



## THE CONSTRUCTION OF RESISTANCE IN IBRAHIM TOUQAN'S "MAWTINI" SONG LYRICS: NEW HISTORICISM ANALYSIS

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### Abstract

*The hegemonic attempts made by the British and European Jews triggered resistance from the Palestinian people. The resistance is manifested in physical and non-physical struggles, including literary works. This research aims to reveal the construction of resistance in Ibrahim Touqan's Mawtini by using the theory of New Historicism by Stephen Greenblatt. Literary readings are juxtaposed with non-literary texts in order to find the historical background of colonialism in Palestine in the British Mandate era and the diaspora of Jews from Europe. This research is a descriptive qualitative type. The data is in the form of mawtini song lyrics which are then read together with two non-literary books to understand the historical substance behind the song lyrics. The data was collected using the read-and-record technique. While the data analysis technique goes through the stages of data reduction, presentation, and conclusion drawing. The results shows that the construction of resistance in this song is structured through the perspective of the people seeing their homeland, the hope for a resolution to the conflict, the importance of the role of youth to fight, the purpose of the resistance and the ways taken in resistance to hegemony efforts over the Palestinian land.*

**Keywords:** resistance, mawtini's song, new historicism

### Abstrak

*Upaya hegemoni yang dilakukan oleh Inggris dan Yahudi Eropa memicu perlawanan dari rakyat Palestina. Perlawanan tersebut diwujudkan dalam perjuangan fisik dan non-fisik, termasuk di dalamnya adalah karya sastra. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkapkan konstruksi perlawanan di dalam lirik lagu Mawtini karya Ibrahim Touqan dengan menggunakan teori New Historicism oleh Stephen Greenblatt. Pembacaan sastra disandingkan dengan teks non sastra agar menemukan latar belakang sejarah kolonialisme di Palestina di era Mandat Inggris serta diaspora kaum Yahudi dari Eropa. Penelitian ini berjenis kualitatif deskriptif. Data penelitian ini berupa lirik lagu mawtini yang kemudian dibaca bersamaan dengan dua buku non-sastra untuk memahami substansi sejarah di balik lirik lagu tersebut. Data dikumpulkan menggunakan teknik baca-catat. Sedangkan teknik analisis data melalui tahap reduksi data, penyajian, dan penarikan kesimpulan. Berdasarkan hasil penelitian, ditemukan konstruksi perlawanan di dalam lagu ini disusun melalui perspektif rakyat melihat tanah airnya, harapan*

*adanya resolusi atas konflik, pentingnya peran pemuda untuk melakukan perlawanan, tujuan dari perlawanan tersebut serta cara-cara yang ditempuh dalam melakukan perlawanan terhadap upaya hegemoni di atas negeri Palestina.*

**Kata Kunci:** perlawanan, lagu mawtini, new historisisme

## INTRODUCTION

The Ottoman Turks' failure to defend the Palestinian territories in the First World War led to the British taking control of the region<sup>1</sup>. Through its legitimacy, Britain then facilitated the Jewish diaspora to Palestine, which was considered as "The Promise Land" for the Jews<sup>2</sup>. Palestinians realized that they were threatened by British rule and the wave of Jewish occupation in Palestine. They sought to strengthen their Palestinian identity through a spirit of unity against British rule and Jewish colonization<sup>3</sup>. The resistance effort is realized through physical and non-physical resistance, one example is poetry.

The journey of contemporary Arabic literature is inseparable from the historical turmoil of Arab countries that have experienced colonialism<sup>4</sup>. This makes many contemporary poets present the problems of their country, whether in the form of reality, ambition, hope or awakening of the country<sup>5</sup>. Literary works become an integral part of the collectivity and historical context that surrounds them<sup>6</sup>, So the context in which it was created influences the values it contains. When poetry is used as a medium of resistance, the values contained in it touch the layers of the human soul and affect its ideological structure.

Forms of resistance usually originate from politically, economically and educationally marginalized groups of society<sup>7</sup>. This can be realized through song lyrics that represent the reality of individuals and society<sup>8</sup>. In understanding this reality, it is necessary to understand the socio-political and cultural context that gave

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew Hughes and Allenby, *British Strategy in the Middle East 1917-1919* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> Ismail Yaghi, *Terorisme Dalam Otak Zionis* (Jakarta: Pustaka Azam, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> Edward Said, *The Question of Palestina* (New York: Times Books, 1979).

