

COUNTER CULTURE AND THE DISCOURSE OF CULTURAL RESISTANCE IN ARAB POETIC WRITINGS; TAMIM AL-BARGHOUTI AS A CULTURAL CASE STUDY

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Abstract:

Language represents a cultural weapon that creative writers consciously use to shape their stance and express their perspective toward the individual's surrounding social reality. There is no life without language, just as there is no revolution without both material and linguistic arms. In this sense, the latter constitutes a cultural theme and a civilizational act adopted by many different intellectuals and writers to portray their positions regarding different social conditions, issues, and circumstances. Among the most significant human causes that have occupied both creative and critical spheres is the Palestinian issue, whose representations were distributed across both reality and writing. Thus, the rhetoric of writing has formed a cultural mode wielded by practitioners of cultural resistance to represent the elements of civilizational conflict between both the identity of the *Self* and the alterity of the *Other*. This conflict ignited the spark of creativity and the flash of resistance in the throats and pens of poets who embraced the path of revolution and resistance to weave various ideas that reject the presence of the oppressive *Other*. Additionally, their words became cultural landmines that called for the unveiling of humiliation and the necessity of struggle to reclaim the lost identity amidst the rubble of occupation and invaders. Literary history is replete with the achievements of the Palestinian poet Tamim al-Barghouti, who demonstrated remarkable creativity and mastery in composing poetic works that mirror Arab reality and its severe conditions. Accordingly, his poetry emerges as an outpouring of pent-up emotions, rich with both significations and cognitive momentum, that carry the discourse of cultural resistance and advocate for the cultivation of civilizational awareness regarding the reality of Arab life.

Keywords: Discourse, Self and Other, Poetics, Culture, Theory of Cultural Resistance, Tamim al-Barghouti.

Introduction

Palestine is considered as the torch of history, the cradle of prophets and messengers, and the city elevated by heroes' history and martyrs' blood. However, the time's wheel has changed due to historical and political factors and circumstances that plunged this city into the abyss of revolution and war. Today, Palestine stands defiled by the many faces of occupation and stained by the values of an oppressive *Other* that usurps the identity of Arab and Islam. Also, it is no longer adorned with the values of freedom and justice, as it once was; rather it has become a wounded

bird whose wings were shattered by ruthless occupier's gunfire, an occupier who violated the sanctity of Jerusalem and tampered with its sublime teachings and values in a desire to erase the identity of the Arab *Self*. In this sense, movements of liberation and revolution emerged to resist this erasure, reaffirm Arab-Islamic values, and to strike forcefully against the occupier (*Other*)'s attempts to dominate the Arab space with its ideological, cultural, and identity-based values. Thus, the features of revolution and resistance diversified and varied: while some chose weapons as a slogan for bloody war to defend their national identity, others selected the cultural word as a discourse of resistance to ignite the revolution spark and encourage people to rise up for their homeland's sake. However, their words became a cultural weapon that was calling to awaken minds from the prisons of fear and to rise up to reclaim national sovereignty and support the Palestinian issue through struggle and revolution against the usurping occupier. Thus, the word became the voice of the intellectual critic of conditions, that is committed to promote the principle of cultural and social awareness among social groups, and to support the idea of struggle and war through either arms or the act of writing, as a response to the *Other*'s attempts to strip the *Self* of its identity and historical roots. Consequently, the Palestinian case assumed a civilizational and cultural approach that captivated various creative writers across different prose and poetic arts. Their writings turned towards addressing and depicting the Palestinian Arab reality and the subsequent events that thrust society into the chaos of injustice, poverty, and death. Accordingly, this case had been evolved into a global issue over which the positions and discourses of nations and states differed. However, the Arab cultural reality and consciousness shed its garments of fear and attempted to articulate this social issue that burdened the Palestinian people in all aspects. As a result, various creative works (novels, short stories, theater, cinema, music, and poetry) were imbued with the revolution's spirit and the necessity of defending the Palestinian issue as an Arab case and a historical, Islamic, and cultural given representing the entire Arab nation.

In particular, contemporary Arabic poetry has formed a vital cultural tributary in which the features of the Palestinian case were vividly present. It has received ample share of creative poetic composition that followed the approach of descriptive rhetoric and figurative eloquence of expression to convey the case as far as possible. Such poetry captivated the minds and pens of poets across different homelands and nationalities, where each poet excelled in delineating and reinforcing a hostile cultural stance towards the occupying enemy of heroes' and martyrs' lands. Such conditions allowed for the birth of numerous evocative poems expressing the bitterness of Palestinian reality, where these writings blended aesthetic eloquence with extended artistic imagination, passing through symbolic content and its stark significations that carry the discourse of rebellion and revolution against the injustice occupation. Thus, the voices and the poems of revolution and resistance diversified, through bearing the slogans of liberation and self-sacrifice to raise the banner of the Palestinian case, and through writing the discourse of the *Other* who claims centrality and self-love far from the margins.

However, awareness of the issue of national identity and devotion for sacrificial patriotism harnessed the voices of creativity to embody their stance rejecting the Western-centered discourse and calling for the necessity of struggle to achieve freedom and raise the Arab banner in the sky of justice and liberty. In this sense, many poetic attempts emerged in the Arab world to describe the discourse of revolution and rebellion against the behaviors and actions of the occupying enemy. Among these voices, the contemporary Arabic poetry presents the works of the Palestinian refugee poet Tamim al-Barghouti, who is considered as a prominent figure in the sky of cultural resistance due to his uncompromising positions which expedited his deprivation from his homeland. Thus,

his pen became a raging weapon from which the features of revolutionary discourse, that reject the submission of the Arab *Self* to the identity of the Western *Other*, scattered. In addition, his poems came as a hail of cultural bombs and missiles of struggle that call for the removal of the veil of silence and rise towards freedom to attain the independence of the Arab *Self*.

Among his messages encoded and saturated with meanings of revolution and struggle, Al-Barghouti wove a network of linguistic relations formed by a rhetorical, descriptive, and aesthetic pattern that reflects the poet's creative ability in harnessing his pen, charged with the spirits of revolution and identity-based resistance. Thus, he constitutes a model of the intellectual poet critic who criticizes the identity of the usurping *Other*, through rejecting any attempts to establish a civilizational dialogue between the usurped Arab *Self* and the occupying enemy on a land that is.

Based on the aforementioned, this research paper seeks to conduct an analytical and critical examination of the poetry of Tamim al-Barghouti, as an attempt to understand the extent to which the resistance discourse was present in his poetry, which is saturated with cultural symbols and semantic signifiers. The study was grounded in a central research question: How has the discourse of cultural resistance been manifested in the poetry of Tamim al-Barghouti? From this central question, other several sub-questions arise, the most important of which are:

What is meant by the cultural resistance theory?

