Fanon in Arabic: tracks and traces

Harding, S.-A. (2017). Fanon in Arabic: tracks and traces. In K. Batchelor, & S.-A. Harding (Eds.), *Translating Frantz Fanon Across Continents and Languages* (1st ed., pp. 98-128). (Routledge Advances in Translation and Interpreting Studies). Routledge.

Published in:
Translating Frantz Fanon Across Continents and Languages

Document Version:
Peer reviewed version

Queen's University Belfast - Research Portal:
Link to publication record in Queen's University Belfast Research Portal

Publisher rights
© CRC Press/Taylor & Francis.
This work is made available online in accordance with the publisher's policies. Please refer to any applicable terms of use of the publisher.

General rights
Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Queen's University Belfast Research Portal is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy
The Research Portal is Queen's institutional repository that provides access to Queen's research output. Every effort has been made to ensure that content in the Research Portal does not infringe any person's rights, or applicable UK laws. If you discover content in the Research Portal that you believe breaches copyright or violates any law, please contact openaccess@qub.ac.uk.

Open Access
This research has been made openly available by Queen's academics and its Open Research team. We would love to hear how access to this research benefits you. – Share your feedback with us: http://go.qub.ac.uk/oa-feedback

Download date:13. Feb. 2025

Chapter Four

Fanon in Arabic: Tracks and Traces

By Sue-Ann Harding[1]

Of all the languages into which the works of Frantz Fanon have been translated, Arabic perhaps holds a special position, given both the contiguity and separation of French and Arabic in Fanon's life, work and politics, as shaped by his experience of revolutionary Algeria, a country in which, even today, '[t]he relationship of language to national identity remains a fraught one' (Edwards 2002, 99). Although he lived in Algiers and Tunisia for the last eight years of his life, Fanon did not master Arabic, and yet he studied the language and was far from immune to the cultural and linguistic challenges involved in working with his Arabic and Kabyle (Berber) psychiatric patients. Gendzier (1973) describes how Fanon and his colleague at Blida-Joinville, Jacques Azoulay, deliberately set about to increase their knowledge of local cultures, social practices and socio-economic circumstances and, in response, worked self-critically to modify their psychiatric practice (see also Shohat 2006, 257–58; Cherki 2006). Part of this included the novel recruitment of (local) male nurses to act as Arabic and Kabyle interpreters, a practice which garnered their loyalty to the reforms that Fanon was attempting to introduce into the hospital and facilitated communication between doctors and patients, but nevertheless, as Fanon and Azoulay observe in the (French) article they co-authored on their efforts, also served to reinforce the social and linguistic hierarchy of French-colonised Algeria.[2] Fanon wrote in French for the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN) paper *El Moudjahid*, its Arabic title shared by the French and Arabic editions, just as they shared a building even though 'each edition had its own writing and editorial

staff. In other words, while there was some overlap between the editions, neither the French nor the Arabic existed merely as a translation of the other' (Stanton 2011, 64). Furthermore, Edwards argues that Fanon's written French is a purposefully destabilizing 'Arabised French', achieved 'through a variety of rhetorical strategies involving movement between French and Arabic', including the use of untranslated Arabic words—Pirelli's Italian anthology included a glossary, (see Chapter 1, this volume)—and French words derived from Arabic etymologies that had entered the language 'in direct connection to the conquest and colonisation of Algeria' (Edwards 2002, 101).[3]

These fluid contingencies between French, Arabic and translation are well-illustrated in the moving descriptions of Fanon's funeral (see Gendzier 1973; Cherki 2006 and Macey 2012, who draw on *El Moudjahid* 3/88, 1961), at which an ALN (*Algerian Armeé de Libération Nationale*) *commandant*[4] delivered, in Arabic, an elegiac obituary at the graveside. The Arabic speech—which itself quoted Fanon, presumably translating his French into Arabic—is then translated into French by *El Moudjahid* and (partially) back into English by Gendzier and Macey. Fanon's final resting place in Aïn Kerma, in the far east of Algeria, is marked by an Arabic-inscribed headstone.

Yet, although there are several claims for Fanon's influence on Algerians (Gendzier 1966, 541–42), others have noted and tried to explain from various angles, how 'Fanon has never really become a part of the pantheon of Algerian nationalism' (Macey 2012, 7; see also Cherki 2006, Ouaissa 2015). What might have developed, had Fanon lived longer, out of this close, complex, dynamic relationship between Fanon, Arabic and the Arab world is impossible to know, but, in hindsight, the mutually powerful influences that one might have expected are not so evident. 'It

has been estimated that no less than six editions of *The Wretched of the Earth* have appeared in Arabic', writes Gendzier enthusiastically (1973, 266), as if to confirm Fanon's ready embrace by the Arab world, and yet, as this chapter describes, the reception is not so clear cut. As we see elsewhere in this book, and as Yasser Munif (2012) rightly claims, *The Wretched of the Earth* 'was not only influential for several generations of grassroots movements and activists in Africa, the United States, and Latin America; it was also discussed and debated extensively in intellectual circles across the globe'. In contrast, '[t]he reception of the book was more mitigated in the Arab world', likely due, Munif argues, 'to Fanon's sweeping criticism of [the] national bourgeoisie, which seized power after decolonisation and became an intermediary class between Western powers and local populations' (*ibid*.).

The first Arabic translation of *Les Damnés de la terre*, *Muʿaḏabū al-ʾarḍ* [lit. Tortured of the Earth] was published in Beirut in 1963, just two years after the publication of the original.[5] As in many parts of the world, in the Middle East these were tumultuous post-independence years, marked by developing political parties, factions and forms of government, frequent coups, shifting political alliances and violent conflict, all inspired by various international and local ideologies, including Marxism, communism, socialism, Pan-Arab nationalism, Baʿth ideologies, international liberation movements and (varieties of) political Islam. The success of the Algerian war of independence was also a powerful inspiration and viewed with admiration by many of the region's thinkers, writers, politicians and ideologues, including those involved in student movements, emerging political parties and, as discussed below, the Palestinian armed resistance.

This chapter traces the trajectory of this Arabic translation, from its first appearance to the most recent edition published in Cairo in 2015. How the book was framed for Arab readers is investigated through an analysis of paratextual material, and contextualised by brief biographies of the owner of the translation's publishing house and the two translators, Syrian intellectuals cum politicians who played key roles in the establishment and political life of the Syrian Baʿth Party. The chapter then chronologically tracks the publication of further Arabic editions and reprints, noting the reframing of Fanon that occurs each time, and reflecting on the challenges involved in locating and identifying Arabic bibliographic sources. Finally, the chapter shifts to the issue of citation, discussing the influence of Fanon on Palestinian resistance and offering a critique of scholarly literature that unreflectively links Fanon, violence and Fateh. It concludes by acknowledging the limitations of this study, a first mapping of the terrain's tracks and traces that, it is hoped, invites further exploration.

Dar al-Ṭalīʿah, 1963, 1966, 1979

The first Arabic translation of *Les Damnés de la terre* was published in 1963 by Dar al-Ṭalīʿah [Vanguard Press] in Beirut, Lebanon. Founded in 1959 or 1960 (the sources differ), Dar al-Ṭalīʿah was the publishing house of Bashir al-Daouq (1931-2007), an economics professor at the American University of Beirut, who also established the monthly journal *Dirasat ʿArabiyah* in 1965 and was a co-founder, in 1975, of the Centre for Arab Unity Studies. Reflected in a catalogue that includes translations of Freud, Hegel, Nietzsche, Trotsky, Gramsci and Marx, as well as Arabic writers such as Ghada al-Samman, Naji Alloush and Sadiq Jalal al-Azm, '[t]he list of the causes Dauok championed is long—anti-colonialism, Baathism, Arab nationalism, Palestine, social and economic justice, and women's rights,' as well as 'the self-reflection and self-criticism

that he encouraged following the Arab defeat [by Israel] in 1967' (Chalala 2007/2008). Committed to the principles of 'revolution and change on the ideological and cultural and levels as well as the political,' Dar al-Ṭalīʿah published books without which 'Arabs could not be part of the modern world' (al-Ḥulū, 2008).

Moreover, al-Daouq 'was hardly a partisan publisher' and was renowned for his open-mindedness and pluralism, 'frequently publishing manuscripts with which he disagreed,' which 'during the tumultuous and polarising years that followed the 1967 defeat…was an extreme rarity' among publishers (Chalala 2007/2008). A memorial essay written on the occasion of his death in 2007 is full of accolades from Arab writers and intellectuals praising al-Daouq for both his political stances and personal qualities: 'Daouk is…the unsung soldier of Arab culture'; 'Dar Al Talia was a refuge of futuristic and leftist thinking and Dirasaat Arabiyya was a forum for freedom and difference'; and his 'publishing projects were the center for the new, the courageous, and the problematic in Arab culture' (Chalala 2007/2008, see also Alloush 2007). It is this progressive, political environment that is the birthplace of Fanon in Arabic.[6]

According to the OCLC (Online Computer Library Center) WorldCat Arabic Union Catalog, this first 1963 Arabic edition was translated by Sami al-Durubi (Droubi) and Jamal al-Atassi. I have no more information regarding this first edition and have not been able to locate a copy, but a second edition/reprint—the Arabic term *ṭabʿah* is ambiguous—appearing in January 1966 (301pp), was available for a time in the Qatar National Library Heritage Collection. This is the edition I was able to examine and, with no reason to assume that it differs significantly from the 1963 edition, is the one discussed here.[7]

Published as part of Dar al-Ṭalīʿah's 'Politics and Society' Series, the 1966 second edition carries the standard plain cover design of the series, includes a translation of Sartre's preface (*taṣdīr*) and the six chapter headings follow those of the original. The back cover blurb introduces the reader to 'Dr. Frantz Fanon' as one of the 'prominent figures of political thinking and a hero among heroes in the battle (*maʿrakah*) against colonisation'.[8] The personal sacrifice of Fanon is highlighted; this is the book he wrote before he died 'in the prime of his youth', in which he talks about 'the role of violence in the battle for liberation' especially in 'the Algerian struggle (*kifaḥ*) for national liberation' which he 'waged valiantly' and for which he 'dedicated (*waqafa*) his life'. In line with Baʿth ideology, the blurb positions Fanon's book as a text for the people, describing the role they too can play in the struggle through 'the popular organisation and political awareness of the struggling masses in protecting independence after it has been seized (*intizaʿuh*), and in the building of a progressive, revolutionary society that cannot but be socialist.'

