



**Arab American University**

**Faculty of Graduate Studies**

**The Dynamic Roles of Palestinian Revolutionary  
Literature pre and post OSLO**

By

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Supervisor

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**This thesis was submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for master's degree in Intercultural  
Communication & Literature**

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**The Dynamic Roles of Palestinian Revolutionary Literature pre and post  
OSLO**

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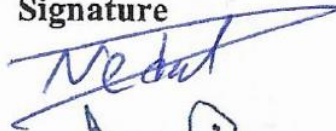
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**Declaration**

I, the undersigned, confirm that all the information contained herein, unless referenced, is my own work. I also certify that this thesis has not previously been submitted for obtaining any academic degree at another academic institution.

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Signature  .....

Date: 02/14/2022

### III

#### **Dedication**

I want to dedicate my research to my late grandmother Fareze. From the time I was young, she continually encouraged me to dedicate myself to my studies. Her life and her love have been, and to this day still are, what assisted and inspired me to push to be where I am today. I also would exceptionally be remiss if I did not place my parents alongside my loving grandmother in this dedication. If it was not for their tireless sacrifice and their vision for my academic success, I know that I would not have been able to pursue my education. It is their love and their drive, and their belief in my future that sustained me through this program.

I also dedicate this project to Professor Nizar Milhem who has been a role model throughout my undergraduate studies and a pillar of my success. I would like to dedicate this project to Palestinians who live in the Diaspora like Tayseer Odeh (whom I met in San Diego, CA). He represents the tireless and deep commitment of Palestinian-Americans to build The House of Palestine. I would also be exceptionally remiss if I do not mention my very sincere friends, Dave Hamilton & Ian Begg, who have generously provided all kinds of help to me throughout my academic path. Their help will never ever be forgotten. Lastly, I dedicate this research to my friend David Philips who has been a source of inspiration for me.

## **Acknowledgment**

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## **Abstract**

This research aims at examining the dynamic broader roles of Palestinian revolutionary literature as a safeguard for Palestinian culture, history, identity, and what the researcher calls the geographic ID. It also investigates the role of Palestinian literature in connecting the fragmented homeland of historic Palestine. It further examines the role literature has in connecting the Palestinians inside Palestine with those who have become part of the diaspora over the past seventy-plus years. The studies conducted for the research purposely were fashioned to deliberate and measure just what, if any, is the role of Palestinian literature in criticizing the corrupt international policies and if this medium played any role in leading the political process both pre- and post-Oslo. This research also delves into what level of importance was the role that Palestinian revolutionary literature had in generating international support and changing public attitudes towards Palestine in the West. Revolutionary literature was successful in refuting the false narrative of the Zionist historical claims to Palestine and the long-term agenda of pushing the false narratives through biased western media to support the occupation state of Israel. Besides, it sheds light on the continued importance of Palestinian revolutionary literature in inspiring the Palestinians in diaspora to inaugurate Palestinian cultural projects such the House of Palestine that has recently been completed in San Diego, USA.

The research contains five chapters: Introduction, Theoretical framework, Methodology, Results and Analysis, and Conclusion and recommendations. The researcher combined qualitative and quantitative methodologies. In addition to conducting several interviews, a well-constructed questionnaire has been developed to for data collection. Locally, the study sample is limited to Palestinian students at Arab American University, University College of Educational Sciences, Najeeb Al-Ahmad High School, Jenin Industrial Secondary School. Internationally, the study targeted a sample of twelve undergraduate and post-graduate international students from the

## VI

university of Bucknell, PA, United States of America. To prove the arguments and hypotheses of this research, the researcher addressed one overall question about what the dynamic roles that Palestinian revolutionary literature plays in the struggle against occupation are. The results of the research come in support of the arguments mentioned above. To mention a few, Palestinian revolutionary literature plays a key role in preserving the Palestinian culture, history, and identity, and in restoring the Palestinian national unity. Too, it maintains the geographical identity of the historic land of Palestine and change the stereotypical image of Palestine in the western media. Accordingly, the researcher provided a set of recommendation including, but not limited to, raising awareness among the Palestinian academic institutions of the importance of this literature to put more focus into it, and encouraging the government to fund more Palestinian cultural projects locally and internationally. It is also highly recommended that Palestinian movie makers dramatize this revolutionary literature to ensure its global outreach.