How has the cultural experience articulated in Tamim al-Barghouti's poetry?

What are the artistic and technical features of the discourse of cultural resistance in his poetry?

These questions, among others, will be addressed through the methodological framework of cultural criticism, with the aim of examining selected cultural patterns and their role in shaping and crystallizing a culture of resistance within the linguistic system, while also unveiling the poetic discourse of Al-Barghouti's works and elucidating the particularity of cultural consciousness embedded in his poetry.

1/ Cultural Resistance Theory and the Consciousness of Counter-Writing

The authority of revolution and war has shifted from the realm of the physical weapon toward the act of speech and the rhetorical word, loaded with stances of hatred and cultural rebellion against the existence of the *Other*. Thus, the word has become akin to a cultural bullet that strikes the minds of usurpers and occupiers, and reveals the schemes of their unjust actions that have wounded the hearts of people across various spheres. Consequently, rhetorical language has become a cultural product that reflects the outcry of intellectuals, and their call for the removal of the dust of misery and hardship from the surrounding reality of the individual. Observing the state of the Arab environment, one encounters clear markers of revolutionary and resistant discourse present in numerous creative works, both in poetry and prose. In this context, the Palestinian case had received a substantial share of artistic production that depicts Palestinian reality with an aesthetic finesse, reflecting the creative writer's ability to transmit encoded messages to society. Accordingly, no creative work exists without an ideological context and civilizational stance, which is embedded in its discourse, often filled with resentment and opposition to the occupying enemy. Furthermore, the Palestinian issue has preoccupied both global and Arab opinions, which surfaced within the broader currents of revolution and human liberation sought by Palestinian society. This facilitated the emergence of a cultural revolution that adopted the act of speech and resistance discourse as a cultural pathway to foster awareness and generate discourses of identity and liberation from the domination of the occupying *Other*. Accordingly, readers and observers of Palestinian life witness the sorrow, the death, and the killing of innocents, like women, men, and

children, an alarm that has ignited the fire of cultural resistance to expose the degraded conditions within Palestinian society.

In addition, the Arab poets represent one of the prominent cultural figures who armed themselves with a discourse of rebellion and resistance to elevate the voice of Palestinian freedom. Such poets became an exemplar of the conscious intellectual, ones who understand the different circumstances and the conditions surrounding humanity. Also, they transformed the word into a cultural act and mode opposing the occupying *Other*, and calling for the liberation of identity from the impurities of Western occupation. Thus, language became a cultural tool to embody the various slogans of liberation and the struggle against the bridges of occupation, which was not only confined to the Palestinian reality but had also preceded it in the Algerian case and the subsequent events and immense sacrifices made for the dawn of freedom to emerge. In this context, the pens of cultural resistance were expressed across many literary genres, by figures like: Emir Abdelkader and Hamdan Khoja, among others, who followed the path of “word as weapon” to reinforce the principle of the Algerian revolution and the war aimed at attaining the banner of independence. Thus, they formed a model of resistant cultural consciousness against the authority of the oppressive *Other*, who seeks to suppress the spaces of liberation and struggleⁱ. Similarly, in Palestine, where freedom-seeking eyes yearn and dream of the sunrise of liberating struggle, a burden that has weighed heavily on Palestinian reality. Thus, language became a cultural ally of the revolution by crystallizing a resistant discourse towards the oppressive occupier. After all, freedom is only seized through revolutionary force and the spirit of resistance that resonates in the Palestinians’ minds. This path of resistance was chosen by the poets to enhance cultural awareness of the plight of the Palestinian people, whose land was stolen and whose traditions and parts of their identity were partially lost. Consequently, their poetry came laden with texts of cultural resistance and responses to the *Other’s writings* that claim the land’s identity, thereby rejecting the presence of the *Other’s* authority within the identity framework of the Arab environment.

Furthermore, Cultural resistance is a civilizational product associated with post-colonial literature and its adoption of a resistant discourse that aimed at rejecting the *Other* as a cultural icon; and sought to erase the *Other’s* authority and presence within the social sphere it aspires to attain. In this sense, the writings of the Palestinian-American critic and thinker Edward Wadie Said about the cultural resistance act is most pertinent, in which he developed a distinct theory that elevates the concept to address reality, provided that it is connected to a conscious, critically-minded intellectual. Edward Said represents the critical intellectual who engages with the Palestinian case reality, through expressing his rejection of the occupying Western authority over Jerusalem, a city sacred and pulsing with the veins of Islamic history. His writings emerged as a fierce and vigorous campaign against the injustice and oppression suffered by the Palestinian people. His revolutionary and critical pen challenged Western authority and its egregious actions in the Arab-Palestinian reality. Thus, he elevated this case into a matter of identity and justice that should not be diminished or minimized, nor reduced to a mere refugee issue, as suggested by some Western nations and states whose discourses welcomed the idea of usurping Palestine in pursuit of their cultural and civilizational interests. Thus, Edward Said’s *The Question of Palestine* (1979), ignited a potent critique within Western discourse, by compelling it to heed the discourse of the East in an attempt to read it beyond the principles of marginalization, absence, and exclusion power. This, thereby, mobilized the cultural resistance act to reject the presence of the occupying *Other* in the usurped lands of Palestineⁱⁱ.

