

## Poetry and the Politics of Resistance and Revolution: The Route to Resistance as Transformation in Tamim Al-Barghouti's "In Jerusalem" and "In the Arab World, Live"

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### Abstract:

This interdisciplinary study highlights the interdependency between poetry and political activism. Reviewing resistance, the researcher develops her literary criticism of the two poems in the light of the views of Steven Duncombe, James Scott, Charles Tripp and David Jefferess. A study of cultural resistance maintains a perspective of Gramsci's war of position/ war of manoeuvre and shows that opposition can be elaborated into political activism. Resistance as opposition attacks colonial capitalism and economic fascism which foster a Manichean dualism of the social divisions between the othered poor and the dominant rich. Examining undeclared resistance, there is a discrepancy between the hidden and the public records of the text, therefore the researcher should be aware of the techniques of infrapolitical writing so as to understand the messages written between the lines. Being intertwined with revolutions, resistance art intensifies traumatic pain so as to lead to its redemption. Resistance as transformation advocates a change of the policies which do not maintain human equality such as colonialism and state capitalism, thus defending human liberation. In the two poems, a poetics of insurgency and transformative revolution emanate from an experience of suppression. The poet's rebellion against the colonial existence motivates a decolonial transformation paradigm. Similarly, cultural hegemony and class stratification encourage a counter-hegemonic action against the institutionalized oppression of civil society.

**Keywords:** Resistance – Opposition – Transformation – Gramscian Military Metaphor – War of position / War of maneuver.

**Introduction:**

The main concern of this paper is to expound different types of resistance in two poems of Al-Barghouti's *In Jerusalem* (2017). As a Palestinian Arab poet, he has written and published six verse volumes, such as *Meejana* (1999), *Al-Manzar* "The Scene" (2000) and *Maqam Iraq* (2005). The researcher elaborates how revolution, modes of cultural and undeclared resistance, and resistance as opposition and transformation emanate from colonial dominance, state power and cultural hegemony. Hence, the tight practice of coercive power leads to a discussion of James Scott's hidden and public records. Exposing the political implications of the poetic discourse, the researcher tends to "analyse the drivers of resistance, the imagination of its possibility, the mutually supportive or corrosive forms it may have taken and the spheres of social life it affected" (Tripp 18). Though resistance art, cultural resistance and resistance as opposition bring about non-radical changes, their power supports the popular force which can destabilize the control of racist colonial systems, fascist regimes and denounce institutional oppression.

In order to expound the different forms of resistance, the researcher consults the views of Steven Duncombe, James Scott, Charles Tripp, and David Jefferess, supporting her perspectives with a number of scholarly publications. Cultural resistance is related to the modes of political insurgency and the poetic of political struggle. As for resistance as opposition, it stands for the politics of struggle against colonial capitalism and capitalist hegemony. Scott's undeclared resistance connotes to all the forms of hidden aggression, resistance and revolt that are either written between the lines in a certain piece or revealed only if the identity of the poet is hidden. The art of resistance has the potential ability to cause hegemonic instability, thus effecting change. Jefferess introduces a model of resistance as transformation which advocates an ethics of inclusion and develops the roots of human equality. "In Jerusalem" shows how all the forms of resistance enhance national identity affirmation and the struggle towards decolonial liberation. Similarly, "In The Arab World, Live" portrays life shots, exposing socio-cultural constraints which the rebel poet attacks and challenges. Hence, the poetry analysis involves a journey towards resistance as transformation which has the potential to realize future aspirations of the Palestinian right of return, the humanism of liberation, and constitutional reform.

**Cultural Resistance and Resistance as Opposition: A Future Transition to the Inclusiveness of Resistance as Transformation**

Duncombe discusses the main features that distinguish the writings of cultural resistance. The literary piece of cultural resistance may raise controversial arguments or dialectic incursions. Thus, Duncombe agrees with Hakim Bey that the dialogue of cultural resistance reflects a political tactic, maintaining a struggle for power acquisition. Analyzing the main

methodology of cultural resistance resembles a process of military progression which is followed by opiate withdrawals. Hence, in any literary piece, cultural resistance is a hybrid union between the worlds of culture and politics, envisioning a transition from a quasi-cultural domain which depicts a utopian rebellion against the domineering powers and the oppressive archetypes to political struggle and a politics of change. Struggling for a decolonial turn, "In Jerusalem" reflects Duncombe's vision that cultural resistance is part and parcel of political activism which develops towards the end of the poem, into Jefferess' inclusivist belief in resistance as transformation.

Besides being criticized as a paradigm which manifests non-radical changes, Duncombe believes that cultural resistance is not necessarily related to the world of politics and political struggle. This is because all the actions, expressions and literary images that reject the dominant socio-cultural norms or archetypes of colonial power pertain to cultural resistance. However, he believes that cultural resistance deviates from being transformative. This is because it can impose a short term change of subordination but still the same colonial legacies and types of domination exist. Involving a direct or an indirect scheme of political protest, an adherence to cultural resistance is always confronted with an overwhelming increase of colonial violence or repulsive aggression.

The researcher believes that there is a kind of analogy that leads to a confusion between cultural resistance and resistance as opposition. This is because both are forms of political activism which stimulate a politics of confrontation with the enemy. Jefferess stresses that the second mode of resistance "relies upon a notion of opposition to colonial authority invested in the assumption of antagonism" (20). Therefore, there is a feeling of mutual resentment between the rebellious Palestinians and their enemy. However, what distinguishes resistance as opposition from cultural resistance is that it advocates the role of collective political action in the face of colonial capitalism. Zeev Rosenhek discusses how the colonial capitalist system of the welfare state in Israel leads to numerous socio-economic discrepancies between Ashkenazi and Mizrahi Jews, Palestinian refugees and the immigrant working class. Rosenhek stresses that "as a main distributive mechanism in advanced capitalism, the welfare state is a crucial factor in shaping and reproducing the structure of inequality in society" (63). Hence, Al-Barghouti employs resistance as opposition to attack the Israeli state policies which set Israelis at the heart of the capitalist system. He urges the Palestinian refugees to undertake a mass revolutionary action in order to reclaim the land and their citizenship rights, and to promote social mobility. However, by restating the colonial categories,

resistance as opposition helps but to further enforce suppression of the Palestinian identity and the racial supremacy of the colonizer. Moreover, any act of opposition against colonial capitalism is far from being transformative as it does not maintain a decolonial methodology.

**“In Jerusalem”: Different Approaches to Resistance and a Rigorous Politics Towards Decolonial Liberation:**

Based on a reading of Stephen Duncombe’s *Cultural Resistance Reader* (2002), Al-Barghouti’s “In Jerusalem” abounds with poetic instances which belong to cultural resistance and its diverse modes. Duncombe observes an essential relationship between cultural resistance and political activism. Hence, the discourse of cultural resistance involves a literary process of subverting the colonial politics and appropriating the language of colonial power. Since the opening lines of “In Jerusalem,” Al-Barghouti contradicts the archetypal form of power which posits powerlessness and inferiority on the Palestinian. Duncombe believes that “politics is essentially a cultural discourse, a shared set of symbols and meanings, that we all abide by. If this is true then the rewriting of that discourse – which is essentially what cultural resistance does – is a political act in itself” (6). By redescribing the colonial relationship as one between an ‘enemy’/ the colonizer and a rebellious colonized, Al-Barghouti revolts against the political existence of Israel and its apartheid regime<sup>(1)</sup>. The poet’s satirical tone is a means to subvert and ridicule the zionsit hegemony. Therefore, political satire appears in the image of the colonizer as a wanderer who does not have a common origin<sup>(2)</sup>. Since there are numerous Jewish languages, it is possible that a Jew from the Upper West Side is able to comprehend Torah while a Jewish Polish will not be capable of that. The verse lines are permeated with a tone of defiance, showing that cultural resistance demeans the political power of the colonizer and depicts the Israeli colonial existence as illegal:

A Torah —

And a middle-aged man from upper Manhattan  
Arrives to teach young Polish men how to read it

.....

In Jerusalem

A policeman from Ethiopia seals off a street in the market  
A machine gun hangs from the shoulder of a teenage settler  
A hat bows to the Wailing Wall (Al-Barghouti lines 18-23).