Key words: Settler colonialism, Occupation, Palestinian Revolutionary Literature, Nakba, Revolutionary Culture, OSLO

**Table of contents**

<b>Thesis Approval</b>	<b>I</b>
<b>Declaration</b>	<b>II</b>
<b>Dedication</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>Acknowledgment</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>V</b>
<b>Table of contents</b>	<b>VII</b>
<b>Chapter one: Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction	<b>1</b>
1.2 Research problem	<b>3</b>
1.3 Overall aim of the study	<b>4</b>
1.4 Objectives of the study	<b>4</b>
1.5 Research questions	<b>4</b>
1.6 Hypotheses of the Study	<b>5</b>
1.7 Significance of the study	<b>6</b>
1.8 Limitations of the study	<b>7</b>
1.9 Operational definitions	<b>7</b>
<b>Chapter two: Theoretical framework and related studies</b>	<b>10</b>
2.1 Theoretical framework	<b>10</b>
2.2 Related Studies	<b>16</b>
2.3 Conclusion	<b>24</b>
<b>Chapter three: Methodology</b>	<b>25</b>
3.1 Nature of the Study	<b>25</b>
3.2 Study population & sample	<b>25</b>
3.3 Scope of the study	<b>25</b>

## VIII

3.4 Study Instrument	26
3.5 Design of the study instrument	27
3.6 Validity of the study instrument	27
<b>Chapter four: Results, Discussion and Analysis</b>	<b>28</b>
4.1 Results of the questionnaire	28
4.2 Results of interviews	57
<b>Chapter five: Conclusion and recommendations</b>	<b>66</b>
5.1 Conclusion	66
5.2 Recommendations	70
<b>References</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>Appendix I (Questionnaire)</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>Appendix II (Interview Questions)</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>Study Abstract in Arabic</b>	<b>85</b>

## Chapter one: Introduction

### 1.1 Introductory section

Poetry is capable not only of serving as a means for the expression of identity or even nationalist sentiment. Poetry, as a part of the cultural institutions and historical existence of a people, is itself an arena of struggle.

- *Barbara Harlow, Resistance Literature.*

There have been many important studies about Palestinian Resistance literature and the role that Palestinian authors and their novels and poetry have played and still play in forming a national Palestinian identity as well as their political and national movement. Though authors like Ghassan Kanafani in his study, *Resistance Literature in Occupied Palestine 1948-1967*, and Barbara Harlow in her book, *Resistance Literature*, have given articulate arguments and critical analysis on how resistance literature simultaneously uses the literary and oral components of the Palestinian culture to document and deal with the historical and current geo-political condition of over a century of being in a constant state of revolution against the British colonial occupation and rule (euphemistically termed as British Mandate), and currently the Zionist settler-colonial occupation, she connects how Palestinian authors have given utility to the poem and the Palestinian novel that does not exist in the European form.

The researcher uses the arguments of these scholars to not only look at how resistance literature reconstructs, and bears witness to a Palestinian narrative, deals with the question of a Palestinian identity, a place where a counter-history is created, and a space where intercommunal dialogues and critiques can exist. The researcher further incorporates these studies and expands

them to investigate how this cultural production has the ability to go beyond the literary and counter the distorted and highly racist-colonial politics and narratives that have been adopted by the international community. This research seeks to explore how resistance literature in the Palestinian case, through poetic representation and the adaptation of the novel is able to fit the needs of Palestine, the indigenous Palestinians, and their circumstances.

More importantly, Palestinian resistance literature was an essential component in the formation of the Arab/Palestinian revolutionary struggle from the British occupation to the signing of the Oslo Peace Accords. This form of literature pre-Oslo was forced to play many roles and intersected and crossed into other forms of prose, whether they be political, historical, cultural, artistic, or academic and had a definite intercommunal impact politically and intellectually among Palestinians and the development of their resistance movement against the settler-colonial agendas of Britain the Zionist Occupation. The question of how this revolutionary form of the written and spoken word for the Palestinian struggle has remained essential and influential to the movement post Oslo is one that will be studied in depth. Oslo in this study is a marker for a decisive ideological, political, economic, and cultural shift with which the researcher sees to what extent this literary form still informs the Palestinian resistance.

Since Oslo the revolutionary armed movement has gradually been tamed, particularly in the West Bank. One of the tactics that has been used both by the Israeli Occupation and the institutions that serve the agenda of the Zionist occupation across historic Palestine is the systematic erasure of this literature and the ideas it has firmly established inside intellectual, political, and national Palestinian movements from the official Palestinian curricula. Despite what seems to be the loss of vitality to the collective Palestinian movement post Oslo, it is argued that Palestinian resistance literature still carries the pre-Oslo importance and weight intellectually and

politically into the neo-liberal and colonial capitalist economic and political reality that has taken over the Occupied Territories of Palestine post Oslo. This is why Israel fights to dislocate Palestinian Resistance Literature from the collective consciousness and yet it remains as a corrective compass pointing Palestinians and their movement back to their true north.

## **1.2 Research problem**

The research problem for this study is concerned with the utility that Palestinian Resistance Literature has had throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and how after Oslo it can still today provide an important intellectual, cultural, and political platform for the resistance movements across historic Palestine. It is also concerned with how Palestinian academics and authors can work to create a cohesive and strong literary community in order to combat and offer a counter discourse to the Western and Zionist accepted narrative and claim to Palestine. The researcher seeks to show how the Palestinian literary movement can look to the past revolutionary authors to now cast a wider net due to the fact that the Palestinian diaspora is transnational thereby creating a new possibility for the Palestinian literary movement to be even stronger in its ability to be a tool for revolution, resistance, and resilience on an international level.