Moreover, Edward Said emphasized that cultural resistance deeply requires an intellectual conscious of the cultural and social reality to facilitate the process of responding to the *Other's* discourses, which are laden with hatred and cultural marginalization. The exceptional intellectual is the one who rejects the erasure of the authority of the Arab *Self*, while engages with and challenges the Western discourse without being constrained by the dominance of Western culture, which has stripped the East of the garments of development and civilization, through portraying it in images of backwardness and civilizational marginalization across all fields. In this regard, the cultural resistance discourse precisely rejects cultural barriers, and seeks to dismantle the authority of the arrogant, central self, entrenched within the walls of civilization and development. In essence, Edward Said critiqued Western authority itself and did not believe in its ideologically explosive project, which inflated with the landmines and cultural bombs that seek to dismantle Arab identity. Thus, Said advocated for the necessity of embodying a spirit of rejection and resistance towards any discourse that creates chaos and negates the value of the *Other*ⁱⁱⁱ. In the same vein, Edward Said emphasizes the necessity of that intellectuals must be equipped with both historical and cognitive awareness to embody their position, defend their identity, and protect their civilizational particularity. For there is no life without an identity framework, no identity without history, and no society without history. This means the intellectuals' role lies in tracking and reading Western discourse, and trying to respond to it using the same approach and methods in order to convey the message and prove the cultural capability of the oppressed *Self*, through defending its civilizational roots away from the discourses of partisanship and ideological marginalization that have dominated various cultural narratives. Consequently, it is about embodying the stance of cultural presence through the act of writing that responds to the pattern of colonial-imperial writing^{iv}. Thus, it embodies the cultural resistance theory, a role assumed by knowledgeable and historically aware intellectuals, whose works are subjective attempts that appeal to simple minds, while criticizing reality, and being aware of its weaknesses and strengths. The ones who never cease to wield their pen in criticism and satire of the reality bitterness and the sighs of pain that particularly haunt Arab peoples, due to setbacks and colonial campaigns that continue to bleed the Arab spirit day after day. Through his theory, Said sought to present a modern vision for the cultural resistance act, which is not limited to criticizing the *Other* but extends to criticizing and evaluating the *Self* in conditions of oppression, injustice and identity loss perpetrated by the hands of authority. This constitutes a qualitative shift in the theme of the modern intellectual according to Edward Said, who did not believe in the cultural barriers and bridges that hide behind the veil of religious dogma and ideological frameworks. Instead, it is necessary to read the *Other* and respond to him through a written framework that affirms one's own identity and negates the idea of marginalization drawn by the Western imagination towards the East.

According to Edward Said, the cultural resistance theory aims to construct a critical cultural system, armed with a critical consciousness, that rejects colonial discourses and identity-based conflicts, because culture is considered as an existential human construct that negates the model of a single, monolithic culture, and it believes in the principle of human intercultural exchange to achieve dialogue and communication between civilizations. Any attempt to exclude the *Other* is considered a violation and a marginalization of the *Other*, regardless of their nationality or identity. This is what extremist culture does, it refuses the principle of dialogue and seeks to impose its policies coercively and forcibly, something was rejected by Edward Said in the formation of his critical project that stands against all forms of marginalization, dependency, erasure, and other labels created by Western discourse towards the marginalized East^v. In this context, Edward Said's

theory of cultural resistance is founded on understanding and analyzing Western discourse and combating it using the same methods and approaches employed by the intellectual who critiques prevailing conditions. Therefore, cultural resistance is defined by two aspects: the first involves reclaiming and importing the occupied land from the oppressive enemy, while the second is linked to ideological resistance and the history of a society, free from cultural barriers, and acknowledging its cultural and social existence beyond formulas of marginalization and absence that loom over suppressed or forgotten history^{vi}. In this regard, the real intellectual is the one who is armed with intellectual and historical awareness of their identity and is knowledgeable about the achievements of Western discourse in all its origins and history, which equips them to shape their own cultural discourse and raise the banner of the Arab *Self*, and challenge the existence of an extremist culture that holds a hostile view towards Eastern reality. Accordingly, Edward Said rejects the centralized discourse and calls for writing about the identity of the marginalized *Self*, thereby highlighting the role of the intellectual in defining their case and demonstrating their commitment to their homeland, and unraveling the threads of colonial discourse that seeks to sever the mind of the East from the train of cultural dialogue.^{vii}

Additionally, cultural resistance stands as a civilizational proof through which the intellectual confronts the central *Other's* writings, and attempts to counter them by disseminating his own principles and values, which have been distorted by the Western mind. According to Mohammed Arkoun, cultural resistance is not limited to war and weapon, but it is founded on following a path divergent from dominant thought, a path built on the principle of selectively accepting and rejecting various customs, traditions, and behaviors that contradict with *Self*-identity. Despite Arkoun's critical stance towards both the West and Islam, and his endeavor to formulate a new consciousness that transcends both Western and Islamic thought, the concept of cultural resistance in his view is defined by criticizing authority and preventing policies of marginalization and exclusion to erase the presence of the *Self*^{viii}. This confirms Arkoun's sophisticated grasp of cultural analysis and his deep understanding of the cultural resistance philosophy which produces a discursive consciousness that engage with the Western achievements, while rejecting their aggressive and resentful forms of authority over the East.

Analyzing the image of Arab reality critically, one finds the presence of the cultural resistance act in many humanitarian issues experienced by the Arab people. Doubtlessly, the Palestinian case stands as a prime example, which is considered as a cultural model that has captivated the pens of creative writers in general and poets in particular. This is due to their awareness of the circumstances of the Palestinian people and the calamities of the occupation they have endured, that has tormented and violated Palestinian lives. This reality has compelled a turn towards creative writing to confront Western discourse and respond to it by employing various methods and techniques aimed at reinforcing the principle of cultural awareness and strengthening the people's connection to their identity, which has been distorted by the rituals of the occupying *Other*. Thus, contemporary poets have chosen the act of expression as a tool to resist colonial culture and unravel the threads of the injustice and oppression inflicted upon the Palestinian people, who have been left alone in the abyss of death that stalks them from all sides. Accordingly, Tamim Al-Barghouti stands as one of the prominent poets in the literary scene, whose poetry imbued with cultural consciousness towards his homeland, where the occupation has sown corruption and ruin. His poetic compositions carry cultural significations that call for rebellion and struggle to achieve the freedom of the Arab *Self* and to revive Arab history, which is rich in heroism and victories that represent the identity of the oppressed Arab *Self*.

2/ The Dialectic of Self and Other in the Poetry of Tamim Al-Barghouti

Tamim Al-Barghouti's poetic experience is classified among the most prominent trajectories of contemporary Arabic poetry concerned with identity and resistance issues, as they constitute both an aesthetic and epistemological framework through which the world is perceived. In his poetry, cultural resistance intersects with the dialectic of *Self* and *Other*, that transform the poem into a symbolic arena of conflict where the Arab and Palestinian *Self* is reconstituted in confrontation with forces of exclusion and domination. In this regard, any discussion of the *Other* inevitably leads to an inquiry into the nature of the relationship between *Self* and *Other*, since the discovery of *Self* leads to defining the boundaries of this relationship across multiple domains, including the political, social, civilizational, and cultural. This relationship, which emerges from the centrality of the *Self*, is a primary element in the movement of thought and culture in general. One of its features is that it does not exist all at once, but rather is formed through personal growth and precisely through the struggles of life^{ix}. It is also characterized by its dialectical and hypothetical nature: the *Self* may be constructed from the perspective of the *Other*, or it may be erased at the *Other's* expense. Furthermore, it is based on dichotomies or relations of oppositions, such as life and death, good and evil, and injustice and justice.

