance of objectivity or artistry.

In sum, Fanon’s *A Dying Colonialism* offers a noticeable field for observing ‘traditional intellectuals’ in a colonial context, in line with Gramsci’s theoretical framework. Whether they are colonial professionals, assimilated Algerians, or European settlers obscured in liberal rhetoric, they fulfill the Gramscian role of preserving continuity with the existing social order. Their identity is shaped not by a connection to the people but by institutional affiliation and ideological inheritance. They do not originate from the struggle; they stand apart from it, claiming universality while hold in domination.

Intellectuals and Decolonization: A Gramscian Perspective on Fanon

Decolonization is not mainly the removal of colonial power; it is the rearrangement of thoughts, identity, and cultural authority. In *A Dying Colonialism*, Frantz Fanon explains that the liberation of Algeria requires more than armed resistance: it demands the transformation of how colonial people see themselves, speak, and act. Central to this shift is the role of the intellectual not as a remote figure, but as someone who develops within the fight and aids to transforming society from within.

Antonio Gramsci's theories of intellectuals defines this role by describing intellectuals as social actors who assist, organize and express the consciousness of a class or group. For Gramsci, intellectuals are vital to political change because they shape the cultural and ideological groundwork upon which actual transition occurs. In Fanon's work, this becomes obvious through intellectuals like revolutionary doctors, women warriors, and nationalist organizers who take on intellectual positions by disrupting colonial norms and helping to construct a new collective identity.

Throughout the previous analysis, we have attempted to investigate how these individuals function within the decolonization process not only as participants but also as agents of cultural and ideological redefining. Through Gramsci's lens, Fanon's revolutionaries are understood as intellectuals engaged in dismantling colonial knowledge and constructing the foundations of a liberated society.

Transformers of Knowledge

In *A Dying Colonialism*, Fanon reveals how professional knowledge is used. Initially, doctors, technicians, and radio operators work within the colonial system as stabilizers of power. But during the revolution, they changed their technical roles to help liberate the people. Through Antonio Gramsci's lens, these figures exemplify how intellectuals can shift from reproducing hegemony to dismantling it, becoming what he calls 'organic intellectuals': historical agents who emerge from within an oppressed group and help to articulate its worldview and organize its resistance. Fanon's chapter "Medicine and Colonialism" discusses about the ideological role of colonial doctors. Fanon says: "The doctor who arrives in this atmosphere of general constraint is never a native doctor but always a doctor belonging to the dominant society, and very often from the army," (, p. 121). In doing so, these doctors cease to be tools of control and become intellectuals of liberation. Their work is no longer based on being detached from patients, but on being in solidarity with them, taking risks, and being a

part of their struggle. Gramsci says that an organic intellectual is someone who delivers homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields. Fanon's revolutionary doctors accomplish just this: they change the definition of medicine to include political action that restores dignity and builds community strength. The similar change extends to radio operators, who start out as passive technicians in the colonial system but become an important part of the revolution's cultural infrastructure. Fanon writes about the effects of radio broadcasts that speak in the language of the people in "This is the Voice of Algeria." He says:

This voice, often absent, physically inaudible, which each one felt welling up within himself, founded on an inner perception of the fatherland, became materialized in an irrefutable way. Every Algerian, for his part, broadcast and transmitted the new language," (*A Dying Colonialism*, p. 87).

The radio operator's position is no longer just technical; it is also cerebral. He gives form to the revolution's narrative, strengthens morale, and creates a shared consciousness across dispersed communities. Gramsci says that a modern intellectual must be a constructor, organizer, 'permanent persuader' and not just a simple orator (but superior at the same time to the abstract mathematical spirit)" who helps shape the ideas of a new class (*Selections*, p. 10). Fanon's picture of the radio technician makes him a national educator, not by teaching in an abstract way, but by controlling a technology that affects people's imaginations and emotions.