In addition to its essential role in preserving the Palestinian identity that is threatened by a settler colonial project Palestinian revolutionary carries huge cultural and historical importance that serves the Palestinian cause locally and international. This research seeks to highlight these dynamic roles of the revolutionary literature and how to preserve the precious heritage.

### **1.3 Overall aim of the study:**

1. To see how Palestinian revolutionary literature still carries its pre-Oslo cohesive nature and dynamic roles post Oslo despite the political, economic and cultural changes that affected revolutionary movement.

### **1.4 Objectives of the study**

- 1.To explore what is the present role of Palestinian Resistance Literature politically, culturally, artistically, and intellectually, not only within the fragmented Palestinian communities who have been separated due to over a century of the Zionist Settler-Colonial occupation and rule across historic Palestine, as well as the role it plays with the diasporic Palestinian communities.
- 2.To explore the factors that created the difference in the Palestinian Revolutionary Literary Movement from 1948 to present day.
- 3.To explore how this medium for Palestinian political and intellectual activists transnationally can work to combat and offer a powerful counter discourse and narrative to Western and Zionist propaganda and revisionist journalistic representation of Palestinians in the West.
- 4.To investigate how this literature can be a true authentic reporter that communicates our plight to free world, thus generating support and solidarity with Palestinian and their just cause.

### **1.5 Research questions**

1. What are the dynamic roles that Palestinian revolutionary literature plays in the struggle against occupation?

2. How does this highly diverse and multifaceted literary genre allow for it to serve as an affirmation of cultural, historical and national identity as set against the existential, geopolitical threats and false claims that occupation entails?

3. Why is this dynamic form of literature capable of changing ideology and practice inter-communally and internationally with the struggle and resistance against the occupation state of Israel and the Zionist movement internationally?

4. How post-Oslo this literary genre and movement can have a lasting and recurring influence by being the keepers of Palestinian memory for the present and future generations as they imagine their individual and collective role against the Israeli settler-colonial Zionist agenda, and the ongoing occupation of Palestine and the indigenous populations?

## **1.6 Hypotheses of the study**

1. Palestinian resistance literature has a key role in preserving the Palestinian identity and cultural heritage.

2. Palestinian revolutionary literature preserves the Palestinian history by serving as an important archive, documenting the Palestinian bitter reality, and recording all its massacres, crimes, and violations.

3. Palestinian revolutionary literature maintains the geographical identity of the historic homeland of Palestine and restores Palestinian national unity.

4. Palestinian resistance literature has an influential role in communication the plight and suffering

of the Palestinian people to the international community as well as exposing the occupation and its criminal acts.

## **1.7 Significance of the study**

This study gains its significance in not only concerning itself with the stylistic and traditional aspect of literary studies, but it provides critical analysis of Palestinian Resistance Literature as an active revolutionary tool for Palestinians who have been fighting on multiple fronts of the struggle against the occupying hegemonic Israeli rule. Palestinian authors have used this medium to refute all historical, political, and religious claims of the British and Zionist Israeli imperialist colonial regimes to Palestine. This Literature is a powerful and subversive medium for both the political activists and intellectuals alike to back up their arguments. More specifically, due to the lack of communal modern critical theoretical works done by Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza, and in 1948 Palestine, the academic discussions of Palestinian resistance literature has relied upon works that have been done transnationally by academics outside of Palestinian academia, this research vitally works to rebridge and reconnect the literary movements intercommunally and with Palestinian communities transnationally, thus rendering the revitalization of a strong resistant literary movement more cohesive and potent. It is my hope that this research will be among the growing cadre of Palestinian intellectuals whose research will empower our revolutionary literary movement and provide the critical support needed in our transnational struggle against the Israeli occupation, Western and Zionist propaganda, and its hegemonic institutions.

## **1.8 Limitations of the study**

One obstacle that is that, while during to British occupation and of course during the 1948 Nakba, the 1967 Naksa, all the way up until the 1990 Oslo Accords Palestinian authors were very prominent and were well connected despite the physical separations throughout historic Palestine, but currently due to the diasporic nature of the population there is less access for Palestinians transnationally to a strong cohesive literary movement making it more difficult to access and research this very spread out and complex movement.

Secondly, due to the political aspect of the research and out of security concerns it was hard to reach out to a big number of participants in my questionnaire as many were reluctant to give their responses to the questionnaire.

Thirdly, it has unfortunately been difficult to find sufficient academic research or resources that assess or discuss Palestinian revolutionary literature in English as well as enough translated versions of the literary pieces originally written in Arabic. Therefore, the researcher was presented with a set of challenges due to this lack of analysis or discourse on their writings, and he took it upon himself to do the translation since he has not found sufficient available translations.