Additionally, in Al-Barghouti's work, the *Self* is not constituted as an isolated individual identity, but frequently merges with the collective *Self*, as an embodiment of the artist's comprehensive vision of his relationship with the world^x. It merges into the Palestinian *self* to collectively portray the identity of the Palestinian and Arab people. In this context, the poet speaks with the voice of the individual who bears the burden of the community, by transforming this poetic voice from limited self-expression into a discourse of consciousness and resistance. Thus, the *Self* symbolizes the exiled, the displaced, the oppressed, and simultaneously the resistant individual. It thereby expresses a historical, conscious *Self* shaped under occupation, injustice, and betrayal, which over time had become an active and critical voice within a context of recurring crises. Moreover, the presence of the *Self* in Tamim Al-Barghouti's writings opens diverse interpretations that render it a complex and multidimensional entity that affirms suffering and anxiety. This anxious *Self* emerges on the borders of identity and exile, hope and despair, action and impotence. Accordingly, this psychological state is the result of a branched political and historical awareness, which created a complex conflict spanning decades and turned the poem into a space of tension, questioning, and searching. Thus, this study serves as a reference to track: the manifestations of the anxious self in Al-Barghouti's poetry, and the analysis of its semantic and aesthetic structure through poetic excerpts that reveal the mechanisms of this complex anxiety within the poetic text. Furthermore, the anxious *Self* in Tamim Al-Barghouti's work reveals an unstable subject, that is aware of the scale of existing global conflicts, and comprehends the extent of the imbalances between beings, their environment, and their history. Consequently, it moves to interrogate this reality it inhabits, by making questions its central axis and finding no path to stability or rest. Thus, this makes the anxiety in the poem a structural element which is inseparable from the poetic vision itself. This feeling also becomes an epistemological stance rooted in a deep awareness of a closed political horizon, repeated defeats, and multiple crises. Therefore, the poet's vision becomes a witness to the crisis of tension occurring in his era; he does not only describe the repercussions of the tragedy, but also contribute to expose its mechanisms, unmask its executors, and questions its premises. This is evident in the following lines:

I am the light-heavy probability
I, whenever God dims my light, ask you to see me more

Bring your binoculars and be ready

I am the exploited hope that always asks for the impossible.^{xi}

The poet opens this passage by repeating the first-person pronoun “I”. This pronoun does not merely serve a referential function, but forcefully asserts the presence of the *Self* within the text, which reflects an existential and epistemological anxiety open to doubt and oscillation. Through such repetition, the poet sought to search for completion, and aspired to ascend to the formation of a perfect and permanent image. He relies on exploiting the semantic paradox between opposites: “the light-heavy probability”, to highlight the position of existential fragility in which the bearer of the cause struggles, who appears as an entity suspended between weakness and waiting, hope and impotence, deprived in the battle of confrontation using tools of direct power, and threatened with fading in the absence of recognition. Yet, this fragility does not exempt it from the weight of responsibility placed upon it; rather, it doubles the burdens it carries, through driving it to confront this *Other* to expose its tricks and reveal to the world the falsity of its superiority. Thus, a *Self* is formed in the poem that suffers a state of permanent tension that combines apparent realistic impotence with the historical-ethical burden that increases its determination to resist despite its persistent anxiety and crisis. In his line, “I, whenever God dims my light, ask you to see me more,”^{xii} the anxiety shifts from internal state to a tense relationship with the *Other*. When divine light, embodied in hope and justice, fades within the speaker, this *Self* resorts to imploring others for recognition and support. On one hand, these feelings reflect the absence of absolute support, and on the other, the fragile *Self*'s need for human solidarity. This acknowledgment of the anxious *Self* affirms the existence and agency of the *Self*, and bears witness to its suffering under the injustice and harm inflicted upon it, thereby shifts the relationship towards another dimension of a broader form of human and ethical anxiety.

Furthermore, the poet intensifies the anxiety by directing a command to others: “Bring your binoculars and be ready,” through solidifying a principle of transformation from a stage of complaint and lamentation to a stage of challenge. Here, he summons attention to investigate further the nature of the marginalized *Self*, whose value has diminished due to the schemes of the Western or Zionist *Other*. The vision changes from affirming the *Self* to an act of cultural resistance, by making this resistant anxious *Self* a site of scrutiny and investigation where the *Other* strives to expend its cognitive, intellectual, and ethical capacities to discover it.

In addition, he concludes the passage by reaching the peak of escalating anxiety when he relies on hope: “I am the exploited hope that always asks for the impossible.” However, this is an incomplete hope that does not suggest an energy for liberation from the *Other*, it remains an exploited and depleted existence, that is imposed upon others to cling to it without achieving what they aim for. Constricted and suffocated by a closed and tragic reality, this hope is always coupled with demanding the impossible. Thus, this *Self* has no choice but to cling to what it sees as impossible, through transforming from an individual element oscillating between extinction and bewilderment into a human symbol representing the community. It, thereby, embodies an existential crisis in an environment that demands the defeated party to achieve the unachievable, to perform the miraculous, and to bear the realization of the impossible in a destitute reality. Furthermore, The *Other* in Al-Barghouti's poetry constitutes a structural axis that cannot be separated from the formation of the poetic *Self* and its worldview. The *Self* is only defined through its problematic and open relationship with the *Other*. In this poetry, the *Other* is not reduced to the image of a direct enemy or political opponent in a party or institution, but it becomes a complex

concept where political, cultural, historical, and psychological dimensions intertwine, in a way that turns the poem into a space for conflict between existence and negation, identity and effacement.

Moreover, in many of Al-Barghouti's texts, the *Other* appears as a hegemonic force that possesses both material and symbolic tools of oppression because it is the occupier that confiscates land, directs its authority to monopolize decision-making and imposes its tyrannical system to enforce its laws. In presenting the *Other*, the poet is not content with defining and describing this hegemony but exposes its ethical fragility. He often portrays the *Other* as a power stripped of values, reliant on brutality and tyranny, indifferent to legitimacy. In this context, confrontation emerges to impose existence, because the *Other* does not target the body alone but seeks to exclude memory and sever the bonds between the *Self*, place, and history.

Furthermore, the representation of the *Other* is not limited to direct political oppression; it extends to a more ambiguous and dangerous cultural dimension. The cultural *Other*, in Al-Barghouti's poems, is a discourse which aims to redefine major concepts, empty them of their original content, and impose its worldview as a universal standard. Thus, language becomes the battleground, and poetry becomes a site where the act of epistemic resistance is imposed. Starting from his poetic material, Al-Barghouti recharges words with their significations and exposes the falsified meanings imposed by the hegemonic discourse. Therefore, confrontation with the cultural *Other* is not a direct clash but interpretive collisions over who possesses the right and the interpretation of the imposed reality. In many instances, the *Other* is considered as a mirror revealing the *Self*'s fragility and multiple conflicts, not necessarily as its antithetical element. The existence of the *Other*, with what it represents of violence and domination, pushes this *Self* to reconsider its position and review its function.