The book begins with an anonymous introduction (*muqadimah*) likely to have been authored by the publisher and/or one or both of the translators.[9] The first part of the introduction presents Fanon as someone who, convinced that talking to Europe was futile, turns instead to address 'his brothers who took up arms and have already begun to shed blood' (5). This is not a call to violence but a recognition of violence; 'he knows that colonisation cannot be uprooted by persuasion, and that liberation from colonisation cannot be without violence' (5). He also recognises that colonisation, though it might leave by the door, can return through the window in a different guise, and it is Fanon who, in an extended metaphor, is ready for this, who 'arrests him and hands him over to the masses…to liquidate him'. This deceiver is the 'national' bourgeoisie (*al-burğuwaziya 'al-*

watanīyah')—the quotation marks are in the Arabic text—who tries 'to steal the people's revolution', and who is exposed by Fanon as the exploiter and colluder. Through this mix of personal conviction, clarity of thought, insight, and even physical strength, the introduction characterises Fanon from the outset as an admirable figure, one addressing those already involved in the fight, who are, in fact, 'his fighter brothers' (*iḫwatih al-muğahidīn*) (6).

The second section turns to Fanon's biography. He is 'a Negro (*zinğī*) from Martinique' where he 'suffered humiliation and shame' from French colonisation, which made him 'despise colonisation, not only in his own country, but in the whole world' (6). Again, it is his personal qualities, his 'enlightened mind and his rich knowledge' that enable him to see that 'the vanishing of colonisation' will not just be for the benefit of the colonised but 'a salvation for the colonisers themselves from the inhumanity into which they have fallen' (6). As a medical student in France (no mention is made of his WWII service), Fanon showed 'excellence and ingenuity', and was involved in political activities before graduating and being 'appointed as a psychiatrist in Blida, Algeria'. Here, through his work with his patients, 'his revolutionary feelings deepened'. He saw not only how 'colonisation distorts human nature and wastes the human being' but how the revolution 'carried souls to healing and purification', how it 'washes the revolutionary society from the defilements of stalemate and delay' (6), all of which he wrote about in *The Fifth Year of the Algerian Revolution.*

A 'brilliant psychiatrist' whose published research proved his 'rare powers of intuition and sound methodology' (6), Fanon was also 'humane with a compassionate heart' (6) and had deep empathy and sympathy for his patients, 'the weary and the wretched' (7). At the same time, he had within

himself ‘a massive, violent revolution against oppression, exploitation and racist arrogance’ (7) causing some ‘shallow Europeans to say that he had an “inferiority complex”’, that ‘he hated white people because he was black’ (7). No, the introduction argues, he did not hate whites, he hated the colonisation they practiced, nor he is a man to be simply ruled by his ‘individual passion’, for the revolution is based on analysis and objectivity, observation and ‘an integrated theory’ (7).

From here, the introduction moves to the Algerian revolution, which ‘Fanon accompanied from the start’ believing it to be ‘a radical revolution, an authentic, humanitarian revolution that will not be limited to its land or people, but whose echo will resonate in all of Africa and in all the backward (*mutaḫallifah*) colonised countries [as] a call, an example and a model to follow’ (7). The admiration which the Algerian revolution garnered from the Arab world is clearly evident here, and Fanon is placed into its centre, as one who joined the revolutionaries, shared in the fighting, and gave up the easy intellectual life to ‘fight with his people’ (7). As for the revolution, it welcomed him with open arms, opening its heart to him and assigning him ‘many tasks’, including representing the revolution at international conferences, where he was ‘a bright thinker, a glowing fire’, famous for his ‘wonderful speech’ in Accra, where he expressed his faith in violence as the only means for the colonised to be freed (8).

Yet Fanon’s body falters, and although he withdraws from the physical battle, he continues with his intellect, ‘quickening his steps to finish his book before death seeps into his bed’. Finally, the hero succumbs; ‘the coldness of death penetrated with slow steps to Fanon’s heart, and he breathed his last breath, and he did not reach forty years of age’. His return to Africa and his funeral are solemnly described, his coffin draped with the Algerian flag and carried by *al-muǧahidīn* to be

buried in the Algerian soil (*turab)* as he wanted, a 'Martiniquais of the Algerian struggle', who left 'lights throughout the Algerian homeland (*waṭan*).' The words of Ben Bella are quoted in tribute: 'Fanon was not only a companion in battle, but a mentor and a guide, leaving us, in his intellectual and political legacy (*intağuh*), a guarantee for the Algerian revolution' (9).[10] The adjective 'Algerian' is used five times in this section. Just as his body is carried across the border and physically placed into the country's earth, Fanon is firmly placed into the heart of the revolution, as one of their own.

From here, the authors of the introduction move on to say that, although there are many lessons in Fanon's book, they want to emphasis one of the main ideas relevant for (lit. *taṭul*, overlooking) 'our current Arab revolution' (9), namely, the role of the bourgeoisie. Before doing so, however, they remark on the difficulties of extracting the main ideas of the book given Fanon's writing style, which, rather than a presentation of his ideas in 'a teaching manner' with examples in a logical order, is repetitious, apparently contradictory and so jumps, bounces, flows and races that you can barely follow it without becoming out of breath. This, they argue, is in the manner of revolutionary thinking, in which the mind and reality should be so intertwined, that, rather than hiding behind cold abstractions, the 'simmering revolutionary reality' enters the picture so that it also 'boils'. 'In Fanon's book', they write, in what is the closest we get to what might be a translators' reflection on the original text, 'there is thought and poetry together: for the analytical mind, it has the flapping of wings in flight and the tunes of a resounding music' (9).

In the final section of the introduction, the authors turn their attention to what they see as the main idea of the book, namely that 'violence is the only way to eliminate colonisation' (10). And yet,

while the ‘enslaved masses’ recognise this, they do not immediately resort to ‘armed struggle’ (*kifaḥ musallaḥ*); it is only on account of the cowardice, pontificating, appeasement, collusion, obsequiousness and treachery of the national bourgeoisie that the people resort to violence, ‘grabbing their independence with their own hands’ (11). This, then, is what the authors really consider to be the importance of the book, and the remainder of the text is a scathing attack on the national bourgeoisie—they are backward, economically powerless and arrogant. They are mediators, brokers, rather than leaders or innovators. They have no plans for the country, are lazy and have no concern but for the personal accumulation of profits and luxury goods. While the attack from the authors is generalised, they also give two examples that ‘Fanon would have used had he wanted to draw examples from the national freedom movements of Arab countries (10), namely, the conspiracy (*taāmur*) of the Syrian national bourgeoisie who ceded the province of *al-Iskandarūn*, [which later became part of Turkey] to the French occupiers in 1936, and, even more damningly, the great plot (*al-muʾamarah*) hatched by the bourgeoisie of the Arab countries, together with colonisation, that led to the occupation of Palestine, the displacement of its people, and one of the greatest crimes in history (10). These are strong words to direct at your own political elite.

Lastly, the writers turn to the question of national unity (*al-wiḥdah al-qawmīyah*), that is, unity above the level of country or national state, such as the Pan-Arabism of the Syrian Baʿth translators. While the authors, somewhat unexpectedly, praise the European bourgeoisie for their ability to achieve this unity in Europe—they praise them too for their innovation and discoveries, again, radical words in a region emerging from colonisation—the authors recall how Fanon condemns the bourgeoisie of Africa for their powerlessness, for their petty selfishness that fosters

regional differences, tribal disputes and Pan-African fragmentation, for their efforts in doing everything they can to hinder the realisation of African unity. This same condemnation is then levelled at the Arab world, where, the authors claim, Fanon would have found 'the clearest example' of how the 'national (*waṭanīya*) bourgeoisie fights national (*qawmīyah*) unity' for the sake of its own interests (12). Indeed, they argue, national unity cannot be achieved without 'dislodging and destroying' the controlling bourgeoisie; in backward countries—and the context makes it clear that the authors are here referring to Arab countries—there is no reason for the bourgeoisie to even exist, they play no role and are of no use. The way forward for such countries is, instead, socialism. This, in fact, is what is happening with the Algerian revolution, the authors conclude, as it leaps over the bourgeoisie stage to build a socialist Algerian society and realise its Arab destiny. The introduction ends with a repetition of the Ben Bella quote, thus claiming Fanon, the companion in battle, the mentor and guide, not just for Algerians but for all Arabs.

Munif claims that 'while the Arabic translation of *The Wretched of the Earth* came out shortly after its publication in French, it omitted many passages because they were critical of the national bourgeoisie' (2012). Yet here in the introduction that very criticism is foregrounded and pointedly applied to the Arab world. It seems contradictory to be so critical in the introduction only to excise critical passages from the translation itself. Verifying Munif's claim requires an analysis of the 1966 translation, which, to my knowledge, has yet to be done, and for now, is beyond my expertise, but in light of the Arabic introduction, it would be telling to see what, exactly, was omitted (if anything), and whether these omissions were carried over into later reprints and editions, particularly the 2004 revised translation.

Dar al-Ṭalīʿah went on to publish a total of five reprints of *Muʿaḏabū al-ʾarḍ*. Thus, in addition to the 1963 and 1966 editions, the OCLC WorldCat Arabic Union Catalog also lists a third edition (1979), a fourth (1981) and a fifth (1984). Of note is the fact that these are all some one hundred pages shorter than the 1963 and 1966 editions, due (on the basis of the 1979 edition, held at the QNL Heritage Collection) to the omission of the Sartre preface. This is no doubt in response to Josie Fanon's highly critical article of Sartre, published in *El Moudjahid* in 1967, in which she asks for his preface to be removed (Gendzier 1973, 288 n111; Macey 2012, 463). Otherwise, the cover design, the table of contents, and the introduction (now called 'Introduction (*taqdīm*) to the Arabic edition') are all the same. The only changes to the paratexts are minor and are found in the blurb: Fanon loses the title of Doctor, and two sentences (adapted from the Arabic introduction, p.6) are added: 'He teaches us [changed from 'He knows' in the introduction] that colonisation cannot be uprooted but by violence. He distinguishes between real independence and false independence.'