## **1.9 Operational definitions**

### **I. Resistance literature**

In literary studies, resistance literature is one subfield in which to study literary output that may be understood as a sociopolitical activity to resist dominant ideologies. Resistance literature can be used to resist gender-based oppression, or to demonstrate difficulties in liberation struggles or writing in exile. (Deshazer, 1994). Scholars have used the term resistance to describe a wide

variety of actions and behaviors at all levels of human social life (individual, collective, and institutional) and in a number of different settings, including political systems, entertainment and literature, and the workplace. Indeed, everything from revolutions (Goldstone, 1991; Scott, 1985; Skocpol, 1979) to hairstyles (Kuumba and Ajanaku, 1998; Weitz, 2001) has been described as resistance. Given this variation, it is not surprising that there is little consensus on the definition of resistance. The term is defined variously as, for example, "acting autonomously, in [one's] own interests" (Gregg, 1993); "active efforts to oppose, fight, and refuse to cooperate with or submit to... abusive behaviour and ... control" (Profitt, 1996); "engaging in behaviors despite opposition" (Carr, 1998); or simply "questioning and objecting" (Modigliani and Rochat, 1995).

In our case, Palestinian Revolutionary literature, as defined by the Palestinian writer Ghassan Kanafani in his study *Palestinian revolutionary literature in occupied Palestine 1948-1967*, is all the poetry, prose, novels, plays, anthems, and folk songs written and recited since 1948 in resistance to the occupation its racial and barbaric policies and acts, and in pursuit of achieving liberation. In this study, we will see how this dynamic literature can be used for broader dynamic roles.

## **II. Settler colonialism**

Settler colonialism is an ongoing system of power that perpetuates the genocide and repression of indigenous peoples and cultures. Essentially hegemonic in scope, settler colonialism normalizes the continuous settler occupation, exploiting lands and resources to which indigenous peoples have genealogical relationships. Settler colonialism includes interlocking forms of oppression, including racism, white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, and capitalism. (Quoted in Oxford Bibliographies).

Wolfe (2006) articulates the organizing “logic of elimination” that structures settler colonialism as a perpetual system of indigenous erasure rather than a historical event. Veracini (2011) asserts that while colonizers use a logic of commodification to demand that indigenous peoples “work for” them, settler colonizers use a logic of evacuation to demand that indigenous peoples “go away,”.

In the context, Settler colonialism in Palestine is the Zionist project of occupying Palestine and forcing its indigenous people out through systematic ethnic cleansing, massacres, racial policies laws. The Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine has greater effects in not only displacing the Palestinians and seizing their land but also stealing their cultural and historical heritage and claiming it.

### **III. Nakba**

While this term describes a historical event of displacing Palestinians from their indigenous land and seizing it by the Zionists in 1947, I argue that Nakba is a historical event that started in 1947 and has been in progress ever since. As anti-Zionism and Israeli historian professor Ilan Pappé described it, the Nakba is an operation of ethnic cleansing which was a systematic expulsion of Palestinians in order to de-Arabize Palestine and create on its ruins a Jewish state in 1948. The Nakba continues because only fifty percent of the people were displaced and only 80 percent of the land was taken, and the remaining is to be seized. The Nakba continues everyday in with the growing number of settlements in West Bank and Jerusalem, and most recently in sheikh Jarrah.

### **IV. OSLO**

Brokered by the United States in 1993, Oslo accords are a pair of agreements between Israel and Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) according to which the PLO recognized the

state of Israel, and, in return, the Palestinian authority was given limited autonomous rule in parts of West Bank and Gaza in addition to economic facilities.

Oslo in this study is a marker for a decisive ideological, political, economic, and cultural shift with which the researcher sees to what extent this literary form still informs the Palestinian resistance.

## **Chapter two: Theoretical framework and related studies**

### **2.1 Theoretical framework**

Conducting any research on Palestinian resistance literature shall necessarily involve the works of the famous Palestinian revolutionary writer Ghassan Kanafani as his works are regarded as pioneering in the Palestinian revolutionary literature. His highly important study, *Resistance Literature in Occupied Palestine:1948-1967*, is the most essential study in the sense that it provides an important interdisciplinary historical, sociopolitical framework for Palestinian revolutionary writing. Kanafani's writings gains its vitality in bringing together Palestinian revolutionary writings and analyzing and theorizing for the Palestinian resistant movement. Not only was Kanafani a leading figure in the Palestinian revolutionary movement, but he also was the first to coin the term *resistance* in the Palestinian writings. According to Harlow in her book *Resistance-Literature*,