The use of military language involves discourses of cultural resistance and resistance as opposition and transformation. The enemy/ the Israeli “settler” and an “Ethiopian” Jewish “policeman” attempt to domesticate the colonized, imposing their administrative control over him. The colonizer spreads fear into the heart of the colonized who should beware of the authoritarianism of his opponents. The two metaphors of the policeman and the settler portray the narcissistic colonial arrogance of the colonizer. This poetic scene is a spectacular dramatization of the Israeli colonial oppression,

displaying the colonizer's imperial power in a sequential action. However, rewriting the discourse of colonial power is a form of political activism which pertains to cultural resistance. By the lexical choice of a "teenage settler" and an "Ethiopian Policeman," the poet attempts to demean the coercive power of the colonizer/ Israeli forces (Al-Barghouti lines 21-22). These poetic images also involve a model of resistance as opposition. This appropriation of the dominant colonial discourse deprives the colonizer of his colonial power. Both Falasha Jews and the Palestinians are exposed to racial and class discrimination in Israel. It is as if the poet implicitly indicates that these marginalized groups should initiate a revolution against cultural hegemony in the Israeli Welfare state. Hence, Al-Barghouti is keen on those "forms of social and cultural 'resistance' " that are performed as an affirmation of an alternative to the direct and structural violence of colonialism ... [being] consistent with the ideal of transformation and liberation .." (Jefferess 21). Examining the two contexts of Ghandi's views and the postcolonial presence in South Africa, the colonial subject should be no longer an agent to the colonizer. Since Beta Jews and Palestinians are marginalized class members in Israel, they are on an equal status. Resistance as transformation advocates social justice among class members.

As a main form of cultural resistance, Al-Barghouti engages in a process of language re-appropriation so as to change the colonial assumptions. Acting as a cultural activist, he draws readers' attention to the Israeli scheme which assumes that the Jew is a naïve citizen who aspires to carry out his religious rituals at the wailing wall compound without being ironically exposed to a Palestinian refusal. This rhetoric of victimhood culture goes with Janette Habashi's discussion of the "colonial guilt" and "victimhood hierarchy" as being related to the Israeli/ Palestinian struggle (50). Habashi believes that the colonial guilt only helps the Israeli official documentary to preserve the discourse of colonial power hierarchy and the enforcement of a colonial surveillance over the lives of the Palestinians. This is achieved by an official propagation of the idea that both the Israelis and the Palestinians should be ordered in a victimhood hierarchy. However, it is the Israeli who should obtain the highest position in this hierarchy, thus ignoring the racist despise of the Palestinians and their daily sufferings. By projecting the Israeli as a person whose "hat bows to the Wailing Wall," Al-Barghouti maintains a transposition of the status of the Israeli from the highest position in this scale to the lowest one (line 23).

Part of the subjectivity of truth and the deceptive illusions of the colonial guilt is to project the Jewish experience of the Holocaust as the utmost facet of suffering and the emblem of anti-semitism. A main example of the latter is the Israeli fabrication of the Palestinian nakba and naksa so as to suppress the

accounts which narrate examples of the Israeli coercive expulsion of the Palestinians from their lands. This is meant to prioritize the history of the ethnic cleansing of the Israelis during the Holocaust. As an instance of cultural resistance or Habashi's view of "oppressed resistance" (53), Al-Barghouti subverts the colonial assumption of the naïve holocaust survivor. The Israeli ironically appears as if he were calling for a peaceful co-existence with the Palestinian, thus defending his right for the freedom of religious practice.

Using architectural images, the poet remodels the misconceptions of the colonial guilt. Jefferess believes that this form of cultural "[r]esistance – as – subversion constitutes the disruption or modification of colonial modes of knowledge and authority" (20). Al-Barghouti's personifications of the "dark marble columns [that] rise" and the "[w]indows, high in church and mosque, / Holding the morning's hand" indicate the rising attention to the Palestinian question (lines 79-81). Being juxtaposed with the image of the Jew who prays at the Wailing Wall, Al-Barghouti displaces the main assumption of colonial guilt that the holocaust survivors are those who suffer the most. Moreover, it is a counteraction against the derogation of Palestinians, projecting dehumanization on the Israeli enemy.

The poetic framework of cultural resistance, which reflects the beat of anti-colonial struggle, involves a Gramscian perspective of the war of maneuver/ war of position<sup>(3)</sup>. Daniel Egan believes that "[i]f the military metaphor is to be retained as a useful tool for revolutionary theory and political practice, we must challenge the reification of maneuver and position that have emerged from this metaphor and reaffirm the inherently dialectical relationship between the two" (110). By advocating the idea of mass revolution, the poet further expounds a viewpoint of cultural resistance which is now considered to be a potential step towards resistance as transformation. In the verse lines the image of the colonized who can seize power stimulates a call to action that defends human equality between the seemingly powerless and the powerful:

In Jerusalem, jackboot soldiers march on clouds  
In Jerusalem, we pray on the asphalt

In Jerusalem there's whoever's in Jerusalem  
Except for you (Al-Barghouti lines 29-32)

Al-Barghouti advocates a postponed policy of maneuver warfare, urging the rebellious colonized to confront the coercive power of the supremacist colonial regime. By foregrounding the ideas of collective resistance, steadfastness, and some of the military tactics of a guerilla warfare or the strategic defence and retreat, the poet refutes the traditional colonial binary opposition. The latter consists of the powerless Palestinian refugees and the powerful "jackboot soldiers [who] march on clouds" (Al-Barghouti line 29). Being in a direct confrontation with a fierce colonial military power, the

cultural activist/ poet has to step back in order to reattack his coercive colonizer. Taking a step backward, the metaphorical depiction of the revolutionists who "pray on the asphalt" foreshadows Gramsci's diagram of military metaphor (Al-Barghouti line 30). Within a political framework of the war of maneuver and the war of position, Al-Barghouti poses his refrain "there's whoever's in Jerusalem/ Except for you" excluding the colonizer's existence (lines 31-32). It is true that the Palestinian is exposed to colonial coercion. However, in a reaction to this situation the colonizer will become a subject for the colonized's defensive tactics, as well.

Gramsci's concepts of war of maneuver and war of position elucidate the researcher's analysis of Duncombe's cultural resistance. Within a Marxist framework of the war of position/ war of maneuver, Al-Barghouti assures the rebellious masses/ Palestinians that they are the only ones who can hold power. Thus, he indulges in a dialogue with the personified character of history, staging him as if he were one of the revolutionists who can turn the whole situation upside down. The verse shows that the poet unveils his call to resistance. There is a plea to the Arab that he should not look upon himself as being displaced and oppressed but rather as a revolutionist and a land-owner:

Here they are before you  
They are the text  
While you're a footnote or a margin  
You thought, my son, a visit could draw from the face of the  
city  
The thick veil of her present. (Al-Barghouti lines 38-42).

It is only when the personified character of history/ the rebellious Palestinian becomes confident in his self-power, that the forces of his enemy turn to be mere "others" (Al-Barghouti line 37). However, after being ahead in this guerrilla warfare, the tone of confidence turns to be a one of retreat when being faced with the overwhelming violence of the colonizer. This indicates that the colonizer becomes again at the heart of power/ in "the text" while the quasi-defeated revolutionists retreat and stand behind him in the position of "a footnote or a margin" (Al-Barghouti lines 39-40). Al-Barghouti employs juxtaposition in order to imply that the imminent result of a war of position is a strategic transition of power from the hands of Israeli defense forces to the popular power of the Palestinian revolutionists. Hence, guerrilla warfare involves transitory moments of defeat and the quasi-defeated Palestinian surrenders declaring his inability to "draw from the face of the city/ [t]he thick veil of her" colonial presence (Al-Barghouti lines 41-42). However, the tone shifts again to advocate faith in the popular power and collective authority of the rebellious Palestinians who are intent that no one should exist in Jerusalem "except for" them (Al-

Barghouti 32). This enthusiastic, rebellious tone carries the beat of the prolonged struggle of the Palestinian Arab Resistance Movement, thus advocating a war of position against the Israeli colonial existence.

Resistance as opposition and revolutionary action are best discussed in the light of Antonio Gramsci's war of position/ war of maneuver and the Israeli/ Palestinian conflict. Philip J. M. Leech points out that, from a Marxist perspective, war of position and war of maneuver are two strategic schemes that should disturb the political capitalist system and thwart fascism and prototypes of power absolutism. Therefore, the choice between these two policies depends on an analysis of hegemony and regime power. Leech believes that in case of the Israeli Palestinian political struggle it is the war of position which helps the Palestinians realize state liberation. This is because the war of position "focuses not only on confronting the Israeli occupation but also on challenging the internal arrangement of Palestinian political and economic power – and its related class structure ..." (Leech 162). As for the war of maneuver, it is an open revolution of the proletariat which aims at dismantling the state authority. Leech's political analysis does not advocate the war of maneuver because in case of the Israeli colonial regime, there is a full political and economic control over the Palestinians. However, an analysis of Al-Barghouti's verse shows that the two strategies complement each other:

But History, wait —  
For the city has two timelines  
One, foreign, complacent, steady-paced  
As though sleepwalking  
Another that lies in wait  
Masked, cautious, silent (Al-Barghouti lines 52-57).