3/ The Zionist Other in Al-Barghouti's Writings

In Al-Barghouti's writings, the Zionist *Other* represents one of the most intense and clear representations, which assumes a central presence in shaping the poetic vision as a historical and contemporary renewal of the act of exclusion and domination^{xiii}. However, this *Other* does not appear in the poems in a traditional or one-dimensional enemy image, the poetic imagery constructs it as a complex colonial entity, which blends military control with cultural narrative, and transcends the material action of occupation to an attempt to negate meaning and memory concerning existence, as expressed in the following lines

Be patient, O my time
You will know, if God grants me permission regarding you
What a noble enemy we defy^{xiv}

In this context, the Zionist *Other* appears as a force based on stripping legitimacy from the Palestinian *Self*, not only by controlling lands, but by redefining place and history. Cities, homes, streets, and even daily details transform in its presence into spaces symbolically confiscated, emptied of their human dimension, and reformulated according to a discourse that erases the original memory. In this context, the conflict is not merely geographical; it is a struggle over meaning and idea, where the Zionist *Other* seeks to establish its narrative and claims it as the sole truth, while marginalizing the Palestinian narrative into oblivion.

Moreover, the danger of this *Other* also lies in its reliance on law as a tool of soft power in its view, that lends the occupation's authority a false veneer of legitimacy. In many of Al-Barghouti's texts, oppression appears not only in its direct violent form but in the guise of laws, procedures, and bureaucracy mechanisms that are practiced in the name of order and justice. Here, he reveals a harsh paradox when law transforms into a tool for perpetuating injustice and tyranny,

and adherence to it becomes a form of veiled exclusion. Consequently, the Zionist *Other* portrays itself as an entity adept at manipulating legal language to conceal its colonial essence. In this regard, the representation of the Zionist *Other* is not confined to only the political and legal dimensions; but it extends to the cultural and symbolic spheres, where this *Other* seeks to monopolize the historical-cultural narrative, and to present itself as a legitimate extension of history while negating the Palestinian presence and reducing it to a transient and an accidental image. Accordingly, Al-Barghouti invokes cultural memory as an act of resistance, restoring value to names, places, and small details that constitute the core of identity. Thus, his poem becomes a space for reclaiming the homeland, dismantling the Zionist discourse by exposing its contradictions and revealing its falsity before the weight of human history in an aesthetic, visionary form^{xv}. In many contexts, the poet does not present the Zionist *Other* as an ethically coherent image, instead, he portrays it as an unstable and anxious entity dependent on continuous violence to prove its existence. The power possessed by this *Other* stems not from the justice of its cause, but from an excess of material power and external support, through placing it in a state of perpetual fear of memory, language, and mere recognition of the Palestinian *Other*. Herein, poetry inverts the power equation by portraying the occupier as a lost entity and the victim as a bearer of continuity, legitimacy, and resistance.

In addition, Al-Barghouti's poetry reveals another highly important dimension: attempts to normalize relations with the Zionist *Other*, whether through political or cultural discourse, as an effort to beautify the image of the occupation and transform its stance into an ethical issue justifying its criminal actions. In this regard, Al-Barghouti intervenes to expose this deceptive discourse with a sharp and sarcastic tone to reveal the falsity of a peace based on denying justice and affirming that any recognition not founded on restoring rights is another form of exclusion. This is exemplified in the following lines:

In Jerusalem, soldiers crept, shod upon the clouds
In Jerusalem, we prayed upon the asphalt
In Jerusalem, who is there in Jerusalem but you?^{xvi}

Ultimately, in Al-Barghouti's poetry, the *Other* emerges as a complex component that evolves from being an external enemy who usurps land into a constant test of consciousness and memory. Confronting this *Other* is not merely military thinking, but a long-term cultural and epistemological struggle through which the Palestinian *Self* is reclaimed via language, and meaning is rebuilt against attempts of erasure and exclusion. In this way, Al-Barghouti succeeds in presenting a unique poetry that does not merely condemn the occupation or reject its methods. Alos, it exposes its deep structure that transforms the poetic act into a conscious act of resistance that makes the word a witness to realities, memory to a weapon amidst violations, and aesthetic thought into an ethical stance for confronting the ugliness of the Zionist *Other*'s narrative.

4/The Poetics of Cultural Resistance Discourse in the Poetry of Tamim Al-Barghouti

Tamim Al-Barghouti embodies the voice of the Arab *Self*, burdened with the sighs and sorrows endured by the Arab people across different historical eras. His distinct poetic meter has refined his poetic experience, which remains firmly rooted in the Arab reality and the subsequent historical events that have imprisoned it into the prisons of injustice and death produced by a brutal occupation. Palestine is no longer the land of peace it once was; now it is tainted by the footprints of occupation through images of killing and oppression. In this regard, the image of Islamic culture has been distorted by the achievements of the occupying West, which has desecrated the values and customs of Arab-Islamic identity, and attempted to obliterate them using mechanisms of war

and threat in all directions. These circumstances and conditions played a crucial role in activating the poetic consciousness of Tamim Al-Barghouti. Consequently, most of his poems stands as a cultural representation of his rejection and opposition to the authority of the tyrannical *Other*, and an explicit call from him to uproot the Zionist enemy from the space of the Arab environment. In addition, a reader of Tamim Al-Barghouti's poetic language encounters that critical sensibility and creative imagination within worlds of symbolism and semantic suggestion which he employs to convey his encoded messages, which are directed at the ruling authority and, by extension, at the representatives of Western discourse. Also, his language is adorned with the eloquence of imagery (visual rhetoric) and the beauty of symbolic expression, that highlight the distinctiveness of his creative writing. Moreover, his deep familiarity with the tools of history and Islamic thought, which permeate most of his poems, ensures that their cultural signification never departs from the context of Arab identity and Islamic opposition to the burdens of colonial discourses.