<sup>4</sup> Starkey Paul, *Modern Arabic Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Abdu Aziz, "الوطنية في شعر حسن فتح الباب", *مجلة علمية سنوية محكمة*, no. 1 (2015).

<sup>6</sup> Rokhman, *Sastra Interdisipliner: Menyandingkan Sastra Sosial* (Yogyakarta: Qalam, 2003).

<sup>7</sup> Zulfa Purnamawati et al., "Ideologi Perlawanan Dalam Antologi Puisi Fi Ṭariqi Al-Fajri Karya Abdullah Al-Baradduni," *Poetika* 7, no. 1 (2019): 72, <https://doi.org/10.22146/poetika.v7i1.44452>.

<sup>8</sup> Hermawati Putri Dian Insani, "Fakta Sosial Perang Lebanon Tahun 1982 Dalam Lagu a" Tuna Tufuli Karya Remi Bandali: Analisis Semiotik Riffaterre," *Jurnal CMES Volume XIV Nomor 1 Edisi Januari - Juni 2021 XIV* (2021): 69-79.

birth to it<sup>9</sup>. This shows that history in a literary work does not only act as a background, but has become a construction of a true story<sup>10</sup>. Literature as another perspective of reality<sup>11</sup>, need an interpretation tool that can read the history of society in an era. In this way, external factors such as culture, social and political systems can be identified from the literary work itself.

The lyrics of the mawtini song have a unique history. The lyrics come from a Diwan Ibrahim written by Ibrahim Touqan in 1934 in Syria<sup>12</sup>. The mawtini poem is one of the contemporary poems with a patriotic theme about its homeland, Palestine. Since then, it has often been used as an introduction to liberation movements in the Middle East and became the unofficial national anthem of Palestine until it was changed to al-fidai in 1996<sup>13</sup>. Then it was reused during Iraq's revolution in 1958 when Iraq's monarchy officially ended. The song is synonymous with issues of political upheaval in the Middle East when it was still dominated by colonialism<sup>14</sup>. The themes raised in the colonial era were certainly not far from expressions of sadness, environmental conditions, social criticism and hopes for a better life<sup>15</sup>. Until 2003, when the uprising against Saddam Husain took place, the Mawtini song was established as the official national anthem in the country of Iraq until now. The complexity of history alongside the lyrics of this song makes researchers interested in uncovering historical facts by juxtaposing literary texts with non-literary historical texts.

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<sup>9</sup> Mami Nofrianti and Kori Lilie Muslim, "Praktik Seksualitas Menyimpang Masyarakat Muslim-Minangkabau: Kajian Neo-Historisisme Terhadap Film Titian Serambut Dibelah Tujuh," *Jurnal Fuaduna: Jurnal Kajian Keagamaan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 5, no. 1 (2021): 35-44.

<sup>10</sup> Budianta, "Budaya, Sejarah, Dan Pasar: New Historicism Dalam Perkembangan Kritik Sastra.," *Susastra Jurnal Ilmu Sastra Dan Budaya* 2, no. 3 (2006): 1-19.

<sup>11</sup> H.V White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

<sup>12</sup> Ya'kub Al-'Udat, *Ibrahim Tuqan Fi Wataniyyatihi Wa Wijdaniyyatihi (The National and Emotional Poetry of Ibrahim Tuqan)* (Beirut, 1964).

<sup>13</sup> Elie Podeh, "Anthems in the Arab World: A Hybrid National Symbol," *Nations and Nationalism* 28, no. 4 (2022): 1379-94, <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12803>.

<sup>14</sup> Sammad Hasibuan, "Nasionalisme Dalam Puisi 'Hanin' Karya Ahmad Rami Dan Faruq Juwaidah (Sebuah Tinjauan Intertekstualitas)," *Tsaqofiya : Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Arab* 4, no. 2 (2022): 223-42, <https://doi.org/10.21154/tsaqofiya.v4i2.99>.

<sup>15</sup> Insani, "Fakta Sosial Perang Lebanon Tahun 1982 Dalam Lagu a'Tuna Tufuli Karya Remi Bandali: Analisis Semiotik Riffaterre."

In fact, literary works and history are intertwined<sup>16</sup>. History can not only be analyzed through historical texts, in this case, literary works are also capable of narrating history<sup>17</sup>. So that in analyzing literary works, it can take advantage of historical documents that are relevant to the literary work. This method was introduced by Stephen Greenblatt in 1982 through a study called New Historicism. In his perspective, all texts are considered as products of the times in which the values of power struggles and ideologies are embedded<sup>18</sup>. The reality of history is considered to have various versions that are intertextualized in various texts both fictional and factual<sup>19</sup>.