"The term "resistance" (maqawamah) was first applied in a description of Palestinian literature in 1966 by Kanafani in his study of the "literature of resistance in Occupied Palestine" between 1948 and 1966. In that study, the critic proposes an important distinction between literature which has been written "under occupation" (taht al-ihitl) and "exile" (manfa) literature. Such a distinction presupposes a collective relationship to a common land, a common identity, or a common cause

on the basis of which it becomes possible to articulate the difference between the two modes of historical and political existence, between, that is, "occupation" and "exile." The distinction presupposes furthermore an "occupying power" which has either exiled or subjugated, in this case both exiled and subjugated, a given population and has in addition significantly intervened in the literary and cultural development of the people it has dispossessed and whose land it has occupied literature in other words is implicated in struggle" (Harlow, 1986)

In his study, Kanafani exposes the occupation attempts to eradicate Palestinian revolutionary writings: "There are various ways that the occupation uses to prevent the Palestinian right of expression through literature. As the occupation controls and censors all Arabic books published inside the occupied land, it can impose a limitation on the type of literature that Palestinians produce." (24) Kanafani goes on to give a sociopolitical structural analysis on the assault on the Palestinian community through education and the stripping down of the ability of Palestinians for intellectual and cultural growth. Kanafani's work articulates the essential connection between academia and the development of the society:

"The [intellectual] noose that the occupational government positioned around the Arabic culture is intended to not only drown the Arabic readership in the masses of books containing cheap, insignificant topics, it also strictly censors the Arabic literature production, preventing the emergence of an educated Arab generation." (24)

More importantly, Kanafani confirms the dynamic role of the revolutionary writers and artists in leading the struggle against the occupation, and the key role they play in preserving the Palestinian culture and identity against the systematic process of alienation. This role made a target to the Israeli systematic assassination. Kanafani explains in his study,

“Folk poetry never stopped playing an active role in the resistance; the grassroots movements consistently used all means available to them as a weapon. And many of the Palestinians of the occupied land believe that the assassination of the Palestinian folk poet Hameed in Um El Fahem in the mid-50s while leading a march is a clear attempt to halt and eradicate thousands of Mawawel, Ataba, and Mejana that echoed throughout the Galilee resisting the occupation and its governing polices.” (23)

Preserving the indigenous culture is extremely essential in the struggle against the colonial power. And the revolutionary literature is the safeguard for this culture. The settle-colonial power always seeks to erase the culture of the indigenous people. The indigenous culture will always remind the colonial that they are foreigner and not native to this land. On the other hand, it will keep the race colonized nation heritage alive and consequently prompts future generation to continue the struggle towards liberation. “Like Ch'ti and most other products of the New Culture Movement, Mao believed the struggle on the cultural front to be an integral and sometimes decisive feature of the overall drive for revolution.” (Pickowicz, 1977)

History is extremely crucial especially in the case of Palestine and we need to know how to approach it and analyze it. We should be aware of the clear distinction between two important theories: *historicism and historical materialism*. Historicism provides a narrow and segregated lens to historical events, that is, looking at history as one line of events happening in succession with disregard to the other segments of history that is concurrently happening. Historical materialism, on the other hand, provide a wider interdisciplinary lens to view and analyze history. It looks at past events as more of a constellation of events happening concurrently at different spaces and time span, examines them against the grinds, and more importantly dissects the structure of power that dictates one narrative and disregard the other. “Historical materialism is a

way of comporting oneself, not toward the totality of the historical process, but toward certain instants of the historical past: to make the fragments whole again. To be guardian over these moments is the task of the theological-materialist historian”. (Beiner, 1984)

An important theoretical work in this regard is Walter Benjamin’s *Thesis on the Philosophy of History* article written in 1940 but not published until 1942 (posthumously). Here, Benjamin discourses about historical materialism and the importance of reading history “against the grain”. He very much was looking towards the historian and the intellectual to create a history that vindicates the oppressed, the wronged, and the forgotten. He believed that it is the role of the current generation to bring power back to the oppressed through creating what the authors later termed as a critical and “just history”. It is the only way to reclaim power, to bring justice to all those who have been victimized and wronged, and to save the future. Benjamin emphasized that “History is radically fragmented; the task of the angel of history is to establish a redemptive relation to the fragments”. (Beiner, 422).

Palestinians have been struggling on multi-faceted fronts to prove their very right to this land, and History is one of the most essential fields of struggle. We can easily realize this by seeing the gigantic efforts and high magnitude of the work that the Zionists invest to distort the historical facts and substantiate their merely biblical right to the history of the land. And here comes the vital role of revolutionary literature in providing a historical materialist lens to analyze and examine the accuracy of the past event of this region and consequently refute the Zionist historical claims to the land. We should be aware of the clear distinction between historicism and historical materialism.