A critical examination of Al-Barghouti's poetic writings discerns the influence and reflection of lived realities on the poetic and intellectual space within which he his works are unfolded. His ideas carry a cry of hostility against the centrality of the unjust occupier of the Palestinian people, whose identity has been lost beneath the debris of Western discourse, which carries a settler-colonial perspective towards Islamic heritage. This discourse persistently does not shy away from sowing the seeds of discord among nations and civilizations while claiming a love for the Islamic East. Thus, Al-Barghouti stands as an example of the intellectual who was opposed to the suppression of the Arab selfhood, and deeply aware of the historical conspiracies fraught with Western landmines and bombs targeting the Arab banner. Consequently, this has made his poems focal points with social and cultural dimensions pertaining to the unity of the Arab self. For the reality of his homeland, Palestine, this occupied city that screams with sighs of pain and sorrow, Al-Barghouti allocated a profound intellectual depth that signals his cultural consciousness towards the lived reality of the Palestinian people. His poetic words articulate an absolute rejection of the different forms of Western hostility that have transcended the boundaries of cultural identities, and challenges the customs and traditions within which Arab society has lived. Thus, his poetry becomes a cultural discourse that calls for the unity of the Arab self and serves as an explicit expression of his rebellion against all Western achievement that intended to erase Islamic identity. As he says in the first poem he composed:

Restrain the tongue of elegy, it is a luxury;
Unlike all other deaths, this death is different.^{xvii}

This line is taken from his poetry collection titled *Maqam Iraq* [The State/Condition of Iraq], in which he speaks of the suffering of the Iraqi people from the ravages of American military forces. He depicted the scenes of Baghdad's fall at the hands of tyrants and their method of entering Al-Firdous Square (the paradise arena). This stirred the compass of critique and rejection in response to tragic Arab realities, where he enlisted his letters to represent and express the Arab self's rejection of various forms of Western presence. The fluency and eloquence of his poetic discourse did not deviate from criticizing the ruling authority that sold out the Arab case, as well as his critique of most nations and states that remained satisfied with silence, and merely watched the crimes of the occupation that usurps the weak and innocent. Thus, the meanings of freedom and human justice faded, and the paths of civilizational dialogue between the Arab *Self* and the occupying *Other* dwindled.

Thus, Al-Barghouti's poetry represents a civilizational model of the intellectual who criticizes both authority and all parties to the cultural discourse that seeks to sow discord and

normalize a culture of occupation without considering the values and principles of Arab reality. Consequently, the features of class disparities followed by power and governance' makers, who stripped themselves of the garb of Arabism and dissolved in the seas of colonial discourse that activated all its energy and techniques to erase and obliterate the identity of the Arab *Self* that came to dominate. This directed the circle of critique towards the ruling authorities in Arab countries for their betrayal of the case of Arab unity. They resembled worn-out puppets clinging to the seat of power without delving into the suffering of their people and their wretched conditions. This is what prompted Al-Barghouti to compose this collection to embody his absolute rejection of the suffering and tragedies endured by the Iraqi and Palestinian people, and the necessity of reviving the unity of the Arab-self by awakening resolve and stirring the features of revolution wherever the slogans of Arabism evoke pure Islamic values.

Furthermore, in Al-Barghouti's poems, one reads a prominent presence of the Palestinian case, which is prominently showcased in his collection '*In Jerusalem*'. The very threshold of its title suggests the depth of the poet's patriotic influence on his poetic experience. The word 'Jerusalem' is repeated more than twenty times, a deliberate act by the poet to affirm his adherence to his sacred identity and his refusal to relinquish the particularity of the Arab selfhood. Through this, he calls for the necessity of struggle and revolution to elevate the Palestinian case into the sky of human freedom. Jerusalem is considered as the city of history, and it bears the values of Islamic civilization, which led Al-Barghouti to repeatedly invoke 'Jerusalem' in many instances, by emphasizing Arab identity and the poet's insistence on the necessity of fighting for ancient Jerusalem, which is adorned with enchanting beauty and the golden dome, and steeped in the identity of Islamic history.

In Jerusalem, buildings whose stones are quotations from the Bible and the Qur'an
In Jerusalem, the definition of beauty is an eight-sided and blue,
Above it, O may your glory endure, a golden dome.^{xviii}

Thus, Al-Barghouti stands as a model of the civilizational intellectual who rejects the authority of the Western *Other* and supports liberation cases across various Arab countries whose rights have been usurped. Additionally, Al-Barghouti demonstrated a captivating artistic imagination and a style adorned with cultural symbols, through which he attests to the elevated register of his poetic writing and his profound knowledge of Islamic history. Accordingly, his aim is to revive the fragrance of Arab historical heritage and defend the banner of the cultural identity that shapes Islamic discourse, which is described in the following lines:

And in the heart of Damascus, our history lies like a carpet
Of silk, patiently woven by master craftsmen;
And the merchants bind it with cheap thread.
And our history is a patch of sunlight in a prison,
Or a fallen star, or a hunted steed;
Our history is sweat in a hand, or blood on a shirt;
And our history is a thousand years besieged by half an hour^{xix}.

In these poetic lines taken from the poem Al-Jaleel, the poet brings back to us the fruits of lofty Arab history from the annals of a past era that signaled Arab victories which aimed at raising the Islam's banner. This is a clear allusion to the necessity of not failing to achieve the goal and losing the identity of Islam, for which many heroes and martyrs sacrificed themselves for the elevation of the Arab-Islamic self. Al-Barghouti is a uniquely creative genius and deeply knowledgeable of the origins of history, lamenting the bygone days when the Arabs in general,

and the Palestinians in particular, lived their most splendid days far from the chaos of marginalization and Western centrality. In this regard, he calls for the necessity of remembering the glorious past and the renewed rise of the Arab banner to confront the Zionist enemy using all the means and techniques that help achieve this goal. He also evokes heritage to direct a message that revives the past in order to convey it to present generations and communicate his objectives embedded in lines paved with meanings of eloquence and rhetoric, laden with the concerns of the present and nostalgia for a past filled with images of dialogue and understanding between Islamic creeds, as well as the diversity of markets in Egypt and the Damascus, where cultural intermingling and cross-pollination occurred. However, most of these qualities were lost the moment the occupier took control of Jerusalem, a city transformed into one tainted by the smells of hatred and deceit manufactured by Western discourse.