Though Al-Barghouti prefers the policy of the war of position over the war of maneuver, he discards neither of them. There is a metaphorical poetic allusion to the long-term policy of the war of position which should maintain socio-political transformation. Situating the war between two binary opposites, this strategy will enable the "[m]asked, cautious, silent" Palestinian masses to oppose the hegemony of Israeli imperialism and establish a sovereign economic and political Palestinian entity (Al-Barghouti line 57). Hence, a war of position which is discussed in the context of resistance as opposition will enable the revolutionist Palestinians to defeat hegemony of the ironically "sleepwalking" Israeli capitalist leaders who are at the highest rank of the social class hierarchy (Al-Barghouti line 55). According to Leech "what is required is a *war of position* whereby the general population focuses on building its own structures of resistance from the bottom up in order to increase its capacity to confront the existing order over the long term" (175). This explains the significance of Al-Barghouti's historical analogy between the story of Saifuddin Qutuz who was "a Mamluke" but later "became Conqueror of the Moghuls/ And Sovereign Sultan" (lines 94-98) of Egypt and the situation of the Palestinian masses



and revolutionists. The intertextual reference to this story has a political connotation to the policy of the war of position which will help the revolutionists to reshape structures of ethnic hierarchy and power in the Palestinian/ Israeli society and the state institutions. However, this metaphorical allusion recommends an intersection between the two strategies. For instance, the rise of a popular Palestinian revolutionist, who will unite the masses and lead a popular revolution in order to dismantle the colonial state existence, is considered as an example of a war of maneuver.

Hence, the poet agrees with Daniel Egan that the war of maneuver is a primitive step towards the war of position therefore, the two are in a comprehensive relationship. Egan describes the war of position as "a slower, more protracted process of siege warfare, in which subordinate classes wear away the existing civil society and, through their collective self-organization, create a new one" (34). What supports this analysis is the poet's metaphorical connotation to the advancement and retreat of the "scent" (Al-Barghouti line 99) of the two Palestinian intifadas and the political uprising and outrage of the popular force. In other words, the metaphorical depiction of the "scent with a language" (Al-Barghouti line 102) of resistance can be an expectation of the rise of a new wave of a war of maneuver or a third uprising which has the power to invoke feelings of Pan-Arabism. Al-Barghouti draws a metaphorical depiction of the war atmosphere of this expected war of maneuver. The advancement and retreat of the smell of the "gas canisters" (Al-Barghouti line 105) is analogous to a sequence of confrontations between the Palestinians and the Israelis. Though the poet gives power to the popular force of the angry masses, it is still evident that he advocates an intersection between the war of position and the war of maneuver in order to realize socio-political change and decolonial liberation. This viewpoint is consistent with Egan's view that "war of maneuver and war of position are metaphors that contain within them a complex series of actions which revolutionary forces must undertake in specific situations" (30).

#### **Politics of Disguise and Concealment: A Model of James Scott's Undeclared Resistance:**

Examining the infrapolitical life of the oppressed, James Scott differentiates between the "public transcript" which apparently shows norms of respect to those in power and the "hidden transcript" involving indirect language of resistance (136-138). Therefore, Scott analyzes and discusses some of the infrapolitical techniques of this undeclared resistance so as to shed light on its potential ability to urge a popular action and support resistance movements. The researcher mentions the only two which appear in some instances of the poetic analysis, "anonymity" and "grumbling"

(Scott 138). The first belongs to methods of concealment and disguise which take many forms. Studying undeclared resistance, the oppressed rebel, whose identity is well known, tends to write a hidden record which conceals his criticism of the abuse of the authoritative power. However, if the strategy is to be reversed and he becomes able to hide his identity, he can declare his rebellious outburst. Among the devices which maintain anonymity and identity concealment is the power of the mass movement and the collective action. The second main form of undeclared resistance is grumbling which involves any gesture or action of protest, resentment, and sarcasm of the authorities. Hence, the oppressed rebel can cynically bring his hidden record of resistance into light without being punished.

Reviewing the views of James Scott and Stephen Duncombe, the researcher observes a major, common point between cultural and undeclared resistance. James Scott believes that the oppressed usually stands in an intermediate position between total agreement to the subordination and declared rejection of it. This is because the oppressed accepts to be in the place of the agent in front of his oppressor while acting as a political activist who struggles against domination behind his back. Scott's words seem to revive Duncombe's belief that cultural resistance can have an indirect message of political activism and a scheme of counter-hegemony. What makes Duncombe's cultural resistance analogous to Scott's vision of this undeclared resistance is a focus on the political which pertains to strategies of circumlocution, and word codification in order to indicate resistance.

James Scott expounds the major infrapolitical techniques which distinguish undeclared resistance and help the researcher to develop her poetic analysis. He points out that "subordinate groups have developed a large arsenal of techniques that serve to shield their identity while facilitating open criticism, threats, and attacks. [P]rominent techniques that accomplish this purpose include ... an anonymous mass defiance" (Scott 140). What maintains anonymity is the use of the communal "we" to refer to an unknown group of Palestinians whose act of "pray[ing] on the asphalt" (line 30) is a metaphor for their undeclared resistance. The indefinite number of those worshipers also helps reinforce this anonymity. Scott believes that the revolutionists "achieve a kind of anonymity by virtue of their numbers and the fact that it is seldom possible to identify who instigated or began the protest" (152). The use of a second person pronoun in the refrain is a prominent example of undeclared resistance, invoking a spirit of collective mass struggle. At the same time, the identity of the second person addressees is anonymous and is meant to be undeclared up till the closing lines of the poem. However, it is implicitly understood to be the Palestinians who hide their identity in order to resist the existence of Zionist colonialism. The poet continues to address them, insisting that their unorganized group action, which is a main pattern of everyday resistance, has a revolutionary power of a vital spirituality that can change the status of

the enemy to become the other. Hence, Scott conceives undeclared resistance as a form of unorganized political activism which is born at a moment of mass agitation.

Scott introduces the notion of "infrapolitics" (183) to describe the nature of the disguised political activism of the oppressed, which reinforces the role of organized resistance and resistance organizations. Hence, the researcher is concerned with pinpointing some of the poetic examples of this infrapolitical struggle which can be further developed into an open revolution. This is not to claim that popular resistance<sup>(4)</sup> does not already exist in Palestine, but rather to indicate that these strategies of everyday resistance can support the institutionalized resistance. According to Scott "each realm of open resistance to domination is shadowed by an infrapolitical twin sister who aims at the same strategic goals but whose low profile is better adapted to resisting an opponent who could probably win any open confrontation" (184). Scott's discussion of infrapolitical struggle is inseparable from the central dogma of the safety-valve theories for the release from oppression. The latter is based on the thought that if the oppressed does not ease his pain from a routinized practice of coercive power, this can lead to an expected insurgency. The suppressed desire for vengeance leads to its partial fulfillment in the widespread forms of undeclared resistance. Scott enumerates some of the forms of this safety-valve theory presented "[w]hether in back stage talk, in supervised rituals of reversal, or in festivals" (186). However, these forms of everyday resistance can be considered as a transitory stage that should be developed into popular and organized resistance.

In the poem "In Jerusalem," Scott's view of the safety-valve theory is transformed into a direct, declared attack on the colonizer. Hence, the poet's unconscious desire for confronting the coercive colonizer drives him to turn his underlying emotions into public ones, and his cautious subversion of the semantic derogations of the Palestinians into a straightforward rewriting. As a counteraction to the situation of the Palestinian who is metaphorically "dropped from the text" (line 151), the Israelis should now be considered as the "enemy" and "the others" (lines 2, 37). Suffering from unjust oppression, persecution and displacement, Al-Barghouti stresses that no one deserves to be in Palestine "except for" the Arab/ the landowner (line 32). The poet agrees with Scott that everyday resistance should be developed into an organized resistance. However, his straightforward defiance of the colonizer and his subversion of the Palestinian's lack of power become clear in the concluding lines of the poem.

The researcher discusses grumbling as one of the main literary and strategic forms of undeclared resistance that is clarified in some verse lines.

The message of a grumble is an indirect indication of disdain to the oppressor and the forces of domination. Even if the message of this grumble is understood, its expression should be embedded. Grumbling can be conveyed through any expressive mode which stages a circumlocuted expression of annoyance. Scott believes that “[p]roviding such a message was imparted, almost any means of communication might serve the purpose: a groan, a sigh, a moan, a chuckle, a well-timed silence, a wink, or a stare” (155). Al-Barghouti introduces two instances of such grumbling, though his expression of protest is far from being indirect or twisted. It is as if he were transforming Scott’s vision of undeclared resistance into a direct and open confrontation with the enemy.

In the concluding lines, the poet employs a metaphor of a cry which is one of the forms of grumbling:

Scribe of History, why have you excluded us?  
.....