New historicism utilizes a harmonized reading of literary and non-literary texts that are weighted and interrogated against each other<sup>20</sup>. New historicism is a literary theory that seeks to understand the intellectual history of literature and its cultural context<sup>21</sup>. New Historicism is a rule of text reading that seeks to find meaning in the context of the dominance that prevailed in the historical period in which the text was found<sup>22</sup>. In New-Historicism, literary writers can be influenced by biases and prejudices that affect their interpretation of the past. Wilson and Dutton mention that history is shaped by political and ideological realities that can then govern what kind of truths are presented in it<sup>23</sup>. Lastly, an interpretation of a text will be incomplete if it does not touch upon the author's views, society and its social practices.

In order to strengthen the originality of the research, the author traces several previous studies that are relevant to this research. First, the author traces in terms of the object used, five previous studies were found that used mawtini song lyrics as the object of study. Among them is research conducted by Annisa et al using mawtini

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<sup>16</sup> Ariyanti Rifa Nurhasanah, Yoyo Yoyo, and Norfaezah Mohd Hamidin, "Independence in Ahmad Syaumi's Poetry 'Yā Ayyuhā As-Sāil Mā Al-Ḥurriyyah' (New Historism Analysis)," *Diwan : Jurnal Bahasa Dan Sastra Arab* 7, no. 2 (2021): 226–46.

<sup>17</sup> Yuli Mahmudah Sentana, Safrina Arifiani Felayati, and Léa Blace, "The Image of Java and Its People in Emilie's Eyes Under the Perspective of New Historicism" 17, no. November (2023): 213–26.

<sup>18</sup> Nurhadi, "Pembunuhan Massal Etnis Cina 1740 Dalam Drama Remy Sylado: Kajian New Historisme," *Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Kebudayaan* 14, no. 75 (2008): 1197–1225.

<sup>19</sup> Budianta, "Budaya, Sejarah, Dan Pasar: New Historicism Dalam Perkembangan Kritik Sastra."

<sup>20</sup> P Barry, *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020).

<sup>21</sup> I. W. Artika, "Pengajaran Sastra Dengan Teori New Historicism," *Prasi: Jurnal Bahasa, Seni, Dan Pengajarannya* 10, no. 20 (2015): 50–55, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.23887/prasi.v10i20.8917>.

<sup>22</sup> Hossin ABDUL MOULA, "Hayden White's Theory of History as Narrative in the Light of New Historicism," *Eurasian Journal of English Language and Literature* 5, no. 1 (2023): 27–39.

<sup>23</sup> R. Wilson and R. Dutton, *New Historicism and Renaissance Drama*. (London: Longman, 1992).

poetry using Riffaterre's semiotic perspective<sup>24</sup>, Elie Podeh's research analyzing the national anthems of Arab countries including the mawtini song<sup>25</sup>, Khalid Sharhan's research which uses comparative analysis on Iraq's national anthem, mawtini, and Farideh Akhavan's research on Ibrahim Touqan's poems including mawtini<sup>26</sup>. In terms of the use of theory, there are various objects that can be analyzed through the new historicism approach. Among them is Nofrianti & Muslim's research which analyzes the film<sup>27</sup>, Sentana<sup>28</sup>, Muttaqin<sup>29</sup>, Ubaidullah<sup>30</sup>, and Ulum<sup>31</sup>'s research analyzed novels, Nurhasanah's research which analyzes poem<sup>32</sup>, comics<sup>33</sup>, Adhitya's research which analyzes drama<sup>34</sup> and national anthem lyrics<sup>35</sup>.

Based on the findings above, there are some similarities and differences with this research. Previous studies that used mawtini song lyrics as the object of study mostly focused on comparative analysis between national anthems. Previous studies did not make mawtini song lyrics as a single object, but compared with various other

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<sup>24</sup> Adellia Ifha Annisa, Ahmad Bachmid, and Ahfa Rahman Syah, "A Poem Mawtini as Unofficial National Anthem of Palestine by Ibrahim Tuqan. The Michael Riffaterre's Semiotic Lens," *LITTERATURA: Jurnal Bahasa Dan Sastra* 2, no. 1 (2023): 45-60, <https://doi.org/10.15408/ltr.v2i1.30069>.

<sup>25</sup> Podeh, "Anthems in the Arab World: A Hybrid National Symbol."