The following lines highlight the poet's nostalgia for that beautiful past:

And I reconstruct ancient histories,
Perhaps inserting some benevolent forgery.
So history corrects its biography, as best as I wish:
In it, neither the Kharijites rebel against Ali,
And in it, nor Muslims revolt against Yazid.
And in the markets, Ibn Al-Alqami is paraded,
Along with everyone who made the invaders their masters.^{xx}

These verses are clear indications of the poet's nostalgia for the history of Arab civilization, where peace and security were lived, far from the achievements and dependency on the occupying West. Al-Barghouti laments the days of the Islamic Caliphate, and recalls the life of luxury and wealth that characterized its markets and inhabitants. Thus, he presents a vivid image of the reality of poverty and war lived by the Palestinians due to Zionist aggression, thereby he highlights his anger and his fervent call to uproot and unravel the threads of Western discourse in all its manifestations and transformations. Similarly, the Palestinian case enjoys a striking lexical and semantic presence throughout Tamim Al-Barghouti's poetry, and constitutes a distinctive hallmark of his collections (The State of Iraq and In Jerusalem). This very prominence moved the levers of power to strip him of his identity, and renders him a marginalized refugee from his homeland, through which he depicted a character of rejection and defiance. Thus, this marginalization intensified his cultural resistance, and situated him alongside with many modern and contemporary poets, such as Mahmoud Darwish, Badr Shakir al-Sayyab, and Elia Abu Madi, he stands as a model of resistant cultural awareness that opposes the suppression of the *Self* and staunchly defends the values of Arab culture in all its customs and traditions. Perhaps his poem "In Jerusalem" is a poetic synthesis that radiates with eloquence and lexical brilliance, and reveals the high culture of resistance within the poet himself, as well as his steadfast adherence to the antiquity of Islamic history. He laments his distance from his homeland and his remaining far from the bridges of his city, and overflows with Arab history and an Islamic identity firmly rooted in the pages of history. The following excerpt highlights this:

We passed by the beloved's home, but were turned away from the abode, by the enemy's
law and its wall.

I said to myself, perhaps this is a blessing, for what will you see in Jerusalem when you
visit it?

You will see all that you cannot bear, if its houses appear from the roadside.
And not every soul is glad when it meets its beloved, nor does every absence harm it.

For if meeting him pleased it before the parting, its joy afterward is not assured
Once you glimpse ancient Jerusalem, the eye will see it wherever it turns.^{xxi}

These poetic lines represent the rebellious poem of “*In Jerusalem*”, that is masterfully composed by Tamim Al-Barghouti within an imaginative, rhetorical mold saturated with symbols and cultural significations expressive of the condition of the Palestinian people due to the incursion of the brutal occupation. He satirizes Arab rulers and their fearful submission to the Western occupation, which has sounded the death knell in their eyes, and caused them to strip themselves of the values of Arabism and Islamic identity. Thus, they have become like inert, motionless stones that have not stirred in the face of the occupier’s crimes and its violation of the Prophet’s nocturnal journey and the first qibla of Muslims, as he says:

In Jerusalem, a Torah and an elder came from upper Manhattan to instruct Polish in its rulings...

In Jerusalem, an Ethiopian policeman closes a street in the market

A machine gun on a settler not yet twenty,

A hat saluting the Wailing Wall,

And blond European tourists who never see Jerusalem at all

You see them taking pictures of one another with a woman who sells radishes in the squares all day.

In Jerusalem, soldiers crept, shod upon the clouds

In Jerusalem, we prayed upon the asphalt

In Jerusalem, who is there in Jerusalem but you?^{xxii}

These poetic lines carry the fever of rejection and severance that arises within the poet, who bears a discourse of hatred and enmity towards every Western product that has annihilated the sovereignty of the Arabs. It has made him live a deluge of sighs and sorrows that have haunted the life of the Palestinians across successive historical moments that continue to haunt their lives to this day. Thus, Jerusalem has transformed into a city of violated customs and traditions, tainted by foreign bodies through actions contradict Arab identity. The gates of Arab civilization have been lost in the snare windows of weakness brought by Western discourse, and the rightful owner of the land has become a stranger in his own homeland, seized by the preachers of hats and blond tourists who embodied a gaze of bewilderment and alienation towards the indigenous inhabitants. Thus, the balance was overturned, and the rightful owner is left outside his home without shelter, dreaming of the freedom’s dawn that would restore his occupied homeland.

The poet is filled with regret and sorrow for the course of history between the beautiful past and the wretched and desecrated present, that was tainted by foreign cultures antithetical to Arab identity. Al-Barghouti stands as a refugee who laments the loss of Arab identity, and calls for the necessity of struggle to elevate national sovereignty and not allowing the occupation forces to spread corruption and death in the city’s streets. This stance is further evidenced in the following lines from the poem ‘Hadith al-Kisa’(The Mantle’s Discourse):

Thick smoke,

Weighed in tons,

Crosses maps.

If you raise your hand, you cannot see it.

And people collide with one another like bumper cars.

If you trace the smoke to its source,

You reach the Kaiser’s pipe.

A net of light is cast to rescue them,
They fall through it, one by one,
Then it returns to its Lord^{xxiii}.

These poetic discourses reveal to readers the scenes of killing and aggression employed by the violated occupier against the Arab nation. They violate sanctities and practice acts of injustice and torture upon the young and old. In addition, children are found in panic and terror, their faces were bleeding from shock and with grief over the loss of their families and loved ones. Al-Barghouti insistently calls and yearns for struggle to achieve victory and restore Arab sovereignty, through emphasizing the necessity of steadfastness and work towards raising the Palestinian flag high. He insists that there is no path to salvation except through the act of resistance and revolution, which aim to convey the people's message to all nations who have left Palestine alone without aid, and transform it into oppressive ash that weighs heavily on the Palestinians. Thus, he calls for the necessity of struggle and awakening to reclaim freedom, as he says in the poem *The Coffee*:

Pour coffee for your uncle, O Nuwar,
Do not be shy of your uncle, History.

He visited me before, you were young; you do not remember him.

Do not steal his pens, do not mock his appearance^{xxiv}.

Here, we discern the poet's call and discourse of resistance and revolution through the rejection of all forms of weakness and the necessity of striking with an iron fist to expel the Zionist enemy. He advocates for not allowing it to tamper with the sanctities of the Islamic character. All of this, he asserts, cannot be achieved except through material and cultural revolution, that serves to encircle Western discourse and prevent its infiltration into Arab discourse and consciousness. Thus, Al-Barghouti stands as a contemporary poet, deeply knowledgeable of the facets of history and saturated with the cycles of classical Arabic poetry, whose texts contain the meanings of pride and authentic Arab identity. Through this, he aimed to redirect inquiry towards history and to remind readers of the glories of the Arabs in order to achieve their identity. He emphasized the necessity of defending the sanctity of Jerusalem as one of the constants of Arab nationalism and patriotism, whose particularity must be preserved. Thus, he calls for moving beyond the emotional language, for divesting oneself of the subjectivity of the *Other*, and for the necessity of using arms as a material action to confront the *Other* who occupies his land, as he says in the poem *My Mother, Palestine*:

O my nation, I know that a man may fear the perils,
But I only remind you, so remember:

All of this has happened before, and we have passed through it.