Let your eye not weep, you who’ve been dropped from the text  
Let your eye not weep, young Arab, and know  
That in Jerusalem there’s whoever’s in Jerusalem  
But, in Jerusalem

I see no-one, except for you” (Al-Barghouti lines 136-155)

In a direct address to the personified character of history, Al-Barghouti poses a straightforward rhetorical question exclaiming “why have you excluded us?” (line 136). This question mark which can be considered similar to a physical expression of annoyance involves grumbling. It features as a clear-cut example of anticolonial rebellion, disdaining all the systems and policies that do not recognize the right to Palestinian sovereignty. In this way, he transforms his strategic manipulation of undeclared resistance into a declaration of revolution, when he nominates his second person addressee as a “young Arab” (Al-Barghouti line 152). Thus, the poet employs grumbling in a different sense from that of Scott as the tone of rebellion does not involve “a certain vagueness” (156).

The poet develops the indication of undeclared resistance, grumbling, into a call for cultural resistance which can later be incorporated into policies of resistance as transformation. Rather than agree with Scott’s belief that ritual weeping/ grumbling can partly relieve the pain, the poet stresses that this passive expression of subordination is not enough to change the colonial situation. Therefore, the poet assures the Palestinian revolutionists that their informal organization can turn into a formal one and their collective force can gradually thwart the colonial existence. However, this viewpoint goes with Scott’s belief that all the techniques of infrapolitics which allow the oppressed rebel to reduce the anger are meant to support open revolutions. Thus, cultural resistance is a pivotal step towards resistance as transformation. Urging a global action to face/ stop the bloody practices of the Israeli forces/ atrocities against the Palestinian non-violent activists can achieve a decolonial liberation. Moreover, the right to land

sovereignty is essential to realize human rights and justice which resistance as transformation advocates. The poet's belief in transformative revolution can lead to a decolonial existence in Palestine.

Scott elucidates that all the infrapolitical acts of everyday resistance can turn into an open revolution. Common activities can have indirect messages of political activism and protestation. The more the power holders attempt to conduct political surveillance so as to extinguish the revolutionary spirit of their subjects, the more the latter become eager to counter-attack this hegemony. "Thus, piecemeal squatting is the infrapolitical equivalent of an open land invasion ... [and] rumor and folktales of revenge are the infrapolitical equivalent of open gestures of contempt and desecration" (Scott 199). In this framework, the act of praying, which is a mode of undeclared resistance in the poem, can develop into a public strike or an uprising, defending the right of the worshippers to enter Al-Aqsa mosque and calling for a removal of restrictions on it.

Furthermore, in the following lines, Al-Barghouti introduces a metaphorical image of a sweet, desirable scent which has a motif of undeclared resistance:

In Jerusalem there's a scent  
.....  
I swear, a scent with a language you'll understand  
If you listen;  
It says to me —  
When they pitch their gas canisters at me  
'Ignore them'  
And when the gas has gone  
That scent fills the air again, and says  
'You see?' (Al-Barghouti lines 99-109).

Playing on the second and the third person pronouns, the poet designs a confrontation system between two opposed parties. The collective power of the anonymous mass struggle of the Palestinians has no limits.

Throwing tear-gas on the Palestinians in order to disperse them is like the power system which generates a heated desire for resistance metaphorically referred to as "a scent with a language" the readers "will understand" (Al-Barghouti line 102). Attacking the coercive power of the Israelis and their "gas canisters," the poet assures a disguised second person addressee that this personified scent has an ability similar to that of a system destruction warfare (Al-Barghouti 105). Thus, Al-Barghouti agrees with Scott that the infrapolitical struggle of the oppressed, though it seems to have a fugitive power, is essential to support public resistance, thus announcing the "Declar[ation] of independence in the wind between two bullets" (Al-Barghouti line 122).

As mentioned before, the message of undeclared resistance should be

codified if the identity of the oppressed rebel is recognized. Though the poet's identity is well known, his message is concealed, demeaning the hegemonic power of the colonizer and transferring it into the hands of the colonized. Hence, in the extended dialogue between the personified characters of the windows, columns and the morning, art is used as a language which elucidates that anonymity is a main medium of undeclared resistance. The aesthetics of Islamic architecture, in particular, constitutes poetic textures of undeclared resistance:

In Jerusalem, dark marble columns rise  
 As though their veins were smoke  
 Windows, high in church and mosque,  
 Hold morning's hand, showing him how to paint with color  
 He says, "like this"  
 The windows say, no —  
 Like that —  
 Until they compromise  
 Morning is free to paint outside the threshold, but  
 To enter through God's windows  
 He must abide by their rules (Al-Barghouti lines 79-89)

The dialogue shows that the Palestinian hides his identity in order to expose and revolt against his reality of being an agent to the colonizer whose laws he should abide by. Al-Barghouti plays on the third person pronoun used in the singular and the plural in order to create the impression that some unknown defenders attempt to reach a "compromise" (line 86) or negotiate a plan of revolution against the enemy's existence. Moreover, the poet uses the third person pronoun in order to partly stress the sovereign power of his enemy whose rules the oppressed Palestinians "must abide by" (Al-Barghouti line 89). However, the main concealed message is of self-despise against the coercive control of the Israeli forces. It is as if Al-Barghouti urges the Palestinians to rise up in an open revolution attracting new revolutionists. Scott stresses this point indicating that "[o]ver time, naturally ... the riot becomes something like a scenario, albeit a dangerous one, enacted by a large repertory company whose members know the basic plot and can step into the available roles" (151). However, the researcher believes that the problem with cultural/ undeclared resistance is that it cannot change the European political systems which continue to support Israel's capitalist settlements and their colonial economy<sup>(5)</sup>. Subverting the misconceptions of colonial guilt, the poet later states that it is ironically this Jew who deprives the Palestinian of his citizenship rights and prevents his free access to Al-Aqsa Mosque. This restriction of movement is a form of colonial surveillance which Al-Barghouti stresses in his personification of the "[m]orning [as a man who] is free to paint outside the threshold, but/ To enter through God's Windows/ He must abide by their rules" (lines 87-89). Moreover, there are vast demographic changes which the Palestinian territories have undergone, affecting the life of the Palestinians who become

hemmed in by the expansion of the Israeli settlements<sup>(6)</sup>.

**Art as Motivation for Resistance: A Political, Poetic Analysis in the Light of Charles Tripp's Art of Resistance:**

Tripp believes that art leads to resistance as transformation, having the power of changing mindsets or worldviews. Being used by the hegemon to sustain his authority and by the oppressed to counter hegemony, it is inseparable from the work of cultural or political resistance. Tripp stresses that "[u]nderlying the artistic effort is the attempt to challenge political hegemony, harnessing the power of art to make people look again at the status quo, enthusing them or aggravating them" (258). Giving an example of "Mashin?," an art work by the Palestinian artist Vera Tamari, Tripp believes that art has the power to speak about reality and has an ability to effect change even though it is just a transitory one due to a hegemonic stability. The art of resistance is meant to give alternative visions to the dominant political aesthetics. Hence, poetry as a performance art, and visual arts can embody an implicit message of a revolutionary subordination or a break from what Azmi Bishara as the "political nation"<sup>(7)</sup> (237) which the Zionist state advocates. Art constitutes an archival memory. Therefore, it motivates a creation of a Palestinian political community that attempts to preserve and share its memories, ideology and history.

Part of the discourse of cultural activism is Al-Barghouti's manipulation of the art of pictography as a form of resistance. The Israeli religious art attempts to forge the Zionist identity, propagating the misconception that the Muslim icon of Dome of the Rock was built on the site of the Temple Mount. Picturing the dome of the rock, the context of the controversy between the indigenous Palestinians and the Israelis, with its architectural minutiae of detail, creates a revolutionary poetic language that has an aesthetic form. The lines stress that the Palestinian refugees aspire to lead a normal life and a humanitarian lifestyle equivalent to that of the Israeli capitalists. The poem abounds with indications not only of resistance art but also of resistance as opposition. Hence, the following lines are an implicit attack against the Israeli welfare state hegemony which promotes the wealth of the Israeli settlers and positions the Palestinians at the bottom of the social ladder:

In Jerusalem the crescent moon curls tight as a fetus  
Curving over its likenesses on the domes;  
Through the years they've become like a father and his sons  
.....  
In Jerusalem beauty is octagonal and blue  
Supporting, gentle listener, a golden dome  
That looks like, I think, a convex mirror

Containing the sky, playing with it, pulling it close  
 Distributing the sky, like aid in a siege  
 To the deserving (Al-Barghouti lines 61-71).