The Arabic translators

The names of the translators on the first Arabic translation published in 1963 are Sami al-Durubi and Jamal al-Atassi.[11] Born in Homs in Syria in the early 1920s, educated in Paris and returning to Syria to teach, both al-Durubi and al-Atassi were active members of the emerging Syrian Baʿth Party, founded in Damascus in 1947 by Michel Aflaq (1901-1989) and Salah al-Din al-Biṭar (1912-1980). Although now well-tainted by the tyrannies of Iraq's Saddam Hussein and Syria's Assad dynasty, at the time of its formation and early development in the 1940s and 1950s, the party's founders were mobilised around socialist ideas of economic, educational and agricultural reform

and key notions of 'Arab unity, liberation from colonial rule and social justice' (Moubayed 2006, 131). These were to be achieved by a transformative political and social revolution (*inqilab*), with the Baʿth Party—the name means 'resurrection' or 'rebirth'—taking on a special role as the vanguard (*al-ṭalīʿah*) of the Arab people (see Devlin 1976, 23-45).

Al-Atassi hailed from a prominent political family that included veteran politician Hashim al-Atassi (1873-1960), founder of the National Bloc party formed in political resistance to the French Mandate over Syria and thrice president of the republic. Al-Atassi studied medicine and earned his PhD in clinical psychiatry from Damascus University in 1947 (Atassi Family Website), where al-Durubi began teaching the following year. Al-Atassi was president of the university student organisation of the Baʿth Party (1943-1947) and continued to be a committed member when the party opposed, and was even outlawed by, the ruling military regime of Adib al-Shishakli (1951-1954). He is known as one of the 'early ideologues' of the Baʿth party, accredited with creating the party motto ('One united Arab people (*ʾummah*) with an eternal message'), contributing to the drafting of the party's constitution and working as senior editor for the party newspaper (Moubayed 2006, 168). Al-Durubi also joined the party, 'becoming one of its most influential leaders in the second half of the 1950s...and one of the most acclaimed philosophers of Arab nationalism in modern Syria' (Moubayed 2006, 408-409).

As members of the Baʿth Party, both al-Durubi and al-Atassi were strong supporters of Egypt's charismatic president, Gamal Abd al-Nasser and advocates of Arab unity and nationalism, a dream realised in the creation of the United Arab Republic in 1958 through the political merger of Syria and Egypt. The dream was short-lived, however, with the Baʿth leadership's rising disillusionment

with Nasser finally bringing the UAR to an end in a Baʿth Syrian military coup on September 28, 1961. During the UAR years, al-Durubi was the director of the Ministry of Culture and al-Atassi the editor-in-chief for the Communist weekly *al-Ǧamahīr* [*The Masses*]. This was also the period in which al-Durubi and al-Atassi first worked together as translators: their translation of Jean-Yves Calvez's *La Pensée de Karl Marx* (Paris, 1956) was published in 1959, with Sartre's *Matérialisme et revolution* appearing the following year, and both published by Dar al-Yaqaẓah al-ʿArabiyah [Arab Awakening Publishing], Damascus (Atassi Family Website).

1961 then, saw both the end of the UAR and the publication of *Les Damnés de la terre* in French. It must have been during this brief period of the post-Nasser Syrian government of Nazim al-Qudsi when the two translators worked on the text as, in 1963, the year of publication of the Arabic translation, the Military Committee of the Baʿth Party took power in another coup (March 8, 1963) and al-Durubi and al-Atassi were again in positions of government; al-Durubi held the post of Minister of Education and al-Atassi was Minister of Information. Both were also members of the Revolutionary Command Council. Again, their positions of power were short lived. Al-Atassi resigned in July and set up his own Arab Socialist Union (later, in 1973, called the Arab Socialist Democratic Union), while, in a pattern that had already begun in the last years of the UAR when he was sent as cultural consultant to Brazil, al-Durubi was relegated to the diplomatic service, sent first to Morocco (1963) and then to Yugoslavia (1964). In 1964, the last joint translation of the al-Durubi/al-Atassi team was published, a translation of Maurice Duverger's *Introduction à la politique* (Paris: Gallimard 1964).

In addition to their political involvement and official positions, both al-Durubi and al-Atassi were prolific writers and translators in their own right. Al-Durubi wrote on psychology, education and Russian literature and translated the philosophical works of Henri Bergson and Jean Paul Sartre and the literature of Algerian author Mohammed Dib, as well as the works of Ivo Andrić, Pushkin, Lermontov, Tolstoy and the complete works of Fyodor Dostoevsky (from the French, see Jacquemond 2009, 25). Al-Atassi wrote on nationalism, socialism and political thought, including 'a classic work with Michel Aflaq and Munif al-Razzaz' (Moubayed 2006, 169) and two books on Nasser. Both are remembered and admired as Syrian men of letters, especially al-Atassi who 'established himself as a political philosopher, with his own views on Arabism and socialism, and commanded widespread respect in Syria, despite his increasingly hostile attitude toward the Assad government' (Moubayed 2006, 168); when he died in 2000 he was given 'a semi-official funeral at the president's orders' (*ibid*.) His daughter, Suhair al-Atassi, has emerged as a human rights activist and one of the leading oppositional voices to Bashir Assad's regime, establishing the Jamal al-Atassi National Dialogue Forum in 2001, revived as an online forum when the original group was banned by the authorities (Suhair Al-Atassi 2012; Bar'el 2012). The biographies of al-Durubi and al-Atassi clearly dispel the concept of the invisible, passive translator. These men—like many of the translators described in this book—are engaged, involved, and informed. As well as translators, they are intellectuals, writers, politicians, activists and protesters.

And what of Fanon? Throughout the writing of this chapter, I searched for direct links between Fanon, al-Durubi and al-Atassi. Did they ever meet? How did the translators first learn about Fanon and his work? I hoped, as perhaps many historians do, that I might be privileged to detect a conversation, a handshake, the passing of a pamphlet from hand to hand, to be able to trace some

kind of physical path that could map the linguistic transformation of *Les Damnés de la terre* into *Muʿaḏabū al-ʾarḍ*. Both al-Durubi and al-Atassi travelled to Algiers during their time as government ministers in the UAR, by which time Fanon had already resigned from Blida and, fully committed to the FLN, was based in Tunis from where he travelled frequently. That they ever met is doubtful.

There were, nevertheless, direct connections to the Algerian war. Jamal al-Atassi's younger cousin, Nur al-Din al-Atassi (1930-1992) also joined the Baʿth Party as a student and succeeded Jamal as head of the student organisation (1948-1955), continuing as an active member of the Party in the 1950s and, like many, was imprisoned and tortured for his opposition to the Shishakli regime. In 1957, Nur al-Din and two of his close friends, Ibrahīm Maẖus (1925-2013) and Yusuf Zuʿaīn (b.1931), volunteered as medics for the cause of the Algerian resistance, and, in what was evidently a defining experience for the young men (Tahir 2012), spent several years there, during which time they could well have come into contact with Fanon's work and ideas. All three later became prominent leaders in the Baʿth government of Salah Jadīd and Hafiẓ al-Assad (1966-1970)—Nur al-Din al-Atassi was president, Zuʿaīn his prime minister and Maẖus foreign minister.[12]

Beyond any of this background, it remains, disappointingly, difficult to determine exactly how the Arabic translators first came into contact with Fanon. The impetus for the translation of his works is just as likely to have come from the publisher as it is to have come from al-Atassi's cousin's first-hand experiences of the Algerian War. What can be said, however, is that the translation of Fanon into Arabic by these people is indicative of the time and place; al-Durubi, al-Atassi, al-

Daouq and many of the early Baʿth ideologues were men—and women are conspicuously absent from the literature—who moved in similar social circles, came from well-connected families, had a similar education and shared both tumultuous experiences and political credos. It is not surprising that they would share ideals and projects. By assembling as much of the story as I can—and so often my reading was 'against the grain', in that the work of al-Durubi and al-Atassi as translators remains peripheral to their other achievements in the literature if it is mentioned at all—I hope to offer others a starting point in the continued search for that hand-to-hand moment.

Tracking other Arabic editions: the challenges of imprecision

Further to the five reprints of *Muʿaḏabū al-ʾarḍ* published by Dar al-Ṭalīʿah, I also managed to identify several additional editions, including publications by the Syrian Ministry of Education (Damascus, 1968, 1970), Dar al-Qalam (Beirut, 1972), Al-Našir al-ʿAraby (Cairo, 1998), ANEP and al-Fārābi (Algiers and Beirut, 2004), the Algerian Ministry of Culture (2007), the Jordanian Ministry of Culture (Amman, 2009), Madarat (Cairo 2013, 2015) and Dar al-ʾAhlīyah (Amman, 2015).[13] Before turning to these, this section first discusses several factors contributing to the difficulties of locating and identifying Arabic bibliographic sources when compiling a precise bibliographic record (see also Nsouli 1999).[14]

First is the lack of a centralised place to go for information; there are several national libraries, but no British Library or Library of Congress equivalent in the Arab world, although most of the better known libraries in the region, such as the Biblioteca Alexandrina and the American University Libraries in Cairo and Beirut, do upload records onto the OCLC [Online Computer Library Centre] platform, the largest union catalogue in the world. Initiatives like the Arabic Union Catalog are

also underway to create a regional union catalogue and these records are already reflected on the WorldCat, the free, public interface of OCLC. Regional IT companies that sell library management systems are supporting this initiative, but for this to really work, parent organisations need to recognise the importance of standard proprietary library software systems and qualified librarians and provide the necessary financial and institutional support. This is generally not the case in the MENA region, and the problems are exacerbated by the regional book trade. There is little control in terms of copyright, intellectual property and the use of international standard book numbers (ISBNs); this makes it difficult to identify a title as unique. A case in point is the 2009 edition published by the Jordanian Ministry of Culture, which includes no mention at all of the original publication produced in 1963 by Dar al-Ṭalīʿah and even includes an 'All rights reserved' statement claiming all rights for 'the publisher', i.e. the Jordanian Ministry of Culture. Traditionally, one purpose of a national library is to provide bibliographic details of titles published in a country and provide unique ISBNs, but an example of an equivalent service in this region is yet to be found.