Nothing here is frightening, nor is there any surprise^{xxv}.

These lines carry a cry of enmity and rejection towards the Western occupation that has devastated the Palestinians. The poet addresses, in a revolutionary language, all Arab minds, and calls for the necessity of uniting around the Palestinian case and supporting it against the spark of an occupation that has sown identity-based corruption. This has caused the Palestinian society to live with the tones of poverty and social misery across all domains. However, the skies of Palestine are no longer clear and pure; instead, they have become darkened and polluted by the shadow of Western colonial thought. Accordingly, Tamim Al-Barghouti dedicated the majority of his poems to disseminating a discourse of resistance and raising the banner of revolution, armed with Islamic history replete with glories and heroic deeds that represent the identity of the Arab-self. Thus, he affirms the Arabic authenticity and identity of Jerusalem, which will never submit to Western

discourse, no matter what happens. His poem “*In Jerusalem*” stands as a prominent testament through which he expressed the necessity of steadfastness, elevating the state of truth, and championing the Palestinian people.

In Jerusalem, if you shake hands with an elder or touch a building,
You will find engraved upon your palms the text of a poem.
O son of the noble, perhaps two

In Jerusalem, despite the succession of calamities,
There is a breeze of innocence in the air, a breeze of childhood,
You see doves flying, proclaiming a state in the wind between two bullets^{xxvi}

Thus, Tamim Al-Barghouti stands as a model of the cultural intellectual who chose the pen as a weapon to expose and unveil Western discourse, which has violated and harmed the space of the Arab environment in general, and the Palestinian one in particular. The aforementioned lines affirm the Jerusalem’s sanctity and its people’s steadfastness despite the succession of calamities and conflicts that have burdened them, all to confirm the identity of their state, which has been obliterated. Here, the machine gun emerges as a weapon of resistance to the Zionist enemy, confronting its tyranny, while hope remains a living element throughout his poetry:

Whoever carries a dream and its horizon stretches far,
Let him guard it, and also protect himself from his dream.
For dream grows months within its day,
And increases the debt of time until it becomes impossible,
Until you see the son of Adam satisfied with very little in all things.
Do not accept ugliness, O my people,
As a reward for beautiful patience.^{xxvii}

Thus, these poetic lines, among many others, constitute one of the poetic writings that demonstrated the artistic mastery within the Palestinian poet Al-Barghouti’s subjectivity and the extent of his commitment to the cases of his homeland. His poetry is marked by an artistic beauty and visual rhetoric that mirrors the spirit of the Palestinian people, and becomes a mirror that reflect the soul of Arab cultural awareness; a culture which strives to revive its glorious history, adorned with the particularities of the Islamic character, and to stand firm against the tyranny of brutal aggression in order to realize the longed-awaited dream and raise the Palestinian flag in the sky of freedom and justice.

Conclusion:

To conclude, it can be affirmed that the discourse of cultural resistance has been profoundly manifested in the poetry of Tamim Al-Barghouti across broad dimensions. He skillfully and masterfully craft poems that mirror and dramatize the struggle between the *Self* and the *Other*, between Arab identity and Western culture. They reveal the extent of the deterioration that has afflicted the lives of Arab people in general, and the Palestinian ones in particular. In this regard, Palestine has been deeply altered by the occupation and the cultural and social transformations it has instigated, accelerates the Arab reality’s descent into trajectories of poverty and injustice, which has shaken the cultural vessel and sounded the bell of and ignited the spark of creativity. From this standpoint, Tamim Al-Barghouti emerged, like his predecessors, through his meticulous choice of language and the performative act of speech, to confront Western discourse and counter all its colonial narratives. Thus, the poetic language has become a cultural mirror that expresses the acuity of creative thought, a cry of rejection against all forms of cultural oppression, and a striving to enhance awareness of cultural struggle and achieve the freedom of the Arab-self.

End-notes

ⁱSee: Abu al-Qasim Saad Allah, "A Cultural Issue between Algeria and France in 1843," World of Thought Journal, Vol. 16, No. 1, April, Kuwait, pp. 252-253.

ⁱⁱ See: Fakhri Salih, Edward Said: Studies and Translations, Algeria, The Difference Publications, 1st ed., 2009, p. 16.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid., p. 17

^{iv} Edward Said, Representations of the Intellectual, trans. Hussam Khudur, Al-Takwin Publishing House, Beirut, 1st ed., 2003, p. 23.

^vSee: Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism, trans. Kamal Abu Deeb, Literature House for Publishing and Distribution, Beirut, Lebanon, 4th ed., 2004, p. 152.

^{vi} See: Ibid., p. 273.

^{vii} See: Ibid., p. 294.

^{viii} See: Muhammad Abed al-Jabri, The Formation of the Arab Mind, Dar al-Taliah, Beirut, 1st ed., 1985, pp. 14-15.

^{ix} See: Nur Beir Salamy, trans. Wajih Asaad, The Encyclopedic Dictionary of Psychology, Vol. 1, Publications of the Ministry of Culture, Damascus, Syria, n.d., 2001, p. 311.

^x Ghali Shukri: Where is Our Modern Poetry Heading?, Dawn Publishing House, Cairo, Egypt, 1st ed., 1993, p. 124.

^{xi} Tamim Al-Barghouti, The State of Iraq, Atlas for Publishing and Media Production, Egypt, n.d., 2005, p. 16.

^{xii} Ibid., p. 17.

^{xiii} See: Muhammad Abdullah al-Ghadhdhami, Sin and Atonement: From Structuralism to Dissection, Egyptian General Book Organization, Alexandria, Egypt, 4th ed., 1998, p. 62.

^{xiv} Ibid., p. 19.

^{xv} See: Issam Sharrah, Tamim Al-Barghouti: Studies in Aesthetic Motivations, Pages Publishing House, Damascus, Syria, 2012, pp. 150-151

^{xvi} Tamim Al-Barghouti, In Jerusalem, Dawn Publishing House, Egypt, n.d., 2017, p. 9.

^{xvii} Ibid., p. 9.

^{xviii} Tamim Al-Barghouti, In Jerusalem, p. 3.

^{xix} Ibid., p. 31.

^{xx} Ibid., p. 31.

^{xxi} Ibid., p. 3.

^{xxii} Ibid., p. 3-4.

^{xxiii} Ibid., p. 37.

^{xxiv} Ibid., p. 60.

^{xxv} Ibid., p. 59.

^{xxvi} Ibid., p. 3.

^{xxvii} Ibid., p. 85.

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