As a cultural activist, the poet transforms language into “a convex mirror” (line 68) which reflects a chart of major Arab Muslim architectural structures so as to refute all the Zionist colonial projects of judaizing Jerusalem. Hence, Tripp stresses that “[b]y radically changing the message that ‘official art’ is trying to convey, it can serve a more disrespectful and possibly subversive purpose” (258). Thus, Al-Barghouti addresses a number of Muslim classic icons, “the crescent,” “the domes,” “a golden dome” and “mosque,” (lines 61-67, 81), landscape elements “moon” and “the sky” (lines 61-74), and architectural elements “columns” and “windows” (lines 79-81). Their eyewitness testimony should prove the existence of a Palestinian cultural identity, and support the premise of Pan-Arabism. Taking cinematic shots of Palestinian everyday life and the natural elements of scenery, which are personified as humans, conveys a message of cultural resistance. For example, there is the simile of the moon and the domes which act “like a father and his sons” and the metaphor of “the sky [that] gives herself out to the people” (Al-Barghouti lines 63-74). This imaginary political freedom for the Palestinians, even if it were for just transitory moments, can disturb the absolute power of the colonial state and motivate people’s struggle for liberation. Art/ Pictography raises a call for an international concern over the Palestinian right of return and all the human rights of this occupied nation experiencing racial surveillance policies<sup>(8)</sup>. Thus, turning the “veins” of the personified “columns” into a metaphorical “smoke”/ a heat of the popular force of the Arab Muslims and Christians, shows the powerful voice of resistance art (Al-Barghouti lines 79-80). Tripp adds that “[t]his reinforces the notion that power contains within it the outlines of its own resistance, suggesting both the key sites and the principal means for its own negation- as the examination of any censorship regime will tend to show” (259). This poetic manipulation of the art of pictography reveals beauty as resistance and unveils the fake humanitarian mask which Israel struggles to wear.

In the context of the Palestinian struggle for liberation, there is an interdisciplinary bond between posters, as a political art, and literature. Posters act as mottos popularizing the idea of Palestinian revolution, and emphasizing the spirit of Palestinian nationalism. For instance, the poster of *Pigeons Flew*<sup>(9)</sup>, a play staged on the Palestinian National Theatre, El-Hakawati, elucidates that the language of graffiti art posters or street poster art gives the Palestinian voice the power to cross national borders. The symbolic choice of a pigeon in the title has connotations to most of the themes of Palestinian solidarity posters. The latter include the bond between the nation and the land, the glorified status of the martyr/ al-shahid and the efficacy of the Palestinian collective action in the face of Israeli atrocities.



This is the reason for Al-Barghouti's poetic portrayal of an iconic poster of "[a]pigeon flying aloft" (line 121). It is a political slogan which has a motif close to that of Banksy's graffiti *The Armoured Dove of Peace*. This image-text portrays how the "air of innocence" which circulates this pigeon is besieged by "two bullets" (Al-Barghouti lines 119-122). Hence, resistance art can motivate global action to stop violence against the children of the stones who are killed fiercely. Tripp further clarifies that "[t]he appearance of the posters in a street, a square or any other public space reassured those who were denied an identity and defied those who tried to deny it" (264). In other words, this text-image also stresses metaphorically the poet's belief in the latent power of those children whose everyday resistance is lighting the fuse of people's revolution.

Performance poetry is a domain of resistance arts, having the potential ability to provoke public rebellion and arouse resistance against fascist regimes. It documents the history of a nation facing dispossession and the Zionist call to blur the Arab identity. Amal Equeiq discusses how the Palestinian festivals of poetry and folk songs are archival ethnographies of Palestinian resistance. Therefore, Al-Barghouti draws a symbolic connotation to the relation between festival poetry and the fight for anti-colonial existence. In selected lines of "In Jerusalem," there is a reference to the populist role played by the resistance poet/ the communist poet described metaphorically as "an old man [whom] "if you shake hands with .../ you'll find etched on your palm a poem" (Al-Barghouti lines 114-116). Equeiq stresses that "[b]y looking at how fragments of oral memory were salvaged and archived in literary ethnographic texts, [festival poetry as an example], we can trace the dual process of constructing and resisting subalternity" (123). This poetry of revolution constitutes archival documents, urging feelings of national pride and calling people to act.

### **Resistance as Transformation: An Epistemological view of a Future of Transformative Revolutions**

Towards the end of his poetic journey to liberation and collective identity affirmation, Al-Barghouti develops an inclusive vision of resistance as transformation. According to Jefferess, the latter is concerned with a view of human interconnection, stressing the common points of affinity between nations and the contesting sovereigns or the oppressor/ oppressed. Jefferess asserts that "[r]esistance, as reconciliation, challenges the antagonistic framework of colonial ideology and performs an alternative to it; it resists apartheid-a politics of separation – because it provides an ethic and politics of connection" (167). This can be maintained through a vision of reconciliation which should change and put an end to all the fascist policies, systems and facets of control and injustice that forge socio-economic

hierarchies and colonial supremacy. Hence, the lines foreshadow a model of resistance as transformation, stressing the significance of ethnic connections to refute the assumption that Jerusalem is the city of David/ the land of Israel:

In Jerusalem, rows of graves are lines of the city's history  
 .....  
 Read her tombstones in every nation's language  
 Here lie the Africans and the Franks  
 The Kipceks and the Slavs and the Bosniaks  
 The Tartars and the Turks  
 The people of God and of Destruction  
 The poor and the rich  
 The debauched and the ascetic  
 Here lies everyone who's ever trod the earth (Al-Barghouti  
 lines 123-135).

As a counter – action to imperial hegemony, Al-Barghouti enumerates pairs of ethnic groups like “the Africans and the Franks/ The Kipceks and Slavs” (lines 129-130). This depiction of human integration or interaction which transforms man's differences into similarities shows a vision of how reconciliation is the methodology of resistance as transformation. Examining the two paradigms of Gandhi's and Mandela's reconciliation, it is evident that resistance as transformation enhances a call for an equal distribution of power and resources among society members. Hence, the lines oppose the false assumptions of anti-semitism. They also involve a call to refute the Israeli persecution of the Arab Israelis. Al-Barghouti believes that structural domination should lead to resistance as transformation, defending the liberation of Palestine and the Palestinian right to self-determination. Therefore, the refrain manifests this transition from cultural resistance to resistance as transformation. Moreover, the poetic creation of a bond of symmetry between ethnic groups, which is the main emblem of reconciliation, and the deconstruction of the colonial system of binary oppositions introduces a new relationship paradigm that is based on human equality. Thus, resistance as transformation advocates the decolonial liberation of the Palestinians which is essential to maintain their human sovereignty and dignity.

**“In the Arab World, Live” A Drama of an Upside Down World: Rebellion, Social Revolution and a call for Resistance as Transformation:**

Due to a conception of cultural resistance as political activism, Al-Barghouti advocates a class action and a Gramscian model to counter cultural hegemony. By portraying scenes from life, the revolutionary poet expounds a paradigm of socio-cultural, economic and political hegemony so as to denounce it. Reflecting the socio-economic burdens imposed on an Arab subaltern, culture is a motivation for political action. Hence, Al-Barghouti has a Gramscian point of view which stresses that “culture is shot

through with both revolutionary and reactionary tendencies. The job of the revolutionary is to untangle this mess and extract a culture of resistance". (Duncombe 9). Hagai Katz reviews and discusses Gramsci's belief that aspects of civil society, such as culture, economic unions, common markets and civic organizations maintain state coercion, social control and a practice of hegemony. As civil society is the domain of hegemony, it is also the place where cultural resistance and resistance as opposition and transformation should start. Gramsci believes that hegemony pertains to a state in which people are to get used to their dehumanization and subjugation without their knowledge. Katz adds that "[t]hanks to false consciousness, true class consciousness is hindered by the ideology of the ruling class, and the masses are made to identify with a system which exploits them and its underlying ideology" (408). Hence, in the following lines from "In the Arab World, Live," Al-Barghouti exposes this idea of state hegemony in keeping with Gramsci's idea that civil society supports the cultural hegemony of certain elites:

In the Arab world, live  
Like a cat that lives under a car  
Shoes are all you see of life

In the Arab world, live  
Like a circus clown  
A clown stands on your head  
You stand on the next clown's head  
And everyone stands with utmost respect  
Serious and very well dressed (Al-Barghouti lines 1-9).

Hence, cultural hegemony refers to the imposition of a set of ethics, and cultural conventions on the lower classes who accept this process of subjectification, not by coercion, but rather by their agreement. In the poem "In the Arab World, Live," which is itself a poetic refrain, Al-Barghouti uses a simile, analogizing the life of an Arab citizen to the dehumanized life of "a cat that lives under a car" (line 2). There is poetic cohesion between a belief in class hegemony and the impoverished conditions of the lower class citizens. Metaphorically, "shoes are all you see of life" (Al-Barghouti line 3) because people assent to their submissive lifestyle without any argumentation. It is a "sociopolitical situation" or, as Gramsci calls it, "a moment," in which there is an alignment of the superstructure (the dominant ideology) with the base (class divisions and the economic and political practices that support them)" (Katz 409). In order to explain this state of class stratification and how a social class can dominate the life of another, the poet uses two political similes. Thus, he likens social hierarchies and class differences to the dehumanized situation of "[a]clown [who] stands on

[another's] head" (Al-Barghouti line 6). A second lower class citizen/clown, in his turn, "stand[s] on the next clown's head" (Al-Barghouti line 7). Everyone is accustomed to protecting the capitalist system of class distinctions.