Also lacking is a unified cataloguing system in Arabic (McClintock 1978; Hendrickson 2008), so that even when entries are found, these are often incomplete. In the writing of this chapter, it was difficult to know if library catalogue entries indicated new editions, reprints or a book already identified through other means, and I am indebted to those librarians who responded to my requests and sent scanned copies of covers and front matter, so that I could examine them myself. In addition, cataloguing standards, that is, the use of standard item descriptions, controlled language (edition, reprint etc.) and classification systems, have yet to be fully and consistently developed in the Middle East. There are librarian-led initiatives to improve this but it will take time, and

resources (human and financial) need to be dedicated not only to achieving this but also to retrospective cataloguing and the improvement of old records. Even as there are new investments in the development of libraries, librarians and information management in some parts of the region, particularly in the modernising ambitions of the Gulf states, other libraries and governments do not have the funds or the political capability to do so, while still others, such as the Iraq National Library and Archive, and the Syrian National Library are suffering from the damage and ongoing repercussions of war and violent political conflict in the region (Edwards and Edwards 2008; Spurr 2010).

Another major problem is the lack of a unified Romanisation or transcription system of Arabic; '[f]or lay readers, the representation of Arabic words in English is an inexact science—the source of unnecessary confusion' (Moubayed 2006, 23), and one that compounds the difficulties involved in online searches (Kuntz 2005). Although there are standard transliteration systems available, such as the American Library Association Library of Congress Romanization Tables, the ISO (International Organization for Standardization) scheme, or the *Denkschrift zur Transliteration der arabischen Schrift* published by the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft,* there is, to date, no agreement on which one to use for library cataloguing and information management systems. With the development of software systems that are now able to manage the Arabic script, original script is generally preferred, although, as the Library of Congress argues, there is still a need for Romanisation for the benefit of international library staff without specific language expertise (Library of Congress 2011). Again, retrospective cataloguing would be required to improve older records. With all of this in mind, the following list of editions may well be incomplete, but, like the brief biographies above, is offered as a starting point for further investigation.

Syrian Ministry of Education, 1968, 1970

The list of Jamal al-Atassi's works and translations on the *Atassi Family Website* includes two editions of *Muʿaḏabū al-ʾarḍ* printed in Damascus by the Ministry of Education, one published in 1968 for students in the second year of secondary school and another published in 1970 for students in the third year. The reference given for this claim comes from the Syrian National Bibliography but I have been unable to find any further details; neither of these titles is listed in the Arabic Union Catalog, and as school textbooks, they were likely to be of limited distribution. If one or both of these editions were able to be located, then the astonishing claim that *Les Damnés de la terre* was translated and published for Syrian high school students could be verified. Of course, it would be fascinating to see a copy of one or both of these.

Dar al-Qalam, 1972

Another early edition of *Muʿaḏabū al-ʾarḍ* appeared in January 1972 (224pp). Although not listed in the Arabic Union Catalog, it is catalogued in the Qatar National Library and was available through the Heritage Collection.[15] Published by Dar al-Qalam, also in Beirut, this edition still includes the Sartre preface and the introduction from the early Dar al-Ṭalīʿah editions. There are two minor differences in the chapter divisions of the book. In the table of contents, Chapter 4 is divided into three separate chapters: *fī al-ṯaqafah al-qawmīyah* [On national culture], *fağr ʾafrīqī* [African dawn] and *al-ʾusus al-muštarakah baīn al-ṯaqafa al-watanīyah wa kifaḥ al-taḥarrur* [Common foundations of national culture and the struggle for liberation]. Of interest, is the use of the two different Arabic words used for the word *nationale*. *Qawmīyah* refers to a broader concept of the people and is often used in reference to the ideas of Pan-Arab nation, whereas *watanīyah* refers to the idea of a country, a homeland; *al-ṯaqafa al-watanīyah wa kifaḥ al-taḥarrur* (national

culture and the liberation struggle) are typically used to describe the Palestinian struggle. The back cover blurb is the same as the 1966 Dar al-Ṭalīʿah blurb.

The most striking difference, however, is the graphic cover (see Figure 4.1). The plain text of the Dar al-Ṭalīʿah edition is replaced by a confronting collage of images; a suffering, tormented woman with her arms bound behind her back and her clothes falling away from her shoulders, a man's face with features drawn in pain or grief, two armed and heavily equipped soldiers—their helmets probably US Army issue—in postures suggesting wariness and alertness, their guns ready. The whole scene is almost engulfed by an enormous, dark red spider web that seems to drip with blood, and from off-centre of the cover, the viewer is met by the steady impassive, one-eyed stare of an oversized skull. This is a book, the cover seems to say, that speaks of suffering, wretchedness and fear in people overpowered by an encompassing threat of evil.

[INSERT FIGURE 4.1 HERE]

Front cover of *Muʿaḏabū al-ʾarḍ* (*Les Damnés de la terre*) by Frantz Fanon. Translated by Sami al-Durubi and Jamal al-Atassi (Dar al-Qalam, 1972).

Al-Našir al-ʿAraby, 1998

This edition was published fourteen years after Dar al-Ṭalīʿah's last reprint of 1984. It appears as part of Al-Našir al-ʿAraby's Great Books Series that includes a veritable pantheon of Western European literary and philosophical heavyweights, including Jules Verne, Sartre, Ionesco, Goethe, de Beauvoir, Swift, Bertrand Russell, Tolstoy, Hugo, Shakespeare, Hemingway, Voltaire, Schiller, Machiavelli, Plato, Rousseau, Dante, Milton, Thomas More, Chaucer, Proust, Euripides and Shaw. This is Fanon as great writer, part of the European canon. The title of the book is now *al-*

Muʿaḏabūn fy al-ʾarḍ [*The Wretched on the Earth*], the same as that of a 1951 short story collection by renowned Egyptian writer Taha Hussein, whose portrayal of the lives and suffering of the destitute is so well known that the title has become a common expression in Arabic, one that can be used in reference to a variety of circumstances, from Syrian refugees fleeing the conflict, to a student complaining of too much homework. It may well be that the title of this Egyptian edition was changed to resonate with Hussein's work.

The cover image of the book is a coloured sketch of two fighters, identifiable as civilian rather than military soldiers by their clothes, the loose, long-sleeved garments and soft hats of perhaps Afghans or Pashtuns. They carry AK47s; the man in the distance is aiming out of the frame, while the man in the foreground turns away, covering his ear as if to protect himself from a blast. The two are surrounded by barbed wire, the front line of an unidentifiable battlefield, awash with green and black smoke that fills the sky. Gone is the bloody threat of the Dar al-Qalam cover, replaced by a sympathetic portrait of *al-muǧahidīn*.

There are several other differences between this edition and those previously discussed, reflected in the Table of Contents. The book opens with a dialogue between *al-ṯaʾir* [*the rebel*] and his mother, and from the brief acknowledgements at the end of the short piece (just two pages), the reader is told that this comes from Aimé Césaire's *al-ʾasliḥah al-muʿǧizah* [Miracle Weapons] and, puzzlingly, *sakata al-ṭulab* [Students are Silent], published by Gallimard, which, after some detective work, turns out to be a typo and should in fact read *sakata al-kilab* [Dogs are Silent]. [16] The dialogue is a translation of an excerpt from Césaire's extended poem 'Le Rebelle', which appeared at the end of his poetry collection *Les armes miraculeuses* (Paris: Gallimard, 1946) and

was adapted to become 'his earliest experiment in drama', *Et les chiens se taisaient* [*And the dogs were silent*] (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1956, see Goldsmith n.d.). Of course, this is the dialogue that Fanon quotes in 'De la violence', but it seems odd for the dialogue to be included at the opening of the book, as a paratext, with no reference to its position in the original. Comparison with the 1966 translation (86-89) of the dialogue shows changes in layout, lexical shifts and omissions, suggesting that this is a new or a revised translation, something that future work could confirm by a closer textual analysis and of course, by examining the entire contents of this 1998 edition—my access was limited to the small proportion of an online copy available through the Library of Alexandria.

Following the dialogue is an introduction by ʿAtif ʿImarah. Parts of this read as if they were taken from the original blurb and Arabic introduction, but, through the addition of new material, there is also a shift in emphasis from the life and figure of Fanon and the barbed criticism of the bourgeoisie to the 'cultural invasion', another form of colonisation. ʿImarah quotes the first paragraph of the Sartre preface[17]—Europe's brutal fabrication of an elite in the colonised countries—explaining how this is the new face of colonisation. In contrast to the praise for Europe found in the 1966 Arabic introduction, Europe is here criticised for its hypocrisy and arrogance in the face of the rising confidence of the colonised elite, who recognise culture as a new front, so to speak, in the 'revolution and struggle' against colonisation. Of course, an analysis of the whole text is necessary before any firm conclusions can be drawn (I have access only to the first two pages), but this focus on culture is an interesting shift that might perhaps reflect the politics of the time, when Arab countries were no longer physically colonised, but felt culturally colonised by powerful US culture and global reach.

Further slight differences between this edition and earlier copies are found in the chapter titles of the book, enough to suggest, again that this is a new or revised translation. The book concludes with a final chapter called *ḥaṭimū haḏa al-ṣanam* [‘Destroy this idol’], possibly a reference to Fanon’s conclusion—the idol could be Europe—but I cannot say more without examining the text itself. With these changes, and at just 83 pages, (according to the Jordanian Union Catalogue), this edition may be some kind of an abridged, or paraphrased, version; the front matter calls it a ‘first edition’, and gives the names of the author of the introduction and the illustrator but there is no mention of translators or previous publications.