The essence of revolutionary literature comes in its important role as a safeguard to the narrative of indigenous people of Palestine to give them agency in forming their true history. It is for this literature that preserves and documents the historical events and serves as a binding and common space for Palestinians intercommunally and transnationally to reconstruct their historical, cultural, and national identity. “Writing is a political act that not only represents the past, but also within the Palestinian-Israeli context, molds the past. Words determine what is remembered and what is forgotten. To transmute individual Palestinian memories of 1948 from oral narrative into written words is an urgent task for researchers in ‘a race against time’”, according to Saleh Abdel Jawad, professor of history and political science at Birzeit university. (Slyomovvics, 2008).

In addition to documenting the historical events and the atrocities committed by the Zionist war machine, the revolutionary literature plays a further a more dynamic role as true authentic reporter right from the scene. It effectively reports and communicates the plight of Palestinians living under the anguish of occupation to the international community, bringing free voices around the globe to advocate for the Palestinians and their just cause and, on the other hand, exposing the biased western media and far right government which are supporting the Israeli propaganda and its necropolitical policies and actions.

“Everywhere, as Palestinians became further embattled at the hands of both Israelis and various Arabs, in Jordan, Lebanon, and the West Bank and Gaza, there was always the spoken appeal and injunction: tell them, let them know what is happening. The “them” was the rest of the world, somehow deemed innocent of what was being perpetrated by dint of simple ignorance, “knowledge being able to redeem both Palestinians from their plight and others from their complicity of silence. But the conscious recording of Palestinian memory- the will to reach back, retrieve and represent, voluntarily to communicate the details of events, to record the here and

now, to reach out visibly and persistently- is a relatively new phenomenon.” (SA’DI & LILA, 2007).

The indigenous people’s narrative ensures that the cause of the colonized nation stays alive. It protects it from being forgotten and educates the young generations about their history and geopolitical situation. It also helps to counter and refute the counterfeit the policies, laws and legal document made by the jurisdiction of the occupation/colonial power to distort the historical truth and claim the right to the land. However, no matter how long this occupation stays, it will never deprive the indigenous people of their right to the land and the narrative of the indigenous will be the reliable source to prove the historical right of the indigenous people to the land. “The recognition of indigenous peoples' land rights through the doctrine relies on the idea that the colonization of indigenous territories has not completely 'extinguished' indigenous peoples' land rights, as such rights have 'survived' the colonial conquest. Therefore, it recognizes indigenous peoples' contemporary land rights based on historical arguments that predated colonization”. (Gilbert, 2007)

Revolutionary literature and art further continue to play its key role in theorizing for the resistance armed movement and drawing the road map for liberation. It helps in enlightening and educating the people in the society about how their struggle and what role each segment of the society should tackle, thus orchestrating their effective efforts and maintaining their highest dynamics in the struggle against the occupation and hegemonic colonial power in all its forms. “Secondly, the revolutionary movement required popular artistic work which analyzed and explained in simple language the roles played by all classes and social groups in society, work which, in effect, educated a culturally deprived public. Thirdly, there was a need for popular art

created for the purpose of actively organizing support for revolutionary struggle.” (Pickowicz, 1977)

## **2.2 Related studies**

Under this section, the researcher reviewed studies conducted on Palestinian revolutionary literature. The literature reviewed below is the contributions of both international and local authors who have heavily researched the Palestinian Revolutionary literature. This research will draw on these studies to help support its arguments.

### **2.2.1 International studies**

Nancy Coffin, in her 1996 article “Engendering Resistance in the Work of Ghassan Kanafani: All That’s Left to You, Of Men and Guns, and Um, Sa’d,” explores the commitment to liberation that the Palestinian author Ghassan Kanafani had not only in his role as a revolutionary leader but in his art. Kanafani saw every means of expression as “part and parcel to his political activism.” (Coffin, 99) According to Coffin, Kanafani “sought to portray a specific vision of communal, collective resistance at every level of society.” (115).

Coffin analyses the dynamic manner in which Kanafani developed and expressed his activism by looking at three specific texts authored by the Palestinian revolutionary leader to demonstrate how the arts, such as literature was vital in developing the political and tactical aspects of Palestinian resistance. That the opposition, according to Kanafani, must be “goal-oriented and undertaken with a clear sense of commitment to the common cause.” (115). Literature was one of the tools that were instrumental in uniting and mobilizing the Palestinians during Kanafani’s lifetime. It united a people that, regardless of having been scattered around the world due to being pushed out into exile from the Zionist occupation, were able to physically and culturally resist

Israel and fight for their right to resist by all means available to return and live upon their homeland.

Shehla Burney's chapter "Resistance and Counter-Discourse: Writing Back to the Empire" explores Edward Said's "long journey into the history of colonial discourse" (Burney, 166). Throughout his academic and intellectual research and writings, Said has focused on the various forms of "writing back" of the oppressed or, as Burney refers to the oppressed in this article—as the subaltern. Burney looks at how the tropes of Said's famous term Orientalism, narratives of the empire, and the postcolonial discourse that Said developed around these topics have been helpful in exploring how the literature/narrative affected and facilitated how the subaltern speak back.