The poet's sarcastic depictions of life in a capitalist society have some implications of criticism against capitalist realism and consequently, involve a framework of resistance art. The poet ridicules the machine-based actions of "everyone [who] stands with utmost respect" to the standarization of capitalist realism (Al-Barghouti line 8). Political capitalism helps but to shape the mode of production and thus fosters a belief in the division of labour, cultural materialism and an education which systematizes materialistic values. The poet exposes the points of weakness in consumer capitalism, particularly the systemization of unequal social relations so as to revolt against it. Neoliberalism and free-market capitalism regulate a materialist perspective which is distinct from socialist humanism<sup>(10)</sup>, adhering to the profit and loss mechanism. Therefore, the political depiction of dehumanized clowns pertains to resistance art, exposing the ruthless practices of capitalism. This is what Mark Fisher implies in his belief that "one strategy against capitalist realism could involve invoking the Real(s) underlying the reality that capitalism presents to us" (18). Hence, it is the role of art (painting) to attack the evils of consumer capitalism and the model of labour proletarianization which creates an image of a financially distressed nation. Reducing the masses into the level of funny clowns satirically drives them to face the truth of their bureaucratic victimization as a premise of late capitalism. This political painting aggravates the misery and alerts people to realize that the grievances which they feel are a result of their impoverished life, caused by the accelerated rate of economic inflation. However, it also distinguishes between people's apparent submission and their collective awakening to a counter-hegemonic struggle against capitalist realism. The poetic message is that an ideological adherence to capitalist realism has to be changed so as to maintain a real transformation of society and the demise of social stratification. Visual arts, of which political painting is one, motivate people to examine in retrospect their history of economic crisis and thus, play an active global role to challenge state capitalism. Tripp stresses that "when it takes concrete form through powerful and moving artistic expression, it can touch not only the hitherto voiceless but also the regime's own constituency" (259). The normalization of dehumanization, which capitalist realism further intensifies, can be the same driving force behind a future mobilization against it.

To protect the coercive power of the state, Gramsci perceives an alliance between aspects of civil society and the government/ political society. The relationship between the state and civil society is inseparable, thus forming a coercive power to protect and enforce strict class divisions and the idea of class stratification. The subjugated classes are obliged to

accept and resent the hegemony of the ruling class who propagate the credibility and the logical reasoning of their beliefs. Katz adds that "[i]n order for the hegemonic groups to control political society with the consent of the governed ... they must allow for a space where free association and action (or a belief of free association and action) is allowed" (409). It is a strategic tactic which gives an illusion that there is an atmosphere of development but keeps the same social hierarchies and promotes the hegemony and the socio-economic welfare of the domineering class. The verse lines elucidate a Gramscian perspective of a game in which the ruling elite shows a slight decrease of its escalating power in order to maintain its cultural hegemony:

In the Arab world, live  
Through a football match  
That has been going on for a thousand years  
Players dash here and there  
And the ball always remains  
In the hands of the referee (Al-Barghouti lines 10-15).

As an indication of cultural resistance, the main political poetic message is of power transfer from the hands of "the referee" (the old pedagogy of the state and the domineering class) to the ruled/ the "players" (Al-Barghouti lines 13-14). Al-Barghouti metaphorically analogizes the strategic compliance and agreement to the idea of class divisions and social discrepancies to "a football match" (line 11). This old/ modern process consists of two parts, the "players [masses who] dash here and there" and "the referee,"/ the state which advocates the social supremacy of a certain class or the elites themselves (Al-Barghouti lines 13-15). Thus, the poet aspires to a socialist action which unites political and socialist activists who should have a certain economic or socio-cultural agenda. As a cultural activist, the poet is concerned with a transformative revolution which can realize radical reformations, thus giving power to the new historic block of the oppressed people. Though in this political game "the ball always remains/ In the hands of the referee," (Al-Barghouti lines 14-15) the rules can be changed through a war of maneuver. Hence, the poet implicitly refers to the creation of a subculture or a counterculture which supports the knowledge of revolutions and resistance. Raising people's collective attention to their needs and desires and thereby a belief in their political power can lead to the formation of a subaltern hegemony<sup>(11)</sup> and bring about radical transformations. William Carrol and R. S. Ratner add that "[t]he system of alliances that constitutes an historic block requires that constituent groups reach a shared understanding of the sources and nature of injustice" (10). The capitalist regime<sup>(12)</sup> can mystify people's suffering, however this

is meant to be for a short time (Al-Barghouti lines 14-15). It could be a strategic defeat of the revolutionists so as to protect themselves from the threat of incarceration. It is also a meeting point which relates cultural resistance to the infrapolitical life of the subordinated and their undeclared resistance.

Though the poet manipulates traditional language in his address to the ruled, people and activists, he constitutes cultural resistance idioms, thus analogizing the socialist struggle to “a football match” (Al-Barghouti line 11). Cultural resistance of those players/ the ruled can be a cross-national phenomenon like the universal language of sport. Though the first game results indicate the temporary defeat of the first team of players, (the ruled and the activists), their reorganization can overturn the results and dismantle the old paradigm of cultural hegemony. Thus, manipulating sports idioms in the description of the minor political defeat of the activists realizes a transformative vision which resets the current hegemonic forces.

A constituent element of cultural resistance is the poet’s attack against the dogmas of culture, which is part of his tendency to support a counter-hegemonic action. Al-Barghouti becomes a cultural activist who enumerates aspects of civil society, above all culture, so as to denounce the archetypes of capitalist oppression. Kate Crehan’s review of the Gramscian texts reveals a number of the crucial points which assert the relationship between culture and revolution. Due to the contradictions, which some of the social conventions and traditional beliefs embody, culture can be a site for radical changes. It is the domain of political activism, therefore, Gramsci’s “concern was above all with cultural *change*; with, on the one hand, how what he saw as progressive cultural shifts could be facilitated and how, on the other, cultural forces he saw as reactionary could be overcome” (Crehan 71). The poem’s content reveals that part of the poet’s revolutionary project is to stress that culture should not be considered as those fundamental constants or regulations that are cumulatively inherited without change:

In the Arab world, live  
To tell a girl you love her  
And, if she loves you back  
She’ll slap you in the face (Al-Barghouti lines 16-19).

Since politics of cultural resistance involves rebellion, the poet criticizes the traditions and cultural values which people are obliged to follow it even against their will. According to the socio-cultural norms, which are the forces of oppression, it is unusual for a girl to express her love for a man. Therefore, in a satirical tone, the poet criticizes the condition that “[t]o tell a girl you love her /.../ she’ll slap you in the face” (Al-Barghouti lines 17-19). From a Gramscian perspective, culture should be a reflection of man’s distinguished identity which implies that man is the author of his norms. Crehan adds that culture can also be “defined as the work of ... a critical self-knowledge focused on understanding one’s relations to others,

including one's 'rights and obligations' in relation to them, and one's place in history" (76). Hence, cultural resistance is an agent of indirect political attack against civil society which is an ideological state apparatus of cultural hegemony.

The superstructure of civil and political society which constitutes state-hegemony, motivates a space for resistance as opposition. The poem stresses that culture, which is a constituent element of the superstructure, is a parameter of the socio-economic conditions of a given society. The commoners resent the cultural and political hegemony of a certain domineering class either through the role of civil society or through the power of political coercion. In these chosen lines of the poem, the poet expounds that civil society organizations maintain the psychology of class divisions and the unequal distribution of wealth and income among the contesting classes:

In the Arab world, live  
To curse the taste of water, falafel,  
The coffee-shop and its customers  
Your wife and her children  
The crowd and the heat in the bus  
The tricks of Satan  
Being broke (Al-Barghouti lines 20-26).

It is when the individual realizes that the capitalist economic structure oppresses him, resistance as opposition and revolution should begin. Norberto Bobbio comments that "[t]he superstructure is the moment of catharsis, that is the moment in which necessity is resolved into liberty, understood, in a Hegelian way as the awareness of necessity" (34). Consequently, Al-Barghouti believes that coercive economic measures drive an oppressed commoner "[t]o curse the taste of water, falafel,/ The coffee-shop and its customers" and his traditional marriage (lines 21-22). The poet implicitly states that by accepting aspects of state hegemony like tax payment, the individuals impose socio-economic pressures on themselves. By exposing the poor life conditions of an oppressed commoner who hates "[t]he crowd and the heat in the bus" (Al-Barghouti line 24) or his life in general, the poet sets a model of resistance as opposition. The latter takes the form of a collective protest against the capitalist economic system and civil society organizations which nurture social inequality and unequal power relations between the powerless masses and the new capitalists.