<sup>26</sup> Farideh Akhavan Palangsarai, Mohammad Jannati Far, and Mohammad Hassan Masoomi, "Investigating the Symbol in the Poems of Resistance Ebrahim Touqan," *The Islamic University College Journal*, no. 55 (2020): 5-22.

<sup>27</sup> Nofrianti and Muslim, "Praktik Seksualitas Menyimpang Masyarakat Muslim-Minangkabau: Kajian Neo-Historisisme Terhadap Film Titian Serambut Dibelah Tujuh."

<sup>28</sup> Sentana, Felayati, and Blace, "The Image of Java and Its People in Emilie 's Eyes Under the Perspective of New Historicism."

<sup>29</sup> Khoirul Muttaqin, "Representasi Sejarah Pers Pada Masa Sebelum Dan Setelah Kemerdekaan Indonesia Dalam Novel Mencari Sarang Angin," *Jentere: Jurnal Kajian Sastra* 10, no. 1 (2021): 17-31, <https://doi.org/10.26499/jentere.v10i1.2903>.

<sup>30</sup> Ubaidullah, "Jakarta Kota Freemasonry Dalam Novel the Jacatra Secret Karya Rizki Ridyasmara," *Jurnal Retorika* 10, no. 1 (2017): 66-71.

<sup>31</sup> Rofi' Nihayatul Ulum, Suyatno, and Ahmadi Anas, "Fenomena Tembakau Dalam Novel Genduk Karya Sundari Mardjuki (Kajian New Historicism)," *Basastra: Jurnal Kajian Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia* 11, no. 3 (2022): 258-75.

<sup>32</sup> Nurhasanah, Yoyo, and Hamidin, "Independence in Ahmad Syauqi's Poetry 'Yā Ayyuhā As-Sāil Mā Al-Ḥurriyyah' (New Historism Analysis)."

<sup>33</sup> Reza Taufan Adhitya, Renny Anggraeny, and Ida Ayu Laksmi Sari, "Representasi Sejarah Dan Dampak Perang Dunia II Dalam Komik Kono Sekai No Katasumi Ni Karya Fumiyo Kouno," *Diglosia: Jurnal Kajian Bahasa, Sastra, Dan Pengajarannya* 4, no. 2 (2021): 189-204, <https://doi.org/10.30872/diglosia.v4i2.178>.

<sup>34</sup> Lina Meilinawati Rahayu and Aquarini Priyatna, "Upaya Resistensi Pada Rezim Represif Melalui Sastra Drama: Telaah Atas 'Opera Kecoa' Karya Riantiarno Dan 'Perahu Retak' Karya Emha Ainun Najib (Resistance Efforts towards the Repressive Regime: Study on Riantiarno's 'Opera Kecoa' and Emha Ainun Najib's ')," *Lensa: Kajian Kebahasaan, Kesusastraan, Dan Budaya* 9, no. 2 (2020): 120, <https://doi.org/10.26714/lensa.9.2.2019.120-136>.

<sup>35</sup> Nihal TOPCU, "The Emphasis of Patriotism and Independence through a Political and Religious Lens: A New Historical Reading of the Selected National Anthems," *RumeliDE Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 13, no. Ö13 (2023): 1357-63, <https://doi.org/10.29000/rumelide.1379362>.

national anthem lyrics. Researchers also found studies that analyzed the lyrics of mawtini songs using semiotic theory from Riffatere's perspective. So there has not been found any research that examines the lyrics of mawtini songs through the new historicism approach.

Then, this research serves to expand the object of study related to mawtini song lyrics. The purpose of this research is to uncover historical facts based on the new historicism approach in mawtini's song lyrics with the help of non-literary texts. More specifically, this research will explore the values of resistance contained in the lyrics of the mawtini song which may still have relevance for the present context.

## **METHOD**

This research is a type of descriptive qualitative research because the data obtained from this research is in the form of text and manuscripts<sup>36</sup>. While the description of this research will be described descriptively. While the primary data of the research comes from the lyrics of the song "Mawtini" by Ibrahim Touqan. While secondary data is in the form of theoretical quotations from various literature sources such as books and scientific articles. With the New Historicism approach, the focus of this research is to read literary texts and then connect them with non-literary works. Literary texts will be read repeatedly, translated and then draw interrelationships with non-literary texts.