Though Fanon only briefly mentions technicians, their implication in colonial control is clear: they maintain the systems electricity, hospitals, infrastructure that keeps empire functional. But during the revolution, these same abilities are used for supporting the resistance. Gramsci argued that even those not formally recognized as intellectuals may perform critical intellectual labor when they innovate in the field of technique or science and become the intellectuals of a new social group. When Algerian technicians maintain the functioning of hidden hospitals or clandestine communication networks, they cease to serve the empire and begin to produce a new revolutionary modernity. Fanon's doctors, radio

operators, and technicians exemplify how intellectuals emerge not by title but by historical necessity. Their transformation is embedded in their reorientation of work. Through Gramsci's concept of the intellectual as a function, we come to understand how these individuals move from passive collaborators to strategic organizers of consciousness.

Women: Tactical Subjects and Cultural Intellectuals

Fanon's study of Algerian women and the veil in the chapter "Algeria Unveiled" is one of the best examples for this transformation. In the minds of colonizers, the veil was a sign of backwardness and submission. French colonial officials used the excuse of freeing Algerian women to start campaigns of forced unveiling. Fanon expands this colonial fantasy: "without the veil she has an impression of her body being cut up into bits, put adrift; the limbs seem to lengthen indefinitely," (p. 59). But instead of being passive victims of this symbolic violence, Algerian women used the veil in a strategic way. Fanon discusses about how they used it as a weapon of war: "Upon the outbreak of the struggle for liberation, the attitude of the Algerian women or of native society in general, with regard to the veil was to undergo important modification,"(p. 47). The veil, once imposed as a marker of otherness, is transformed into an instrument of resistance. This planned act of subversion turns Algerian women into "organic intellectuals" in the Gramscian sense. Fanon underscores that this was not a process led by the elite, but one based on direct revolutionary action. These women redefined their cultural identity not through abstract theory but through embodied resistance, converting domestic space, modesty codes, and gender norms into tools of insurgency. Gramsci said that every social group makes intellectuals 'not just in the field of politics, but also in the domains of morality, customs, religion, and philosophy'. Their actions indicate this. In this way, Algerian women's actions are both personal and political: they change the way symbols work and forge a revolutionary cultural logic.

From spiritual guardians to moral builders, religious leaders

Fanon also examines the shifting role of Islamic religious leaders, particularly imams and scholars who initially served as instruments of colonial stabilization. Historically, many clergy have discouraged rebellion and advocated spiritual obedience. This aligning to what Gramsci would label ‘traditional intellectuals’, who posture themselves as guardians of timeless truths while supporting the reigning order.

In the early colonial period, religion was often utilized to pacify people, and make them believe that suffering on earth would be rewarded in the afterlife. Fanon critiques this usage, noting that Islam had been ‘used by the colonial regime as an opiate, a tranquilizer, a way of keeping the people quiet.’ But as the revolution went on, this alignment started to break down. Religious leaders and believers alike started to reinterpret Islamic discourse in light of the anti-colonial cause. New revolutionary meanings were added to ideas like jihad, martyrdom, and divine justice. Fanon says:

“The method of presenting the Algerian as a prey fought over with equal ferocity by Islam and France with its Western culture reveals the whole approach of the occupier, his philosophy and his policy” (*A Dying Colonialism*, 1959, p. 41).

These clergy, who had earlier been in favor of stability, were using scripture to advocate rebellion. They urged moral resistance, encouraged solidarity, and justified defiance in spiritual terms. Through this act of reinterpretation, they transformed religion into a site of political consciousness. They stopped spreading colonial morality and started spreading revolutionary ethics. This was what Gramsci required intellectuals to do: change "the common sense" of the masses by turning old notions into new, coherent ideologies of struggle.

Producer of Revolutionary Consciousness: Militants and Spokespeople

Frantz Fanon’s *A Dying Colonialism* frames militants and revolutionary spokespersons as producers of political meaning. These figures operate within what Antonio Gramsci called the “trenches and fortifications” of civil society, where intellectual leadership is exercised through persuasion, organization, and moral clarity not academic discourse (Selections from the *Prison Notebooks*, p. 238). Fanon says that militants are like embedded intellectuals because they turn the chaos of war into a common revolutionary vocabulary that helps the

oppressed see their own suffering in a historical context. Their speeches, gestures, and strategic choices change not only the political environment but also the minds of the colonized, making sense of the otherwise chaotic experience of colonial brutality. Fanon points out that these militants don't just passively accept ideology; they actively create it. They assist shape the movement's moral and political language, making it clear what is at stake and tying people to the revolution. Fanon says that:

Sometimes it was the militant who would circulate the assumed point of view of the political directorate. Because of a silence on this or that fact which, if prolonged, might prove upsetting and dangerous for the people's unity th whole nation would snatch fragments of sentences in the course of a broadcast and attach to them a decisive meaning; (p. 86).