In spite of being thought of as a step to abolish capitalism, Jefferson criticizes resistance as opposition which stimulates a Manichean dualism because it helps but to reinforce the historical patterns of inequality. In other words, it does not realize "[l]iberation, as the 'nation,' signifies ... in different contexts liberation *from* foreign rule, capitalist exploitation,

economic and technological underdevelopment or poverty, and/ or 'primitive' modes of governance" (Jefferess 82). Though resistance as opposition still depicts the identity of the commoner as the oppressed, it can be an initial step towards a war of maneuver which can unravel the capitalist state and realize social transformation. This is because an awareness of the bureaucratic history and the socio-economic hierarchies in the capitalist system can bring about a capitalist liberation. Moreover, through a war of position, the masses can counter state control of civil society organizations and challenge the dogma which fosters class domination.

Poetic discourse has a polemics of cultural resistance and rebellion, discussing the infrapolitical life of the oppressed, and the constitution of a new historic block and a new socialism. Analyzing the public record of a mass consent to structural oppression hides the truth of the infrapolitical struggle of the oppressed against the hegemonic forces of civil society. Thus, infrapolitics reinforces the role of organized resistance which can subvert the politics of capitalism and foster the consistent political economy of socialism. There is a hidden political message of the constitution of a popular front which permits the transition to a socialist system. Thus, this new historic block promotes a mass alliance, a new political leadership (through the party) and socialist economy.

The counter-hegemonic discourse of the poem is intertwined with an analysis of anonymity, the power of the spontaneous collective action of popular protests and grumbling, thus constituting a framework of undeclared resistance. The public record depicts how people consent to their oppression. Civil society maintains a capitalist supremacy by propagating the capitalist norms and values which defend the economic political interests of the domineering class, while deepening the sorrows and sufferings of the othered subjects. However, the poet sets a hidden record of undeclared resistance which his sarcastic tone discloses. Anonymity also takes another form related to the power of a spontaneous demonstration. In the following lines, the researcher comments on the poetic representations of anonymity:

In the Arab world, live  
Like a hesitant tear in the eyes of the proud  
Pain exiles you  
Dignity holds you back (Al-Barghouti lines 35-38).

In order to realize a state of anonymity, and to disguise one's identity, one should be a member of a mass. Al-Barghouti's address to the you, which is indirectly understood to be the subordinated classes, can be an urge for a mass struggle. This is because the state authority cannot determine the accurate number of the protesters or recognize their leaders' identity. Scott stresses that a spontaneous assembly is a form of undeclared resistance because "[t]o be of a crowd or a mob was another way of being anonymous, whereas to be a member of a continuing organization was bound to expose



one to detection and victimization" (150). The idea of the infinite number of masses constitutes a main threat to state hegemony because it can form a culture of rebellion. This mass rush can evolve into a war of maneuver that has the power to change the domineering hegemony and the state's political system. Al-Barghouti's use of inclusive language in his address to "everyone," the "players," "the proud" and "you" (lines 7-36) can be understood as a call to form a new historic body which consists of the oppositional tendency, working class, democratic socialists and corporate activists. Altogether they should indulge in a war of position in order to maintain an intellectual transformation to a socialist labour culture in the civil society. This collective action can lead to historical transformation and develop a new cultural hegemony.

A second main feature of undeclared resistance is grumbling, which appears in the context of the poet's dialogue with the oppressed citizen. The "hesitant tear in the eyes of the proud" (Al-Barghouti line 36) is a metaphorical indication of grumbling which features as part of moaning and groaning. Though the oppressed citizen accepts state control, his tear, which refuses to dribble down, is a premise of a new born revolution. The metaphorical image indicates that he has a stubborn personality, therefore the tear acts as an alarm bell and a sign of a counter-hegemonic resistance against the oppression of the capitalist society.

The institutionalized oppression of civil society organizations motivates revolution and resistance as transformation. As a civil society organization, school shapes the collective identity of a nation/ a school boy. The educational system structures certain dogmas, culture and history, which the nation should follow and believe in so as to belong to the state. The lines illuminate that in a capitalist system, the socio-economic pressures hinder potential social relationships and thus, they do not catalyze a collective action so as to face state oppression:

In the Arab world, live  
Like a school boy  
Who has to salute the flag in the school yard every morning  
While longing for the street outside (Al-Barghouti lines 31-34).

Being conscious of this tragic situation, a school boy aspires to freedom from surveillance capitalism, revolution and social transformation. By having "to salute the flag in the school yard every morning," this school boy is socialized to accept state oppression (Al-Barghouti line 33). Therefore, this boy, who should develop a capitalist collective identity, is "longing for the street outside" (Al-Barghouti line 34). Gramsci drives people to be active participants in the creation of history and to change the reality of the dehumanizing drudgery of the subaltern. Poetic discourses stress that "every revolution has been preceded by an intense labour of criticism, by the

diffusion of culture ... amongst masses of men who are at first resistant, and think only of solving their own immediate economic and political problems for themselves” (Crehan 75).

The poet’s journey criticizing structural oppression ends with a counter-hegemonic discourse which involves resistance as transformation. In this poetic milieu, the latter “requires not only the transformation of material and political structures (i.e, capitalism and colonial governance) but also the transformation of the values, attitudes, and perceptions of those who act within those structures” (Jefferess 130). Resistance as transformation permits social mobility, equal distribution of wealth and equal power relations, thus eliminating all the binary oppositions between the individual capitalists and the masses. Bobbio points out that freedom from capitalism will be imminently realized because at the moment when hegemony of the domineering class and civil society becomes unprecedented, the demise of the other lower classes, class system and the state with its political society will be eventual. This break with capitalism is the motif which the concluding lines revolve around:

In the Arab world, live  
Watching the time  
Lest you miss the news on TV

Only to see  
How people  
In the Arab world, die. (Al-Barghouti lines 39-44).

Criticizing inequality in wealth and income, which the capitalist state fosters, this critical situation posits a transition to resistance as transformation. The last line of the poem is a scream attacking the social disparity and the other power inequalities which are the cause of “[h]ow people/ In the Arab World, die” (Al-Barghouti lines 43-44). The poet reverses the verb in the poetic refrain so as to sum up the motif of the poem. The Arab citizen is doomed to death or life-in-death, suffering from accumulated distress and troubled emotional conditions which pertain to social injustice, suppression forms, and cultural and political hegemony in his capitalist country. Death is most likely the end if he undergoes an illegal immigrant experience. The impoverished living conditions necessitate a transition and transformation from the capitalist system into a socialist one. It is a humanistic call to ensure a dignified life for all the Arab citizens and to build a culture of human rights.

### **Conclusion:**

In an analysis of Al-Barghouti’s “In Jerusalem” and “In the Arab World, Live” the researcher outlines condensed perceptions of cultural and undeclared resistance, resistance arts, and resistance as opposition and transformation. Advocating Duncombe’s main vision of cultural resistance as a form of political activism, the study expounds it as a mode of

postcolonial rewriting which manifests decolonial liberation and as an infrapolitical action against the capitalist hegemonic strategy and the historic block of individual capitalists. Neither cultural resistance nor Jefferess's model of resistance as opposition manifests a vision of political radicalism. In Al-Barghouti's two poems, the bond between cultural resistance and deauthorization contextualizes a poetic analysis of Gramscian paradigm of Marxist political thinking and the two notions of the war of position/ war of maneuver. The researcher elucidates that in the first poem, the main indirect political message of cultural resistance is a change of the powerless position of the Palestinians who should be powerful in defending their right of return as the original citizens. Similarly, in the second poem, the poet acts as a cultural activist who has a belief in the power of the masses to initiate a transformative revolution which can maintain radical social justice. The researcher gives some poetic insights about the two models of undeclared resistance and resistance as opposition.

Resistance as opposition is a political action from an economic perspective. Therefore, this model of resistance carries on the rebellious beats of revolution against the Israeli Welfare State, cultural hegemony and the capitalist bureaucracy of the modern Arab state. The tactics of the war of position/ war of maneuver explains this mode of resistance which attacks the othered socio-economic status of the Palestinian and the financial pressures which the Arab citizen suffers from. What belittles the importance of resistance as opposition is that restating the Israeli capitalist colonial assumptions which enforce the inferiority of the Palestinian citizens, and the description of the oppressed life conditions of an Arab citizen help to further increase the colonial economic domination and social subordination. As for undeclared resistance, James Scott believes that there are two readings of any given text; one of its public record which respects the authoritative standards and the second of its hidden record which involves symbolic language codifying resistance. Therefore, in order to understand the connotations of undeclared resistance there should be an awareness of strategies of prudential concealment in the political discourse (i.e, grumbling and anonymity). In the two poems of this resistance study, what pertains to anonymity is the idea of the indefinite number of the Palestinian worshipers and the angry crowds whose spontaneous gatherings support and can be further escalated into organized resistance.