The researcher limited two historical text references that will be connected to the meaning components in the lyrics of the song "Mawtini", that is: The book *The Question of Palestine* by Edward W. Said and *Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine* by Adnan Abu Ghazaleh: *The Question of Palestine* by Edward W. Said and *Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine* by Adnan Abu Ghazaleh. Therefore, every discussion in the poem will be traced through these books. Data were collected using reading and note-taking techniques. The reading technique is done by reading the entire lyrics of the mawtini song to find data. After finding the data criteria in accordance with the theory, the data findings were recorded after the reading process<sup>37</sup>. The data that has been collected then goes through the analysis stage with Miles and

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<sup>36</sup> E Murdiyanto, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif (Teori Dan Aplikasi Disertai Contoh Proposal)* (Yogyakarta: UPN Veteran Yogyakarta Press, 2020).

<sup>37</sup> N. K. Ratna, *Metodologi Penelitian: Kajian Budaya Dan Ilmu*. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelaja, 2010).

Huberman's model. The technique is data reduction by focusing on data that matches the pattern<sup>38</sup>. The data presentation stage is described briefly. While the conclusion drawing stage is done by verifying or making temporary conclusions according to the data found<sup>39</sup>.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Ibrahim Touqan was a leading Palestinian poet in the twentieth and thirtieth decades of the twentieth century<sup>40</sup>. He was born in Nablus in 1905 and throughout his life witnessed the conditions of his country being colonized by the British and the Jews<sup>41</sup> especially during the British Mandate period. Ibrahim has an important role in the struggle of the Palestinian people through symbolism in his poems inviting people to join the struggle<sup>42</sup>. Because of his persistence, he earned the nicknames "poet of the country", "Palestinian Birds of a Feather" "Al-Adeeb Alnabegh Alostaz", "Shaer Alvatani Alami", "Shaer Alhab va Althurah", and "Abu Jafar"<sup>43</sup>.

Mawtini's song lyrics consist of three phases, which are the initial, medial and final phases. Within each phase, there are meaningful sub themes. Each sub-theme expresses the meaning related to the struggle of the Palestinian people against colonization. The song lyrics pass through the stage of reading literary symbols based on the sub themes in accordance with the sequence to capture the unity of the meaning of the resistance of the Palestinian people when the work was created.

### Palestinians' perspective on their country

موطني # الجلال والجمال والسناء والبهاء في ربك  
والحياة والنجاة والهناء والرجاء في هواك

*My homeland, glory and beauty, majesty and beauty in your hills,  
And life, safety, happiness and hope in your air.*

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<sup>38</sup> Penny Respati Yurisa, Muassomah Muassomah, and Irwan Abdullah, "The Meaning of Hijrah among Niqobers in Social Media," *Analisa: Journal of Social Science and Religion* 5, no. 02 (2020): 201–20, <https://doi.org/10.18784/analisa.v5i02.1200>.

<sup>39</sup> Zuchri Abdussamad, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*, ed. Patta Rapanna (Makassar: Syakir Media Press, 2021).

<sup>40</sup> SFA Kiani, H, Mir Qadiri, "IbrahimTuqan Martyrs and Veterans in Poetry," *Loterature Publication Stability* 1, no. 1 (2009): 128–42.

<sup>41</sup> Palangsaraei, Far, and Masoomi, "Investigating the Symbol in the Poems of Resistance Ebrahim Touqan."

<sup>42</sup> Palangsaraei, Far, and Masoomi.

<sup>43</sup> Palangsaraei, Far, and Masoomi.

The first verse of the song begins with the same word as the title *موطني* which mean my homeland. Ibrahim Touqan describes how the condition of his homeland is described with praise in the form of glory, beauty, and majesty. This refers to the geographical condition of Palestine which indeed has beautiful hilly areas. The natural beauty of Palestine can be seen in the following quote.

*In 1516, Palestine became a province of the Ottoman Empire, but this made it no less fertile, no less Arab or Islamic. A century later the English poet George Sandys spoke of it as "a land that flowed with milk and honey; in the midst as it were of the habitable world, and under a temperate clime; adorned with beautiful mountains and luxurious vallies; the rocks producing excellent waters; and no part empty of delight or profit.*

*Such reports persist in profusion through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, not only in travelers' accounts but, by the end of the nineteenth century, in scientific quarterly reports published by the (British) Palestine Exploration Fund<sup>44</sup>*

The quote is taken from the book *The Question of Palestine*, which is related to the first stanza. Palestine has strategic and fertile natural conditions. It is characterized by valleys that surround the country and fertile soil. This natural beauty is inseparable from the long history of Palestinian civilization in the past.