ANEP and Dar al-Farabī, 2004

To mark the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Algerian War of Independence, a new edition of *Muʿaḏabū al-ʾarḍ* was published as a joint venture between the Algerian ANEP (Entreprise Nationale de Communication d’Edition & de Publicité) and Dar al-Farabī, Lebanon.[18] The paperback has a plain white cover with a limited palette of red, black and green and a modern font replacing the florid classical calligraphy of earlier editions. A sketch in the lower left-hand corner shows an androgynous human face, gazing directly at the viewer and cross-hatched in broad red strokes. A logo in the top left-hand corner includes the Algerian flag, the dates 1954-2004 and declares, ‘the 50th anniversary of the start of the Algerian revolution’.

Both the Sartre preface and the Arabic introduction have been removed, replaced by an Arabic translation of the new preface to the 2002 French edition (La Découverte & Syros, Paris) by Alice Cherki.[19] The chapter divisions and subdivisions largely follow those of the French, with some

minor differences. Chapter 3 is now translated more closely to the French as *muġamarat al-wʿī al-qawmī al-baʾissah* [Misadventures of National Consciousness], rather than the more idiomatic *mazaliq al-šuūr al-qawmī* [Pitfalls of National Sentiment]. As in the 1972 Dar al-Qalam version, there is also the inclusion of a separate chapter title for the Keita Fodeba poem 'African Dawn'. The 1966 Arabic introduction is no longer included, yet the back cover blurb is, in fact, (although not acknowledged as such) made up of selections from the biographical section of that very text. Fanon is still introduced as 'a Negro (*zinǧī*) from Martinique',[20] and it is still Fanon's humiliation and shame there that caused him to 'hate colonisation, not only in his own country, but in the whole world'. The references, however, to his 'enlightened mind' and his brilliance are now omitted, shifting the impetus of his broader thinking on decolonisation from his personal abilities to his suffering on account of French colonisation. He studied medicine in Lyon, graduated in psychology and was appointed to Blida, and then the biography moves directly to Fanon's involvement in the Algerian revolution. That it will 'resonate in all Africa and in backward countries as a call, an example, a model to follow' is omitted—the revolution is 'the only way to freedom, the only way to move from slavery and loss to a free and dignified existence'. This foregrounding of the revolution is perhaps to be expected in an anniversary edition. Fanon resigns to take up the greater duty of engaging totally with the revolution, which 'welcomed him' and 'assigned him many tasks' but the personal trajectory of Fanon, the 'bright thinker' and 'glowing fire', his final struggles and hero's burial, are all removed and the blurb simply ends with Ben Bella's tribute, probably included as another tribute to the revolution itself, but without the details of Fanon's life and passions, it sounds a little empty.

While it cannot be said that this is a new translation—al-Durubi and al-Atassi are acknowledged as the translators—the book is also labelled as a 'revision' (*murağaʿah*) made by Abdelkader Bouzida, a professor at the University of Algiers II, who also revised the 2004 translation of *L'An V*. According to Bouzida, corrections were made to 'a number of sentences that were poorly expressed in Arabic because they were too close to the structure of the French sentences, something which can often lead to ambiguities.' He also recalls that 'a good number of the corrections (which were unfortunately not all made by the editor—I don't know why) related to cultural aspects or lack of understanding of particular aspects of Algeria …terms that referred to cultural specificities with which the Syrian translator seemed to be unfamiliar.'[21] In addition, Bouzida wrote, 'I corrected inaccurate expressions that were used in the initial translation and which deformed the meaning of Frantz Fanon's text.'[22] This is quite a significant statement, and one that really requires some kind of follow-up in terms of a contrastive analysis between the two translations. To claim that there were 'many errors' in the first translation would inspire the search for perhaps grammatical or syntactical changes in the revised translation, but to claim that these errors were such that they 'deformed the meaning' of the Fanon's text suggests that this new revised translation is also a reinterpretation of Fanon, a reinterpretation deemed necessary by the passing of over four decades and perhaps also, by the branding of the new translation as one published and endorsed by the Algerian government in an official commemorative text. To draw on empirical evidence gathered through a textual comparison in order to see how Fanon has been reinterpreted as an ideologue relevant for late twentieth century Arab readers would be a valuable piece of scholarship that, for now, lies beyond my expertise.

Algerian Ministry of Culture, 2007

Published as part of a series on the humanities and to mark the recognition of Algiers as 'Arab Capital of Culture', this book is labelled a new edition and was to be distributed free of charge to libraries. The plain yellow cover is the only one of the Arabic editions to include Fanon's photograph, and this focus on Fanon, the man, is evident throughout the first few pages of the introduction (*taqdīm*).[23] Here is a portraiture of a committed, intelligent young man, shaped by his experiences in the Second World War, influenced by Aimé Césaire, inspired by François Tosquelle's psychiatric practice, and deeply altered by his work with his patients in Blida to become a pioneering, progressive psychiatrist, a renowned and respected writer, part of *Présence Africaine*'s 'group of black intellectuals' and connected to the French Left of *Les Temps Modernes* and *Éditions du Seuil* (x). Finally, Fanon is a fighter (*munaḍil*), an active representative of the FLN, and this is the ultimate transformation, described in the opening paragraphs of the introduction where he is first the new doctor at Blida '28 years old, from Martinique, black (*ʾasūad*)' and, just eight years later, 'a fighter of the militant Algerian liberation struggle' buried with honours by the National Liberation Army 'in the soil of a free Algeria' (vii). Fanon, acclaimed in Europe and Africa is claimed by the Algerian Ministry of Culture as one of their own.

Jordanian Ministry of Culture, 2009

This edition was published as part of the ministry's Jordanian Family Library series and 'Reading for All' initiative, established in 2007 under the auspices of Queen Rania. The front cover is a pale blue wash, with two nimble androgynous, sprite-like figures hovering over a row of blue palm trees (see Figure 4.2, where it is contrasted with a later Jordanian edition).[24] This is innocuous Fanon, part of a government enterprise to make books widely available and affordable, to spread

‘the culture of reading and to plant in the soul the seed of goodness and knowledge, humanity and the recognition of cultures.’[25] Books published under the scheme include children’s literature, Jordanian and Arabic literature, as well as non-fiction (history, heritage, culture, politics, science, education, psychology etc.). Fanon is included in the category of World Literature and titles also published in 2009 include translations of *Gone With the Wind*, *Les Misérables*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Madame Bovary*, *L'Étranger*, *Paradise Lost*, *Love in the Time of Cholera* and *Moby Dick*. Like the 1998 Egyptian edition, Fanon is positioned into the Western canon, a somewhat fossilised list of ‘classics’ that symbolise learning, knowledge, culture. Yet paradoxically, this is simply new packaging for an earlier edition of the original translation; al-Durubi and al-Atassi are given as the translators, the chapter divisions are exactly the same as the 1966 version and the table of contents restores both the critical Arabic introduction and the problematic Sartre preface. In view of such a misreading of the text itself, it has to be wondered whether the publishers knew very much about Fanon at all, or even read the book they published.

[INSERT FIGURE 4.2 HERE]

Front cover of *Muʿaḏabū al-ʾarḍ* (*Les Damnés de la terre*) by Frantz Fanon. Translated by Sami al-Durubi and Jamal al-Atassi (Jordanian Ministry of Culture, 2009 and Dar al-Ahlia 2015)

Madarat for Research and Publishing, Cairo, 2013, 2015

The final versions to be considered in this section were published in Cairo by Madarat for Research and Publishing, and examined via the information on Madarat’s now defunct website.[26] The 2013 edition includes the Sartre preface and bears a minimalist cover of grey and maroon with a black and white sketch of a small but determined figure in the grip of an enormous, clenched fist. The

figure is wielding a pick axe, and although it seems an almost impossible situation, the flying fragments and spreading cracks in the fist suggest that perhaps this figure will indeed set themselves free from tyranny. In the 2015 edition, this image is repositioned and enlarged, giving it greater prominence. Fanon is again the advocate for the oppressed who, against the odds and with minimal resources, will struggle for (and achieve) freedom.

Given the upheavals in Egypt and parts of the Arab world at the time of publication, it is unsurprising that this edition aims to speak to contemporary events. Although Fanon wrote about the revolutions against the 'old colonisation', says the 2013 back cover blurb—and here I paraphrase—we see that after more than half a century, little has changed; military colonisation has been replaced by a 'local' or 'domestic' (*maḥally*) colonisation, which is cheaper, and whose cultural, political and economic interests are still controlled by the former colonial powers who operated as orientalists and so engendered national, regional, and tribal strife. Like the 1998 edition, the protest here remains against the former colonisers, rather than the Arab bourgeoisie who attracted such criticism in the 1966 introduction, and the strife in the region can be blamed, not on Arab politics or politicians, but on the past.

The cover of the 2015 edition also includes the title of new appendix: 'The Absence of the Islamic Dimension in Fanon's Texts; The Untold Story of Islam in the Book *The Wretched of the Earth*', which aligns with Madarat's focus on Islam as a key theme in its remit as a publishing house and research centre, as detailed on its website. The title is also reminiscent of Slisli's paper (2008), in which he argues that although Fanon refers frequently to the traditions and culture of the Algerian peasantry he ignored, or was ignorant of, the deeply-entrenched place of Islam in this culture and

the distinctly Islamic quality of previous anti-colonial resistance in the country. It may even be a translation of this article, and a further line of study would be to see how the argument that references to Islam are missing from Fanon's work and need to be given a rightful place there, is taken up in this appendix.

Fanon and Fateh

The final section of this chapter returns to the issue of citation, one of the original motivations for this book, as discussed in the Introduction. Claims in the literature that Fateh was deeply influenced by Fanon's apparent advocacy of violence are a clear example of this, and are examined in this section with reference to an Arabic leaflet published by Fateh that draws heavily on Fanon.