Charles Tripp believes that resistance art has an ability to encourage the rebellious spirit, therefore it flourishes in the midst of revolutions and resistance movements. Commenting on the role of resistance arts, Tripp stresses that "the very fact of their expression can both outline the contours of resistance and unsettle the arrogant complacency of established power"

(308). Protest art supports cultural resistance, therefore it paves the way for resistance as transformation. Hence, in the first poem of this study the arts of pictography and poster painting solidify the resurgent Palestinian national consciousness, depict beauty as resistance and sustain the national liberation struggle. As for the second poem, political painting has the power to mobilize a counter-hegemonic block against state capitalism and social stratification.

David Jefferess advocates a model of resistance as transformation which defends the policies of non-discrimination and equality. Thus, it involves a vision of reconciliation, supporting the idea of national healing and the attempt to substitute the discourse of social injustice and colonial exclusion by an alternative one which establishes human connections and enhances liberty and social welfare. In Al-Barghouti's "In Jerusalem," the idea of ethnic dialogue and inclusion refutes colonial hierarchies and the marginalization of the Arab Israelis and advocates the call for land liberation. In the second poem, the metaphorical depiction of the Arab citizen who is doomed to live in death sets the guidelines for resistance as transformation and builds a culture of rebellion. In order to support her poetic analysis of resistance, the researcher consults the views of a number of scholars in various academic disciplines, such as Daniel Egan, Zeev Rosenhek, Hagai Katz and Kate Crehan. All the diverse modes of resistance which are poetically analyzed in this study aspire to a future of a decolonial transformation of Palestine and the transfer of power to the new historic block of opposition activists and oppressed masses.

## المستخلص

### «الشعر وسياسات المقاومة والثورة: الطريق إلى شمولية التحول في قصيدتي "في القدس" و"في العالم العربي، تعيش" للشاعر تميم البرغوثي»

#### نيفين ضياء الدين

يُعدّ هذا البحث دراسة تكاملية بين الشعر ومجال النضال السياسي؛ حيث يتناول بالدراسة والتحليل والنقد مفهوم المقاومة في قصيدتين للشاعر "تميم البرغوثي". وركزت الباحثة على دراسة خمسة أنواع رئيسية لمفهوم المقاومة، وهي المقاومة الثقافية، ومقاومة الاحتجاج والمقاومة المستترة، والفن كمقاومة، وصولاً إلى شمولية نوع التحول كمقاومة. كما قامت الباحثة بدراسة آراء أربعة من الباحثين، وهم ستيفين دانكومب وجيمز سكوت وتشارلز تريب وديفيد جيفرسون، ومن ثمّ دمجها والتعقيب عليها في إطار تحليل نقدي للقصيدتين. ففي القصيدة الأولى، كان لتجربة الاستعمار الإسرائيلي وتهميش الهوية العربية والفلسطينية وسياستي الاستيطان وتهجير الفلسطينيين عظيم الأثر في خلق تجربة شعرية تزخر بمكونات ثورية وبروح المقاومة على تعدد أنواعها السالفة الذكر؛ ولذلك فقد دعى الشاعر لاسيما في نهاية القصيدة، إلى ضرورة تبني سياسة تدعم مفهوم التحول اللااستعماري كنوع شمولي للمقاومة، والذي يضمن تحقيق المساواة الإنسانية بين الفلسطينيين والإسرائيليين ويدعم حرية الشعب الفلسطيني كحق تكفله العدالة والإنسانية ويدفع عنهم سياسة التهميش والاضطهاد؛ حيث تتم معاملتهم داخل دولة إسرائيل كمواطنين مهمشين أو كعرب إسرائيليين. وفي القصيدة الثانية قامت الباحثة بدمج وتحليل الفكر الثوري للناقد الماركسي أنطونيو جرامشي في إطار مفهوم المقاومة بأنواعها الخمسة. وخلصت الباحثة إلى أن استعراض الشاعر لمواقف حياتية تحمل في طياتها مفهوم القهر سيؤدي حتماً إلى ثورة إصلاح راديكالي، والبحث مزوّد بأراء العديد من الباحثين من مختلف المجالات وذلك لتدعيم آراء الباحثة النقدية والأدبية.

- (1) For more information about the Separation Wall and systems of Israeli colonial surveillance which have similarity with those of South Africa, the reader can review Jon Soske and Sean Jacobs' *Apartheid Israel: The Politics of an Analogy*. Haymarket Books, 2015.
- (2) For further information about Jewish rootlessness, the reader can review Steven Weitzman's *The Origin of the Jews: The Quest for Roots in a Rootless Age*. Princeton University press, 2017.
- (3) For more information about the nature of military maneuver, the reader can review Daniel Egan's *The Dialectic of Position and Maneuver: Understanding Gramsci's Military Metaphor*. Brill, 2016.
- (4) For a further reading about the history of the nonviolent popular resistance in Palestine, see Mazin B. Qumsiyeh's *Popular Resistance in Palestine: A History of Hope and Empowerment*. Pluto Press, 2010.
- (5) For further information about Israel's colonial control of the Palestinian economy, see Leila Farsakh's "The Political Economy of Israel; Occupation: What is Colonial about it?". *The Electronic Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 2, no. 8, Spring 2008, pp.

- 41-58, <https://www.ism-italia.org/wp-content/uploads/EJOMES2008Spring-The-Political-Economy>. Accessed 15 January 2019, and Linda Tabar's *Critical Readings of Development Under Colonialism: Towards a Political Economy for liberation in the Occupied Palestinian Territories*. Center for Development Studies, 2015. Academia, [https://www.academia.edu/24323539/Critical/Readings\\_of\\_Development\\_Under\\_Occupation](https://www.academia.edu/24323539/Critical/Readings_of_Development_Under_Occupation). Accessed 25 December 2018.
- (6) One of the interesting books which discusses the life blockage of the Palestinians in the West Bank due to an uprising in the establishment of the Israeli settlements is Ussama Makdisi's *Faith Misplaced: The Broken Promise of U.S. – Arab Relations: 1820-2001*. PublicAffairs, 2010.
- (7) For further information about this concept and the Zionist rule over Palestine the reader can review Amal Jamal's "Reframing Arab Political Thought in Israel: Azmi Bishara and Beyond". *Arab Minority Nationalism in Israel: The Politics of Indigeneity*. Routledge Studies on the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 2011.
- (8) For further information about surveillance of Palestinians, see Ronit Lentin's "Race and Surveillance in the Settler Colony: The Case of Israeli Rule Over Palestine". *Palgrave Communications*, vol. 3, July 2017, pp. 1-10, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318202246\\_Race\\_and\\_surveillance\\_in\\_the\\_settler\\_colony](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318202246_Race_and_surveillance_in_the_settler_colony). Accessed 3 February 2019.
- (9) This theatre poster is one of *The Liberation Graphics Collection of Palestine Posters*. For further information, visit the website <[palestineposterproject.org](http://palestineposterproject.org)>.
- (10) For further information about ethical socialism and socialist humanism, see Simon Clarke's "Socialist Humanism and the Critique of Economism". *HWJ*, vol. 8, 1979, pp. 138-56, [https://homepages.warwick.ac.uk/~syrbe/pubs/Socialist\\_Humanism.pdf](https://homepages.warwick.ac.uk/~syrbe/pubs/Socialist_Humanism.pdf). Accessed 10 January 2019, and E. Wray-Bliss and M. Parker's "Marxism, Capitalism and Ethics". *Ethics and Organization*. Edited by M. Parker, Sage, 1998. Researchgate, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305348724\\_Marxism\\_Capitalism\\_and\\_Ethics](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305348724_Marxism_Capitalism_and_Ethics). Accessed 20 January 2019.
- (11) For further information about counter-hegemony or subaltern hegemony, see Jean-Pierre Reed's "Theorist of Subaltern Subjectivity: Antonio Gramsci, Popular Beliefs, Political Passion, and Reciprocal Learning". *Critical Sociology*, vol. 39, no. 4, 2012, pp. 561-591, <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0896920512437391>. Accessed 5 January 2019.
- (12) For further information about the relation between capitalism and the mystification of people's conditions, see James Birx's *21<sup>st</sup> Century Anthropology: A Reference Handbook*. Sage Publications, Inc., 2010. SAGE. <https://SK.Sagepub.com/reference/21stcenturyanthro/n1.xml>. Accessed 18 January 2019.

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