Ibrahim also inserted a description of the conditions in his homeland in the form of safety, the joy expected by the Palestinian people. Ibrahim used the word "air" as the embodiment of that hope. The symbols in the air cover the entire area of the homeland because all Palestinians have a great view of their homeland. This is expressed in the following quote.

*All Arab Palestinians, almost without exception, felt themselves to be part of the great Arab awakening stirring since the last years of the nineteenth century, and it is this feeling that gave encouragement and coherence to an otherwise disruptive modern history<sup>45</sup>.*

Palestinians have a sense of collectivity in looking at their homeland. They have a strong sense of ownership about the condition of their homeland. Even when Zionism began to invade their territory, the Palestinians collectively hoped for the safety of their homeland. The spirit of nationalism in Palestine emerged since the

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<sup>44</sup> Said, *The Question of Palestina*.

<sup>45</sup> Said.

early 20th century. Especially after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the political upheaval in the Middle East that sparked a wave of national consciousness among the Arabs, including Palestinians<sup>46</sup>.

### **Palestinians' hope for their homeland**

هل أراك # سالما منعما وغانما مكرما # هل أراك في علاك  
تبلغ السماك # موطني

*Can I see you when you are safe, prosperous, victorious, and honorable?*

*Can I see you in your glory?*

The song's next lyric features a rhetorical question about salvation and an honorable victory. For the Palestinians at that time, these were things they could only hope for. The hopes were so great to be able to witness freedom in their homeland. Hal tersebut dideskripsikan di dalam kutipan berikut:

*We Palestinians are clearly struggling for our selfdetermination but for the fact that we have no place, no agreed-upon and available physical terrain on which to conduct our struggle. We are clearly anticolonialist and anti racist in our struggle but for the fact that our opponents are the greatest victims of racism in history, and perhaps our struggle is waged at an awkward, postcolonial period in the modern world's history. We clearly struggle for a better future but for the fact that the state preventing us from having a future of our own has already provided a future for its own unhappy people. We are Arab, and yet not simply Arab. We are exiles, and yet tolerated guests in some countries of our exile<sup>47</sup>.*

The Palestinian people's hopes for their country's victory are of course very high. Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories makes them live in an uncertain future. They had to be expelled from their own country since the Balfour Declaration on July 8, 1917 led the European Jewish diaspora to massively diaspora to the Palestinian territories<sup>48</sup>. The Zionists who initiated the diaspora aimed to reconstruct the Palestinian state with a new Jewish state. The implementation included the dispersal of hundreds of thousands of Arabs living in the Palestinian territories.

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<sup>46</sup> Muhammad Muslih, "Arab Politics and the Rise of Palestinian Nationalism," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 4, no. 16 (1987): 77–894, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2536721>.

<sup>47</sup> Said, *The Question of Palestina*.

<sup>48</sup> Hanafi Wibowo, "Mandat Liga Bangsa-Bangsa : Kegagalan Palestina Menjadi Negara Merdeka (1920-1948)," *Buletin Al-Turas* 20, no. 2 (2020): 297–312, <https://doi.org/10.15408/bat.v20i2.3762>.

*The style of these declarations of intent is to leave out any unambiguous reference to the doubtless incontrovertible fact that the country was already constituted (if only as a colony) and that its inhabitants were most unlikely to be happy about their "reconstitution" by a new colonial force. But the statements themselves are perfectly accurate: Palestine was rebuilt, it was reconstructed, it was reestablished<sup>49</sup>.*

Power relations can be seen in the hegemonic efforts made by Israel to form a new state in the territory that already lives in the Palestinian territories. This certainly violates their rights as Palestinians. So that expectations of victory are often raised in response to the control of the Palestinian territories. As the conflict escalates, the more massive Jewish control over Palestinian land, making the Palestinians so hopeful for glory and victory over their homeland.

### **The potential of youth to resist**

موطني، الشباب لن يكل همه ان تستقل أو يبيد  
نستقي من الردى ولن نكون للعدى كالعبيد

*My homeland, the youth will not tire, their passion is your freedom or death.*

*We will drink from death, but we will not belong to our enemies, like slaves..*

The next stanza of the poem mentions the word "الشباب" as the key to resistance against the occupiers. The youth is considered the spearhead of the struggle that will not stop fighting for the Palestinian homeland. This is realized in the following quote:

*The resentment of the Arabs towards the West's betrayal was felt most strongly of all by the Palestine Arab community. Their country was entrusted to Britain as a mandated territory at the Conference of San Remo in April 1920. The Palestine Mandate, endorsed by the League of Nations in September 1923, included the obligation for the Mandatory Power to carry out the policy of the Balfour Declaration, that is, to encourage the establishment in Palestine of a "Jewish national home". The Palestinian Arabs opposed this arrangement. Its most outspoken critics were the intellectual leaders who had grown to maturity in the nationalist atmosphere of the two decades before the British occupation. Some of*

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<sup>49</sup> Said, *The Question of Palestina*.