In her ground-breaking ethnographic study of Palestinian society, Rosemary Sayigh describes the emergence in the 1960s of mass armed struggle as central to the Palestinian Resistance Movement and the new, and largely successful, positioning of the Resistance as part of a wider class and Third World Struggle (R. Sayigh 1979, 159, 161). While various factors contributed to this new face of the Resistance, not least the surveillance, oppression and 'the squalor and misery of camp life' suffered by Palestinian refugees (R. Sayigh 1979, 154), it was also largely in reaction to the lack of confidence in, and disillusion with, Arab states and governments to effectively help Palestinians achieve their aims of liberation from oppression and occupation (R. Sayigh 1979, 152ff; Y. Sayigh 1997, 89ff; Abu Iyad 1981, 31–32). This lack of confidence also extended to the Syrian Baʿth party and their Pan-Arab agenda (Y. Sayigh 1997, 92–93), which was increasingly seen as side-lining what mattered most to the Palestinians in favour of various neo-colonial and corrupt political and personal ambitions. Palestinian armed struggle,[27] with its appeal to the masses, 'the young, the

oppressed, and the disinherited' (R. Sayigh 1979, 150), emerged as a cause that could, as Fateh hoped, 'become the catalysts of a unitary and revolutionary Arab force'(Abu Iyad 1981, 33) and 'give new impetus to the wider Arab struggle…; By setting itself squarely in the framework of the Third World struggle against US economic and political domination, the PRM [Palestinian Resistance Movement] revitalized radical elements in the Arab world and exposed the real character of the regimes' (R. Sayigh 1979, 153, 159). Yezid Sayigh (1997, 88) also argues that Fateh was aware that it needed to change its narrative and counter the images of powerless, even hapless, Arab refugees by reasserting Palestinian existence and framing the struggle as one of liberation from colonialism and imperialism (see also Harkabi 1974, 101–104). Schiff and Rothstein (1972) are rather scathing about the ability of the Palestinians to link their story to other 'Third World' revolutions and so mobilise international support, especially among student movements. 'Many of the largely middle class, radical European, and American New Left youth,' they write, 'hungry for real experience and intoxicated on visions of bloody revolution à la Che Guevara and Frantz Fanon were inspired by Fatah's guerrilla war' (161; see also, for example, 'El Fatah' 1969). But even such disparaging dismissal shows how the Palestinians were indeed able to reposition themselves and gain wider recognition and solidarity, serving to internationalise their cause to some extent, although arguably, much of this was lost after the terrorist attack at the Munich Olympic Games in 1972 and other high-profile acts of terrorism at the time.

As mentioned earlier, the success of the revolutionary Algerian War of Independence was an inspiration for people throughout the Arab world, as countries sought to shake off French and British influence in the region. 'The celebration of Algeria's victory, 'said Gamal Nasser, 'is a celebration for all Arabs and for free people everywhere…one of our dearest dreams…the dreams

of the whole Arab nation.[28] Aflaq (1957) called it ‘the miracle of Arabs in this age’, ‘an Arab revolution that is setting new values and raising the level of Arab struggle (*al-niḍal*) and energy (*al-ṭaqah*) in every country in the Arab world (*fy kul quṭr min aqṭaruh*)’. This was particularly the case with the Palestinian Resistance Movement which was inspired by the success of the Algerian revolutionaries against a much larger and wealthier opponent. Abu Iyad (Salah Khalaf), a Palestinian teacher working in Algeria who was recruited into Fateh, writes in several places in his autobiography of the ‘fascination’ and ‘admiration’ inspired in Fateh ideologues by the ‘heroic struggle’ of the ‘Algerian nationalists’ (Abu Iyad 1981, 24):

> The guerrilla war in Algeria…had a profound influence on us. We were impressed by the Algerian nationalists’ ability to form a solid front, wage war against an army a thousand times superior to their own, obtain many forms of aid from various Arab governments (often at odds with one another) and at the same time avoid becoming dependent on any one of them. They symbolized the success we dreamed of. (34)

Abu Iyad (*ibid*.) recalls how Fateh members ‘read everything we could get our hands on concerning the Algerian movement’ and, with a ‘strong interest in revolutions, all revolutions’, describes a personal reading list that includes Lenin, Mao Zedong and Frantz Fanon, ‘one of my favourite authors. In his *Wretched of the Earth*, which I read and reread countless times, he said that only a people who doesn’t fear guns and tanks of the enemy is capable of fighting a revolution to the finish’. Like the Syrian Baʿth doctors who had served in Algeria, the early founders of Fateh also spent time there, forging ties with the post-independence government of Ben Bella (Cobban 1984, 31–32). Under the Boumedienne government that came to power in 1965, Algeria was the

first country (with the complicity of Hafiẓ al-Assad, commander-in-chief of Syria's air force at the time) to send arms to Fateh (Abu Iyad 1981, 42). There is no doubt that Fanon was a key influence on Fateh.

Prevalent in the literature, however, is a simplified chain of claims linking Fateh to the Algerian revolution and hence to Fanon, who is immediately linked to violence, which is then linked immediately back to Fateh: Fateh was influenced by Fanon who advocated violence, the claim goes, and therefore Fateh advocates violence. For example,

> Fatah's ideology is focused on the importance of liberating Palestine by armed struggle. At its founding, it was deeply influenced by the Algerian revolution against the French and Frantz Fanon, ideologue of the Algerian revolution. The third leaflet published by Fatah consisted of quotes from Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*. Fanon believed that violence had a cathartic, liberating quality for oppressed peoples. These concepts underpinned the founding goals of using attacks on Israel to forge a new Palestinian identity to confront Israel. (Mannes 2004, 223)

While Mannes may be a scholar of particular political persuasions that can perhaps explain his claims,[29] this chain of connections is not an isolated example (see also Morton 2013, 202–3; Baracskay 2011, 47; Lindholm Schulz 1999, 38; 2003, 118; Alexander 2003, 1; and Y. Sayigh 1997, 91). Another, earlier example:

> Violence is exalted in *fedayeen*[30] literature and announcements as the means of wiping out the Jewish 'colonialist' presence and as a unifying force for the Arab people. The thinking of Frantz Fanon, the Algerian theorist of revolution and violence whose book *The Wretched of the Earth* has attracted international attention, has had considerable impact on the Palestinian extremists. Fanon's concept of the psychological value of violence to oppressed people is enthusiastically embraced by the *fedayeen* who see in terrorism and killing a release from their frustrations and a path of redemption for the inferiority complex engendered by their degraded circumstances. (Schiff and Rothstein 1972, 122–23)

Not only is there a chain of claims here made in a succession of reductive statements—Fanon's work is summarised down to his 'concept of the psychological value of violence to oppressed people', the complex figure of Fanon himself is reduced to 'the Algerian theorist of revolution and violence', and Fateh's principle of armed struggle ('terrorism and killing') consequently explained in psychological terms as a 'release from frustrations and a path of redemption'—but, as we shall see, the chain of translations embedded within these claims is invisible. Schiff and Rothstein continue:

> Shortly before the Six-Day War, Fatah sent a memo to journalists stating 'Blazing our armed revolution inside the occupied territory (i.e. Israel) is a healing medicine for all our people's diseases'. In one of Fatah's pamphlet's titled 'The Revolution and Violence—The Road to Victory' the following statement is made: 'This is a war of annihilation of one of the rivals, either wiping out the national entity [Palestine], or

> wiping out colonialism…The enslaved will be liberated from violence by violence.' (Schiff and Rothstein 1972, 122–23)

With no bibliographical references to either the 'memo to journalists' or 'one of Fatah's pamphlets', the reader can only guess their original language: probably Arabic, although in the case of the memo, perhaps it depends on to which journalists it was addressed. The quotations are made in English but how they came from the original French into Schiff and Rothstein's book (assuming that are indeed from Fanon, the link is only claimed and not verified with any cross referencing) remains undisclosed. Key to verifying these simplistic, sometimes virulent claims, is to investigate directly the Fateh material that draws on Fanon.[31]

But how to find it? Most of the claims in the literature are undocumented and leave no trace of their source, referring only generally to Fanon's influence on Fateh. Mannes refers vaguely to 'the third leaflet' (2004, 223), and Alexander mentions 'pamphlets of Fanon ideology' (2003, 29n2). Schiff and Rothstein give a title of a pamphlet, but we have to go back to Harkabi (1968, 14) to find out that this is, indeed, 'the third' pamphlet, described as 'a selective précis of Frantz Fanon's book *The Wretched of the Earth*'. Harkabi also includes the name of the pamphlet in Romanised Arabic which means I can locate it in Yezid Sayigh's extensive bibliography of Arabic sources, and eventually, thanks to another helpful librarian, in the Institute for Palestine Studies Library.[32]

Preliminary analysis of this Fateh pamphlet *al-Thawra wa al-ʿUnf Tariq al-Tahrir* [The Revolution and Violence are the Way to Liberation],[33] shows that almost all of it (5-21) is made up of selections from Chapter 2 of *Les Damnés de la terre*, with the last few pages (22-30) taken

from *De la violence* (Chapter 1). Yes, the pamphlet includes passages on violence; subheadings on the last pages include 'al-ʿunf yušfī al-šaʿb min ʾamraḍuh' [violence heals the people of diseases] (24), which is the closest I can find to the (in)famous *la violence désintoxique*, translated in the 1966 translation as 'al-ʿunf yuṭahhir al-ʾafrad min al-sumuūm' [violence purifies individuals from poisons] (92). But, like Fanon, the pamphlet also includes more than that (e.g. discussions on rural and urban populations, trade-unions, national parties, militants, the nature of guerrilla warfare and the political education of the masses), including several passages which seem not to be taken from Fanon (the 'war of annihilation' quote from Schiff and Rothstein, above, being a case in point). A closer textual analysis would give a more nuanced reading of the pamphlet, which is, of course, precisely my point, and would also provide the empirical evidence necessary for the support of claims and counter claims, in contrast to the repeated, reductive statements that seem to echo down through the scholarship over the decades.

The source of these reductive statements seems to be Harkabi's detailed study of 'Fedayeen Action and Arab Strategy' (1968), and later his published doctoral thesis (1974), in which he sets out to analyse and explain Arab attitudes to Israel by a close textual analysis of Arab sources. While this is, itself, a fascinating case of translation and interpretation (especially since his thesis was translated from Hebrew into English, see Berman 1991) that warrants closer investigation, of note is the difference between Harkabi's detailed and close reading, and the reiteration of select quotations taken out of their original context and becoming so fixed in the literature that they take on the guise of immutable truth. Harkabi's obituaries comment on his shift in thinking during the course of his career and public life in terms of the Arab-Israeli conflict (Greenberg 1994; Shlaim 1994), a shift that was, perhaps, enabled by his deep knowledge of the Other brought about by

careful, diligent scholarship and critical self-reflection (Berman 1991). It is hoped that the material analysed briefly here will be taken up as the impetus for further such scholarship.