Their speech goes beyond giving orders; it creates identification. As Gramsci notes, true intellectuals are not abstract thinkers but “constructors, organizers, and permanent persuaders” figures that shape the “conception of the world” held by the masses (*Selections*, p. 10). Fanon’s spokespersons and radio figures perform this same role. They give voice to the voiceless not by speaking on behalf of the people but by helping the people recognize themselves as historical subjects. Fanon writes: “This voice whose presence was felt, whose reality was sensed, assumed oreand more weight in proportion to the number of jamming wave lengths broadcast by the specialized enemy stations,” (p. 87).

Their intellectual function is thus not representational but generative: they produce the emotional and conceptual coherence needed to sustain a prolonged liberation struggle. Their role isn't to announce the revolution; it's to help people grasp it. Crucially, these figures do not stand above the people they rise from within them. They are militants not only in action but in thought, evolving from foot soldiers to architects of collective will. In Gramsci's words, they are the best organic intellectuals because they are deeply involved in the struggle and are responsible for developing a counter-hegemonic consciousness. They do not merely react to

colonialism; they formulate the revolutionary response, both ideologically and emotionally. In short, Fanon's militants and spokespeople show the Gramscian idea that revolutions need more than violence; they demand intellectual reorganization. These individuals give resistance its significance in a world that had long denied colonial people the chance to narrate their own conditions. Their real power doesn't come from their weapons; it comes from their capacity to teach the revolution how to interact and think.

3. Subverting Cultural Hegemony: Gramsci's Theory of Hegemony on Fanon's Work

In colonial Algeria, domination did not rest solely on weapons or governance. It worked just as well through culture: the idea that French civilization was better, the moralization of domination, and the internalization of inferiority. In *A Dying Colonialism*, Fanon clarifies that the colonial rule goes beyond institutions and into the symbolic order, which includes language, values, religion, rituals, and the psyche. Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony helps us comprehend how colonialism stays in power not only through violence but also through cultural leadership. In Gramsci's words: "The 'normal' exercise of hegemony on the now classical terrain of the parliamentary regime is characterized by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent." (p.80) this quote is very important because it indicates that power lasts when people live by it as common sense when the domination not only obey but also believe. Hegemony performs when people think that colonial values are normal, unavoidable, or good. Fanon discusses how this notion is formed and protected, and how it starts to break down.

Fanon constantly depicts how the colonial government imposes its values not just through instructions but also through close, everyday interactions. In the chapter "Medicine and Colonialism," he does not just talk about racist doctors; he highlights the way the clinic

itself becomes a place where racist ideas are passed on. The native learns that healing, like truth, is something that belongs to the colonizer. Fanon says: “The colonial situation does not only vitiate the relations between doctor and patient. We have shown that the doctor always appears as a link in the colonialist network, as a spokesman for the occupying power.” (p.131) This is not simply violence, it is forcing your values on others. Gramsci calls this the educative function of the State, whereby institutions train the dominated to internalize their position.

In this colonial context, Algerians learn to question their own traditions, doubt their own knowledge systems, and see European values as better. This internalized hierarchy is the core of colonial hegemony. Gramsci thought that hegemony meant having moral and intellectual leadership, not just control over behavior but also over belief. Fanon makes this evident when he talks about cultural alienation. He says that the colonized person lives in a “world cut in two,” where the colonizer’s language, customs, and worldview are seen as universal, while their own are seen as old-fashioned. Fanon’s descriptions are not often worded as “hegemony,” but they fully match Gramsci’s idea that the ruling class: ‘is coordinated and centralized in the realm of ideology as well as in the realm of politics and the economy.’