*them were members of the nationalist societies and had participated in the Arab Revolt*<sup>50</sup>.

Palestinian freedom fighters are dominated by the youth. Even Ibrahim himself was part of the youth who never stopped fighting for independence. Hatred of the colonizing entity in Palestine makes the youth oppose this arrangement. The strongest group against the colonizers are young people who grew up in a nationalist atmosphere in recent decades. Nationalism in Palestine grew in the early 20th century alongside the nationalism movement that flourished in Arab countries at that time<sup>51</sup>.

In addition, the author emphasizes that the Palestinian people will not surrender to the enemy. Through the word "كلعبيد" which means "like a slave" becomes a connotation that states that the consequence of surrendering to the enemy is that he will be enslaved, controlled and dominated.

*At the same time Israel controlled Palestine and was drawn, sometimes as a matter of policy, sometimes because extremists simply took the initiative, to the old idea of turning occupied territory into settled territory*<sup>52</sup>.

Israel's attempt to control Palestine if we can see how the love of the Palestinian people's homeland is mentioned in the first stanza, then they would rather die than submit to colonization.

### **Resistance as an attempt to bring back the old glory**

لا نريد # ذلنا المؤبدا وعيشنا المنكدا # لا نريد بل نعيد  
مجدنا التليد # موطني

*We don't want eternal humiliation and a miserable life*

*We do not want, but we will bring it back,*

*Our old glory, my homeland.*

In this verse, the author mentions the rejection twice by using the phrase " لا نريد" which means "we don't want to". Unlike the early stanzas which still use the first person singular pronoun, the later stanzas have used the first person plural pronoun. This indicates that the author wants to emphasize his collectivity through the use of

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<sup>50</sup> Adnan Abu-Ghazaleh, *Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine during the British Mandate* (Beirut: The Institute for Palestine studies, 1973), <https://doi.org/10.2307/2535866>.

<sup>51</sup> Ihab Ahmed Awais, "The Conceptual Development of the Palestinian National Identity," *Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 24, no. 11 (2019): 69–79, <https://doi.org/10.9790/0837-2411076979>.

<sup>52</sup> Said, *The Question of Palestina*.

the word "we". In the rejection, the author emphasizes that the Palestinian people do not want to live in a humiliated and miserable condition. The condition leads to the situation of Palestine when the British mandate began to be enforced, they were forced to share the territory with settlers. This caused a lot of suffering and loss for the Palestinian people.

*these Palestinians led their lives in full view of a world public that could actually see Israeli soldiers in jeeps patrolling through unarmed Arab villages and towns, occasionally killing, usually beating Arabs<sup>53</sup>.*

The Palestinian people were under a lot of pressure during the years of the European Jews' arrival to their homeland. Coupled with the British Mandate, which further smoothed their efforts to realize the promise land. Since 1917, the wave of Jewish arrivals from Europe has continued to increase per year. The surge in Jewish population resulted in the emergence of conflicts including in 1929<sup>54</sup> which in the following years the Palestinian-Zionist conflict continues to this day.

Furthermore, the author mentions that the goal of the Palestinian state is to bring back the glory in their land. The use of the phrase *مجدنا التليد* means the old glory that refers to the time before the British and Zionist colonizers came. From this we can understand that the Palestinian resistance depicted in this song aims to bring the glory of the nation that they have had in the past.

### **The Symbols of Palestinian Resistance**

موطني الحسام واليراع لا الكلام والنزاع رمزنا  
مجدنا وعهدنا وواجب الى الوفا يهزنا  
موطني

*My homeland, sword and ink, not conversation and strife*

*Our mark*

*Our nobility and our promise and the obligation to fulfill it will shake us up*

The symbols of struggle used in fighting colonialism are sword and ink. This becomes a connotation of physical and non-physical warfare. Physical resistance was carried out by young people who were at the forefront of the struggle.