Representation of the Arab in Western society is an essential point for Said. Even though the West seeks to create a polar opposition between the East and the West, Said, according to Burney, emphasizes the "interdependence and mutual borrowing" (116) that not only the geographic map of the world has always had, but also among the countries, cultures, and histories of these different societies worldwide throughout the expanse of history. For Said, despite the power of the West to privilege the culture and knowledge of the West, there has always been a "mutual mixing" and "hybridity" that the East and the West have shared, there is no pure ideology, knowledge, text, or aesthetics for either the East or the West. Burney takes the time to go through and deliberate the different essential theoretical and critical claims that Said presented throughout many of the crucial texts that he wrote throughout his prolific career. In order to demonstrate the proficiency with which these texts were able to identify the power structures that create these false divisions among the oppressor and the oppressed.

An equally important author and theorist on this subject is Barbara Harlow in her 1987 book, *Resistance Literature*, where she skillfully articulates and offers a significant argument on

and critical analysis about how Palestinian Resistance Literature as a genre came about, and how the political realities forced upon Palestinians through a century of colonial and imperialist agendas by the British and the European Zionist movement pushed the Palestinian revolutionary leaders to simultaneously use the literary and oral components of the Palestinian culture to document and deal with the historical and current hegemonic geo-political conditions that they found themselves combatting both politically, physically, intellectually, and culturally/artistically. She skillfully lays out the various phases this literary genre moved through and will be very helpful in this study.

Another book by Harlow that deals with resistance literature as a transnational genre is her 1996 book, *Afterlives: Legacies of Revolutionary Writing*. In this book she shows how revolutionary authors who in the midst of counter hegemonic struggles in South Africa, Palestine, and El Salvador were assassinated and murdered for the revolutionary and counter colonial/settler-colonial and capitalist ideas and the way they successfully wielded and used literature as an arena for debating racist and imperial world policies, as well as mobilizing the oppressed populations within their communities, and lastly to inform the outside world of the tragedies and oppression that they were unjustly suffering.

This analysis and the case studies she presents are important because it shows the intersectionality of these differing cases of colonial occupation and how resistance literature was a very strong tool used by the political, cultural, and intellectual leaders. Strong enough to get the colonial occupational powers to assassinate them and dismantle their movements. This will be important for the fourth objective that I stated above in thinking about how these intersectional case studies can help not only Palestinians to revive and grow their resistance literature movement transnationally, but in also connecting other anti-colonial and anti-Western capitalist movements. As Harlow put it, "Poetry is capable not only of serving as a means for the expression of identity

or even nationalist sentiment. Poetry, as a part of the cultural institutions and historical existence of a people, is itself an arena of struggle.” (Harlow,1987)

She, as Harlow and earlier Kanafani, also looks into how Israel has used the tool of assassination against the political and intellectual leaders of the Palestinian revolution to try and extinguish and stunt this revolutionary movement, yet the power of these cultural and political figures is not one that can be erased because: 1) the nature of their literary movement is one that calls upon the oral aspect of Palestinian memory and the words of their poetry and novels are taught intergenerationally. 2) Because these novels and poems that are not only committed to memory intergenerationally within historic Palestine, but are also in the hands of Palestinians who were forced out and have lived for over 70 years in diaspora extending the reach of these counter-hegemonic ideologies, movements, and histories beyond the borders of Palestine and now intersecting with other indigenous and oppressed movements transnationally. Hamdi looks at how this important aspect of Palestinian resistance combats and deals with the historic international process which, as she states, can be traced back through several important events that stemmed from the late 1800s through 1948. Since the researcher uses Walter Benjamin’s text on historical materialism it is important to see how Hamdi’s discourse on history and memory within this revolutionary literary genre, in the Palestinian case, can bear witness to what has been hidden by the settler-colonial veil of the Zionist movement/Israel and Britain.

In connection to ideas mentioned above is the book, *The Ever Elusive Past: Discussion of Palestine’s History and Heritage Lectures of the Danish House 2018*, authored by Dr. Thomas L. Thompson, Dr. Ingrid Hjelm, and Dr, Hamdan Taha. This book is a series of lectures that deals with the minimalist versus maximalist debate that has been occurring inside the discipline of theology and archeology around the use of the bible as a historical text, or a text that should be

analyzed through the prism of comparative literary theoretical analysis. They, through the Palestine History and Heritage Project (PaHH), are working with academic activists transnationally to reconstruct the history of Palestine in a way that is based on verifiable archeological evidence, and not upon the unreliable biblical stories of the early text of the bible. They seek to create a “just history” that will be a starting point that allows for this history to evolve and grow according to what is discovered next, and gives voice to all the people and societies that lived and still live upon this land.