Final remarks

Munif claims that, fifty years after the first publication *Muʿaḏabū al-ʾarḍ*,

> Fanon is almost absent in public discourses in the Middle East and is still marginal in the Maghreb. The uprisings should have been an excellent opportunity for Arab intellectuals and activists to engage with Fanon's work on the revolution and the subaltern in the new conjuncture. However, despite the significance of his political philosophy for the current revolts, his books are either out of print or conspicuously absent from many bookstores in the Arab world. (2012)

This is partly corroborated by Ouaissa, who, in his brief summary, concludes that '[t]he reception of Fanon in…the Arab world is very selective and marginal; overall, in comparison to other regions across the world, the range of translations, biographies, debates, essays and references to Fanon and his work is very limited (2015, 109), and yet who also argues that 'the vast efforts undertaken to explain the [Arab Spring] revolts has witnessed a Fanon renaissance in Arab public debate' (2015, 111). While library catalogue searches return several Arabic publications on Fanon and discussions of Fanon by Arab writers and commentators can indeed be found online,[34] it would take another project entirely to investigate these claims and to see how, in fact, these writers were, and are, translating and interpreting Fanon. Is Fanon's fury directed again at the Arab political elite in the way it was in the original Arabic introduction, or is it turned against a Western 'cultural

invasion' of the Arab world? Is Fanon a commemorative icon of the Algerian Revolution, a man transformed and claimed by Algeria as its own, a 'great writer' of the Western literary canon whose book will foster a love of reading and the spread of goodness and knowledge, or an anti-colonial writer whose relevance to contemporary events might be reinvigorated through an injection of corrective Islamic thought?

Likely, Fanon in Arabic continues to become something, someone, else again, and in the investigation of these translations and retranslations let us not be lulled by the repetition of a few reductive, simplistic claims or fooled by first appearances; it is between the innocent blue covers of the 2009 edition that the barbed, Arabic introduction remerges some twenty-five years after it first disappears. The tracks and traces of these transformations assembled here for the first time—and I am the first to acknowledge their incompleteness—are offered as a map for further work, a reconnaissance 'translation archaeology' (Pym 1998, 5). A more complete picture of these 'Arabic Fanons' would come, for example, from analyses of the complete rather than partial paratexts to which I had access, comparative textual analyses of the translation of the Sartre preface and Fanon's full text with the French originals, analysis of subsequent revisions in the Arabic translations, bibliographical investigations into Arabic translations of Fanon's other works, closer analyses of Fateh's Fanon-inspired texts, and historical, archival research into the networks of people, texts and ideas that flowed between Syria and Algeria during the post-colonial, revolutionary period of the late-mid twentieth century. There is much to be done.

References

Abu Iyad. 1981. *My Home, My Land: A Narrative of the Palestinian Struggle*. Translated by Linda Butler Koseoglu. New York: Times Books.

Aflaq, Michel. 1957. ‘t̠aurat al- ğazaʾir muʿğizat al-ʿarab fy had̠a al-ʿaṣr.’ http://albaath.online.fr/Volume%20II-Chapters/Fi%20Sabil%20al%20Baath-Vol%202-Ch30.htm

Alexander, Yonah. 2003. *Palestinian Secular Terrorism: Profiles of Fatah, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine*. Ardsley, New York: Transnational Publishers.

al-Ḥulū, Karam. 2008. ‘Bašīr Aldaʿūq ramz marḥalah ʿarabiyah.’ *Al Hayat*. July 28. http://daharchives.alhayat.com/issue_archive/HayatINT/2008/7/28/بشير-الداعوق-رمز-مرحلة-عربية.html

Alloush, Naji. 2007. ‘rit̠aʾ fī Dr. Bašīr Aldaʿūq.’ *mudaūnat alqaūmy alʿaraby*. October 28. http://arab-nationalist.blogspot.ae/2007/11/blog-post_1288.html

Atassi Family Website (n.d.) ‘al-mufakir al-ʿaraby al-kabīr maʿalī al-duktūr al-wazīr Ğamal bin Saliḥ bin Murad bin Muḥamad Saʿīd Alʾatasy.’ Accessed June 5, 2016. www.alatassi.net/view.php?action=article&id=55#a1.

Baracskay, Daniel. 2011. *The Palestine Liberation Organization: Terrorism and Prospects for Peace in the Holy Land*. Santa Barbara, California: Praeger.

Bar’el, Zvi. 2012. ‘Meet the First Lady of Post-Assad Syria—Features.’ *Haaretz.com*. December 30. http://www.haaretz.com/news/features/meet-the-first-lady-of-post-assad-syria.premium-1.490730.

Berman, Mark A. 1991. 'Yehoshafat Harkabi and the Arab-Israeli Conflict.' *Fletcher F. World Aff.* 15: 147.

Chalala, Elie. 2007/2008. 'Bashir Al-Daouk (1931-2007): In Memoriam: Farewell to Publisher Hero.' *Al Jadid* 13/14 (58/59). http://www.aljadid.com/content/bashir-al-daouk-1931-2007-memoriam-farewell-publisher-hero.

Cherki, Alice. 2006. *Frantz Fanon: A Portrait*. Translated by Nadia Benabid. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Cobban, Helena. 1984. *The Palestinian Liberation Organisation: People, Power and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Devlin, John F. 1976. *The Ba'th Party: A History from Its Origins to 1966*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institute Press.

Edwards, Brian T. 2002. 'Fanon's Al-Jaza'ir, or Algeria Translated.' *Parallax* 8 (2): 99–115. doi:10.1080/13534640210130449.

Edwards, Julie Biando, and Stephan P. Edwards. 2008. 'Culture and the New Iraq: The Iraq National Library and Archive,“ Imagined Community,” and the Future of the Iraqi Nation.' *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 43 (3): 327–342.

'El Fatah Is Receiving Financial, Moral and Political Aid in US, the ADL Reports'. 1969. *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, April 21. http://www.jta.org/1969/04/21/archive/el-fatah-is-receiving-financial-moral-and-political-aid-in-u-s-the-adl-reports.

Gendzier, Irene L. 1966. 'Frantz Fanon: In Search of Justice.' *Middle East Journal* 20 (4): 534-44.

———. 1973. *Frantz Fanon: A Critical Study*. 1st edition. New York: Pantheon Books.

Goldsmith, Meredith. (n.d.) 'Aimé Fernand Césaire: The Poetry Foundation.' Accessed October 8, 2015. http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/aimae-fernand-caesaire.

Greenberg, Joel. 1994. 'Yehoshafat Harkabi, Israeli Spy and Adviser, Is Dead at 72.' *The New York Times*, August 27. http://www.nytimes.com/1994/08/27/obituaries/yehoshafat-harkabi-israeli-spy-and-adviser-is-dead-at-72.html.

Harkabi, Y. 1968. 'Fedayeen Action and Arab Strategy: Introduction.' *The Adelphi Papers* 8 (53): 1–2. doi:10.1080/05679326808448115.

Harkabi, Yehoshafat. 1974. *Arab Attitudes to Israel*. Translated by Misha Louvish. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Hendrickson, Jocelyn. 2008. 'A Guide to Arabic Manuscript Libraries in Morocco, with Notes on Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, and Spain.' *MELA Notes* 81 (January): 15–88.

Jacquemond, Richard. 2009. 'Translation Policies in the Arab World: Representations, Discourses and Realities.' *The Translator* 15 (1): 15–35. doi:10.1080/13556509.2009.10799269.

Joffe, Lawrence. 2007. 'Obituary: Ze'ev Schiff.' *The Guardian*, July 23. http://www.theguardian.com/news/2007/jul/23/guardianobituaries.israel.

Kuntz, Blair. 2005. 'Is the Organization for Standardization (ISO)'s Arabic Transliteration Scheme an Improvement over Library of Congress'?' *MELA Notes* 78 (January): 55–66.

Library of Congress, Policy and Standards Division. 2011. 'Romanization Landscape.' November 17. http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/romlandscape_Oct2011.html.

Lindholm Schulz, Helena. 1999. *The Reconstruction of Palestinian Nationalism: Between Revolution and Statehood*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

———. 2003. *The Palestinian Diaspora: Formation of Identities and Politics of Homeland*. London: Routledge.

Macey, David. 2012. *Frantz Fanon: A Biography*. 2nd edition. London and New York: Verso.

Mannes, Aaron. 2004. *Profiles in Terror: The Guide to Middle East Terrorist Organizations*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

McClintock, Marsha. 1978. 'Arabic Cataloging: Problems and Progress.' *MELA Notes* 13 (February): 16–23.

Morton, Stephen. 2013. *States of Emergency: Colonialism, Literature and Law*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Moubayed, Sami. 2006. *Steel and Silk: Men and Women Who Shaped Syria 1900-2000*. Seattle: Cune Press.

Munif, Yasser. 2012. 'Frantz Fanon and the Arab Uprisings: An Interview with Nigel Gibson.' *Jadaliyya*. August 17. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/6927/frantz-fanon-and-the-arab-uprisings_an-interview-w .

Nsouli, Mona A. 1999. 'Introduction.' In *Libraries and Information in the Arab World: An Annotated Bibliography*, edited by Lokman I. Meho and Mona A. Nsouli, 1–7. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

Ouaissa, Rachid. 2015. 'On the Trail of Frantz Fanon.' In *Commitment and Beyond: Reflections on/of the Political in Arabic Literature since the 1940s*, edited by Friederike Pannewick and Georges Khalil, 105–22. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.

Pym, Anthony. 1998. *Method in Translation History*. Manchester, UK: St Jerome.

Sayigh, Rosemary. 1979. *The Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries*. London: Zed Books.

Sayigh, Yezid. 1997. *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement 1949-1993*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Schiff, Zeev, and Raphael Rothstein. 1972. *Fedayeen: The Story of the Palestinian Guerrillas*. London: Vallentine, Mitchell.

Shlaim, Avi. 1994. 'Obituary: Professor Yehoshafat Harkabi.' *The Independent*, September 14. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-professor-yehoshafat-harkabi-1448686.html .