*Nevertheless, this is not to say that there are no other means by which, even in their dispersion and exile, the Palestinians could have expressed themselves.*

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<sup>53</sup> Abu-Ghazaleh, *Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine during the British Mandate*.

<sup>54</sup> Wibowo, "Mandat Liga Bangsa-Bangsa: Kegagalan Palestina Menjadi Negara Merdeka (1920-1948)."

*Judging by the great popular appeal and legitimacy of the Palestine Liberation Organization, by the constant resistance to and refusal of Israeli military rule in the Occupied Territories, by the daily demonstrations, strikes, and political gestures of resistance there and among the Arabs inside pre-1967 Israel, by every mass and private organization created by and for Palestinians, there is ample evidence to show that taken altogether as members of a community whose common experience is dispossession, exile, and the absence of any territorial homeland, the Palestinian people has not acquiesced in its present lot. Rather the Palestinians have repeatedly insisted on their right of return, their desire for the exercise of selfdetermination, and their stubborn opposition to Zionism as it has affected them<sup>55</sup>.*

The Palestinian people are very persistent in protecting their homeland. Even in conditions of being pushed, expelled, conquered, they still do not want to leave. They still believe that they have the right to return to the Land of Palestine even when the Jews have taken their lands. In addition, the struggle did not stop at physical resistance, but with writing. Why written works are juxtaposed with physical struggles, it refers to the culture of Arab society that is very proud of literary works. So many writers and poets were born from Palestine who raised the anxiety of the Palestinian people about the condition of their country.

*Palestinian writers and intellectuals like Hakam Darwazeh, Khalil Sakakineh, Khalil Beidas, and Najib Nassar. all these formed great national blocs among the population, directed the energies of the "non-Jewish" Palestinian community, created a Palestinian identity opposed equally to British rule and to Jewish colonization, and solidified the Palestinian sense of belonging by whichever continuity of residence to a distinct national group with a language (the Palestinian Arab dialect) and a specific communal sense (threatened particularly by Zionism) of its own<sup>56</sup>.*

According to an excerpt from the book *Arabic Cultural Nationalism in Palestine during British Rule*, resistance is not only carried out by fighters on the battlefield, but writers also have a big share in voicing resistance through their writings. Many writers were born in this era such as Ibrahim Touqan, Mahmud Abidi,

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<sup>55</sup> Said, *The Question of Palestina*.

<sup>56</sup> Abu-Ghazaleh, *Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine during the British Mandate*.

Qadri Touqan, Al Sakakineh, Khalil Beidas, Najib Nassar, Al 'Arif, Zuaitir, Al Tamimi, Darwazah, and Muhammad Yuris Al Husaini<sup>57</sup>. Many Palestinian writers who were born in this era then constantly voiced resistance through their writings. The literary works they produced played an important role in increasing the spirit of resistance and bonding the communal side of the Palestinian people.

### **The goal of Palestinian resistance**

عزنا # غاية تشرف وراية ترفرف  
يا هناك في علاك # قاهرا عدك  
موطني

*Our glory, is a glorious goal and a fluttering flag  
O you there at the peak of your glory,  
Defeating your enemies,  
My homeland.*

Every struggle has a goal to be realized. This was expressed by Ibrahim Touqan in his last stanza. The word "قاهرا عدك" means to defeat the enemy. The resistance that has been mentioned in the previous stanzas refers to one goal, namely defeating the enemy. Based on the setting of this poem, it can be understood that the enemy here is the British and the Zionists from Europe.

### **CONCLUSION**

The analysis of Ibrahim Touqan's Mawtini song lyrics through the New Historicism approach resulted in the following findings. First, the creation of the lyrics of the song Mawtini is very close to the historical background of the British occupation and the European Jewish diaspora to the Palestinian territories. Second, this research found resistance values contained in the song lyrics. This proves that with the reading of new historicism, historical events can be known through literary works. Mawtini's song lyrics become one of the literary references to reveal Israeli colonialism in Palestine and also the diaspora carried out by European Jews. Finally, the construction of resistance contained in the lyrics of this song is organized through the perspective of the people seeing their homeland, the hope for a resolution to the conflict, the importance of the role of youth to fight back, the purpose of the resistance and the methods taken in resistance to hegemony efforts over the Palestinian land.

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<sup>57</sup> Said, *The Question of Palestina*.

This research still has shortcomings in the form of non-literary texts that are used only limited to two books. So further research can consider expanding the use of more diverse non-literary texts as a way to produce a more in-depth neo-historicism study.

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