In *A Dying Colonialism*, even religion is part of this controlled society. Fanon sees that the colonial power uses Islam as a weapon to keep people calm instead of fighting back. Clerics are paid, doctrine is interpreted in many ways, and patience is taught as a good thing. Colonialism does not completely destroy native culture; it changes it. This is a classic example of hegemony using existing cultural structures to get the ruled to agree with the ruler.

The most serious thing about Fanon’s account is not the violence, but the way the colonial people are persuaded to want the colonizer’s world. Fanon claims that the Algerian is ordered to “dream in French,” “identify with the colonialist’s logic of progress,” and hate

their own village. This is the main idea behind Gramsci's theory; not imposed authority, but ruling by direction a conquering of the soul through the seduction of superiority.

Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism* gives a worst picture of how cultural hegemony works. The colonial system keeps its authority by getting into the minds of the colonized through medicine, language, and even religion. Gramsci's theory permits us call this process hegemony, where conquest is not just about material things, but also about ideas and beliefs.

General Conclusion

In our dissertation, we attempted a study of Frantz Fanon's *A Dying Colonialism* through the lens of Antonio Gramsci's theories of intellectuals and cultural hegemony. This analysis highlights the deep understanding Fanon offers into the Algerian War of Independence, enriched by Gramsci's theoretical framework, particularly developed in his Prison Notebooks while imprisoned by the Italian fascist state in the 1920s and 1930s. By applying Gramsci's insights into the colonial context, we aimed to demonstrate how ideological domination is challenged not just through armed resistance but through the transformation of consciousness and the emergence of counter-hegemonic forces within civil society.

Our study focused on portraying the role of intellectuals as active agents of resistance within the colonial context, emphasizing their evolution from instruments of complicity to catalysts of liberation. Gramsci's distinction between traditional and organic intellectuals served as a critical tool for identifying how figures such as doctors, women, and militants particularly in Fanon's portrayal emerge from within the subaltern classes to challenge and oppose colonial dominance. These organic intellectuals do not function from abstract or removed positions of authority; rather, they articulate the lived experiences of the oppressed and help translate those experiences into political and cultural resistance.

Fanon illustrates how such intellectuals are shaped by, and simultaneously reshape their historical context. The transformation of Algerian women and the medical profession in the face of colonial power exemplifies this process. Their actions not redefine social roles, gender norms, and public space. The symbolic power of elements such as the veil and the radio are reappropriated by the colonized to assert agency, disrupt colonial narratives, and construct a collective identity based in struggle. These examples conform with Gramsci's

view that cultural struggle is a crucial part of political struggle, in which intellectuals play a formative role.

Additionally, our analysis sought to show that Fanon's perspective is not limited to the national level but extends toward a broader theory of human emancipation. His insights into colonial psychology, identity, and the internalization of oppression emphasize that decolonization is not only a political act but a profound cultural and psychological rupture. This supports Gramsci's assertion that hegemony must be dismantled both externally, in structures of power, and internally, in consciousness. The intellectual, in this sense, becomes a revolutionary educator not in a didactic sense, but through collective engagement and the production of counter-hegemonic knowledge.

Our primary source, *A Dying Colonialism*, provided rich material to examine these dynamics in the context of the Algerian War of Independence. Fanon's narrative reveals that colonialism functions not only through physical violence but through symbolic control through language, media, education, and the family. By resisting these mechanisms, the colonized redefine their relationship to power and identity. This process of redefinition of asserting a new "common sense" echoes Gramsci's belief that revolution must first happen in the realm of ideas before it can manifest in the material world.

Moreover, this study affirms that intellectual resistance is not confined to elites or academics. It arises wherever people begin to interpret their reality critically and act to transform it. Fanon's militants, female revolutionaries, and insurgent doctors do not fit the classical image of intellectuals, yet they fulfill precisely the function Gramsci identifies: they generate new forms of consciousness and practice. Their knowledge is forged in struggle and directed toward liberation.

This brings us to conclude this dissertation with an emphasis on the transformative power of the intellectuals in resisting colonial hegemony. We suggest applying Gramsci's concepts to further understand the actions of civil society, offering insights to combat totalitarianism and extremism both in our society and in regions where such struggles persist. As the legacy of Fanon's work continues to resonate, this study reaffirms the enduring relevance of intellectual activism in the pursuit of liberation and social justice.

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