Shohat, Ella. 2006. *Taboo Memories, Diasporic Voices*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Slisli, Fouzi. 2008. 'Islam: The Elephant in Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*.' *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 17 (1): 97–108. doi:10.1080/10669920701862518.

Spurr, Jeff. 2010. 'Report on Iraqi Libraries and Archives (2010).' *MELA Notes* 83 (January): 14–38.

Stanton, Andrea L. 2011. 'The Changing Face of *El Moudjahid* during the Algerian War of Independence.' *The Journal of North African Studies* 16 (1): 59–76. doi:10.1080/13629387.2010.515705.

'Suhair Al-Atassi.' 2012. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, April 1. http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48619 .

Tahir, Hamid. 2012. 'Docteur Makhous. Ancien Membre de L'ALN, Chirurgien, Opposant Syrien.' *Bouillon de Culture 2*. April 24. http://nadorculturesuite.unblog.fr/2012/04/24/docteur-makhous-ancien-membre-de-l%E2%80%99-aln-chirurgien-opposant-syrien-%C2%ABce-qui-se-passe-en-syrie-est-criminel%C2%BB/ .

[1] Sincere thanks to the many people without whom this research would not have been possible: Sofian AbdelDayem, Walid Abdulwahed, Amer Al-Adwan, Ghanimeh Al-Taweel, Raed Al-Zoubi, Salah Basalamah, Abdelkader Bouzida, Ovidi Carbonell, Souâd Hamerlain, Rasha Kurdi, Ahd Othman, Nada Saleh, Jeanette Sarouphim and Tarek Shamma. All back translations were made in consultation with native speakers of Arabic, and any errors that remain are, of course, mine.

[2] 'La Socialthérapie dans un service d'hommes musulmans: difficulties méthodologiques', *L'Information psychiatrique*, 4th ser., No. 9 (October-November 1954), pp. 349-61.

[3] Edwards (2002) also discusses the effacement of this Arabised French in Haakon Chevalier's and Constance Farrington's English translations.

[4] Ali Mendjili, according to Cherki (2006, 168).

[5] Unless they have a reasonably well-established Romanised form (usually in the case of proper nouns), all Arabic terms are transliterated using Brill's simple Arabic transliteration system (Version 1.0) in consultation with the Library of Congress. Alternative spellings found in quotations are unchanged.

[6] Dar al-Ṭalīʿah also published *Sūsyūlūǧīat Ṯaūra* [*Sociology of a Revolution*] in 1970, translated by the late Ḏawqān Qarqūt, an eminent Syrian writer, intellectual and translator.

[7] The Arabic Union Catalog also includes an entry for an edition/reprint published in 1965. However, the Islamic dates given in the AUC are 1383 for the 1963 edition and 1386 for both the 1965 and 1966 entries, suggesting that 1965 is a typographical error.

[8] To maximise the readability of this chapter for non-Arabic speakers, I present the Arabic extracts in English translation for the most part, incorporating in italics any Arabic terms (transliterated) that are of particular significance. All translations were done by Sue-Ann Harding in consultation with native Arabic speakers listed in note 1.

[9] It may also have been written by Sulaīman al-Ḫaš. See note 11.

[10]According to Cherki (2006, 185), these words were uttered by Ben Bella in 1962, on the commemoration of Frantz Fanon Day ‘instituted to mark the first anniversary of his death’.

[11] Some Arabic sources, such as the anonymous biography of al-Durubi on the *Discover Syria* website www.discover-syria.com/bank/5464 (accessed October 24, 2016) and repeated on the Arabic Wiki entry for al-Durubi, cite the 1963 publication of *Muʿaḏabū al-ʾarḍ* as having comments (*taʿlīqat*) by Sulaīman al-Ḫaš, but this cannot be confirmed without seeing the 1963 version; there are no such comments in the 1966 or, as far as I am aware, in any of the subsequent versions. Al- Ḫaš (1926-1991) is described as a graduate of Damascus University, a professor of Arabic and a founding member of the Arab Writers’ Union in Syria, who was also a politician, cabinet minister and imprisoned several times before being appointed the Minister for Culture. (See http://alencyclopedia.com/785/سليمان_الخش/ (accessed October 24, 2016)). This is a profile similar to that of al-al-Daouq, al-Durubi and al-Atassi.

[12] All equally also fell afoul of Assad’s unsavoury regime. Nur al-Din al-Atassi spent 22 years in prison, dying shortly after he was released due to poor health; Zuʿaīn was in prison for 11 years, and Maḫus fled Syria in 1970, returning to Algeria where he worked as a surgeon (Moubayed 2006).

[13] There is also a pdf of the Arabic (al-Durubi and al-ʾAtassi) translation (no date, no publisher) freely available online. It includes the Sartre preface but omits the Arabic introduction and Chapter 5.

[14] With thanks to Elizabeth Thompson for her expertise and experience on this topic.

[15] The full text is also available from the Library of Alexandria's Digital Assets Repository http://dar.bibalex.org/webpages/mainpage.jsf?PID=DAF-Job:155011&q= (accessed October 24, 2016).

[16] The typographical error confusing dogs with students is also in the footnote of the 1966 translation p89n1.

[17] Again, there are enough changes to suggest that this is a new or revised translation rather than that which was included in the original Arabic edition.

[18] That same year, ANEP and al-Farabī also published *al-ʿam al-ẖamis lil-ṯaūrah al-ğazaʾiryah)* (*L'An V de la révolution algérienne*), translated by Ḍūqan Qarqūṭ. In addition to this title, the back blurb also lists two other publications of Fanon with Arabic titles: *bašrah sawdaʾ wa ʾaqniʿah bayḍaʾ* (*Peau noire, masques blancs*) and *lʾağl al-ṯawrah al-ʾifrīqīah* (*Pour la révolution africaine*).

[19] While this French edition also includes the Sartre preface and a new postface by Mohammed Harbi, neither of these are in the ANEP al-Farabī 2004 edition.

[20] Whether *zinğī* is still an appropriate term in the 21st century seems to be debatable, with some claiming that it does not have the negative connotations of the English and others arguing that there are now alternative ways in Arabic to refer to black people. What is interesting is that the term from 1966 appears without change as part of a revised translation in 2004, a period of

almost 40 years that includes many shifts in public discourse when referring to people of different races, but that do not seem to be reflected here.

[21] Personal correspondence, July 6, 2016: 'les corrections que j'ai apportées concernent certaines phrases mal formulées en arabe car trop collées à la structure des phrases françaises ce qui induit trop souvent une certaine ambiguïté… mais une bonne partie des corrections (qui n'ont pas été prises toutes en compte malheureusement par l'éditeur pour des raisons que je ne connais pas) concernent des aspects culturels ou la méconnaissance d'une certaine réalité de l'Algérie… des termes qui renvoient à des spécificités culturelles que le traducteur syrien semble ignorer.' Translated by K. Batchelor.

[22] Personal correspondence, September 19, 2016: 'J'ai corrigé des formulations imprécises dans le texte de la traduction initiale qui déforment le sens du texte de Frantz Fanon.' Translated by K. Batchelor.

[23] Penned by K. Šuli, and accessible through the Library of Alexandria's digital repository http://dar.bibalex.org/webpages/mainpage.jsf?PID=DAF-Job:129613 (accessed October 24, 2016).

[24] The back cover was not available as only the front cover was included in the hard-cover book binding with the back cover discarded (personal correspondence with Raed Al-Zoubi, Library Director, Jordan University of Science and Technology, June 8, 2015). According to the Jordanian Ministry of Culture, the painting is by Libyan artist Adnan Meatek (personal correspondence, June 11, 2016). The 2015 edition is produced by Dar al-Ahlia Publishing and Distribution (Amman, 1st edition. 296pp) and edited by Muʿtaz Ḥasan Abū Qasim (information from Goodreads and Neelwafurat).

[25] [A message from Queen Rania Al-Abdullah] http://culture.gov.jo/new/مكتبة-الأسرة-الأردنية-2 (accessed June 11, 2016).

[26] http://madarat-rp.com/ (accessed May 3, 2015).

[27] See R. Sayigh (1979, 151) for a brief discussion of the polysemous Palestinian use of the word *ṯawrah* [revolution], often ‘used as a synonym for armed struggle, or the return to Palestine, or rejection of the status quo. Often it appears as a symbol of the life and destiny of the Palestinian people, reaching back into the past to cast new light on uprisings in Palestine, and pointing out a path into the future’.

[28] ‘The address by President Gamal Abdel Nasser to the members of the National Conference, 1962’, http://www.nasser.org/Speeches/browser.aspx?SID=1020&lang=en (Arabic) (accessed June 11, 2016).

[29] The author note in the book from where this quotation is taken describes him as an ‘expert on the Middle East, U.S. national security and terrorism. He served as the Director of Research for the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) from 1998-2001.’

[30] Rosemary Sayigh (1979, 202) explains that ‘*fedayeen* is the plural of *fedai*: those who sacrifice themselves for a cause’.

[31] The bias and prejudice evident in the language of these excerpts and of the book as a whole, was particularly confronting to me as a researcher. Yet Schiff is renowned as a writer and analyst and was widely influential, as well as more complex than he appears here (Joffe 2007).

[32] I have, as yet, been unable to locate the ‘memo to journalists’. From Yezid Sayigh’s bibliography, it might be *Bayan ila al-Suhafiyyin* (Statement to Journalists) published in *Min Muntalaqat al-ʿAmal al-Fidaʾi: Tahrir al-Aqtar al-Muhtalla* [*Some Tenets of Guerrilla Action:*

Liberating the Occupied Lands], Kuwait, Dar al-Qabas, reprint for Fateh, n.d. [1965]. Transliteration and translation from Y. Sayigh (1997, 846).

[33] In *Dirasat wa Tajarib Thawriyya* [Revolutionary Studies and Experiences] no.3,n.p., n.d. Transliteration and translation from Y. Sayigh (1997, 845).

[34] See, for example, several articles in *Aldoha Magazine*, No. 71, September 2013, the cultural journal published by Qatar's Ministry of Culture, Arts and Heritage http://www.aldohamagazine.com/emagazine/viewmagazine.aspx?d=20130901 (accessed June 11, 2016).