The book peels back the blinders that have been placed on the international academic and political communities’ eyes through the creation and adoption of a mythological history that legitimizes the settler-colonial Zionist political agenda of the late 1850s and later the occupation of Palestine by Europe’s and America’s Jews. When in fact there is no historical and genetic link that gives them a claim to Palestine or the right to ethnically cleanse the indigenous peoples of the land. They reveal the fascist and imperialist ideologies that went into creating the Israeli narrative of their account of history in order to allow them to commit the same atrocities that were committed upon them. This book will be key for the theoretical framing of the how Palestinian Resistance Literature seeks in its own way to create a counter narrative/history to rectify the injustices that have been brought upon them and to reclaim the land, their culture, identity, and language even if it is only in the space of a poem or the novel.

Another book that should be highlighted in this review is *Freedom is a Place, The Struggles for Sovereignty in Palestine* by RON J. SMITH. The book provides an essential account of Palestinian daily life and bear witness as an outside observer to the hardship endured by Palestinians living under occupation. Professor Smith breaks down the occupation’s notion and dynamics through interdisciplinary framework. More specifically, in his chapter *Resistances*,

*Concessions, and Solidarity*, He discusses the present and future possibilities for change in Palestine within a large theoretical framework.

“That occupation is a process, not an event- constantly being developed and revised to further a project of disposition ...Occupation is a totalizing project. It affects all aspects of lives of its subjects, from travelling to securing a meal, gaining an education, building a family. No part of Palestinians’ lives is untouched by the occupation, which also means resistance takes place in every aspect of their lives.” (Smith, 2020)

### **2.2.2 Local studies**

The indigenous people narrative constitutes a highly essential part in forming the history. Their genuine narrative is very important in shaping the geographical and cultural history of the land, thus refuting the colonial, distorted narrative and claims to the land. In her article, *Bearing Witness in Palestinian Resistance Literature*, Tahrir Hamdi focuses on the concept of how literature has been and still can be used to bear witness for the Palestinians who, since the British occupation of Palestine have been under a late-modern settler-colonial and imperial process that essentially erased and manipulated their existence from their historical homeland. This literature offers a space where these political leaders, and literary authors can have a hand in reconstructing a history out of true and evidence based historical accounts of the people, cultures, languages, religions, and political alliances/formations that have come from and passed through Palestine (or as Dr. Thomas L. Thompsan, Dr. Ingrid Hjelm, and Dr. Hamdan Taha in a book I will be mentioning below term as a “just multi-vocal history” for Palestine and the many people who have lived upon the land).

The contributions of Palestinian revolutionary writers and in flourishing this literature are huge and countless, and we cannot discuss it all within this limited space. And for the sake of

concentration in this research, I will limit the analysis and discussion to a few prominent literary pieces by late and contemporary Palestinian revolutionary intellectuals, writers, and poets pre and post Oslo. So I shall review here the works of Ghassan Kanafani, specifically the novels *Men in the Sun*, and the *Land of Sand Oranges*; the novel of Murid al Barghouti, *I saw Ramallah*; the poem of Tammi al Barghouti, *In Jerusalem*; and the poem of Rafefi Zayadah, *We Teach Life Sir*.

“Men in the Sun” relates the story of three Palestinian generations in search of individual salvation, who die tragically before obtaining the chance to escape the water tank in which they were hiding in order to be smuggled to Kuwait. (Khoury, 2012). It illustrates the agony and anguish that the Palestinians lived under at the refugee camps and their search for a life. The novel in a way alludes to the Arab cruelty that closed the borders in their faces and forced them to choose to take the hard decision of sneaking into the Arab countries in the “death” water tank. It is interesting how the writer used this oxymoron. The tank that carries the water which are the secret of life becomes the carrier of death to Palestinians. And this contradiction in fact reflects the Palestinian imposed reality that they were destined to live. However, in another way the novel calls for the Palestinians to revolt and raise their voices. This was embedded in the final line of the novel, “Why did they not knock the walls of the tank?”.

The land of sad oranges continues illustrating the agony of Palestinians both in the refugee camps and the homeland. It shows the humiliation that the Palestinians receive in their refugee camps and the difficult conditions they are living. In one of the stories, *Beyond the Borders*, Kanafani reviews the anguish of Arab Authorities that control the Palestinian refugee and how they are treated as numbers only, not humans who have a just cause. Kanafani shows how hard the Palestinians fight to preserve their identity that has been threatened to disappear. The character in the story says to the Arab officer, “they tried to dissolve me, sir.”

In addition to being a great memoir, *I saw Ramallah* provides a harsh critique of the political corruption in the Palestinian authority. Throughout the novel, Murid reflects his disappointment of the situation in Palestine after he saw how it changed from a revolutionary destination to be a hub for corrupt businessmen “VIPs” who traded the blood and sacrifices of thousands of martyrs for dirty money and ranks. Besides, the novel brilliantly shows the cultural transformation in the Palestinian society from a culture of resistance to neo-liberal capitalistic culture that affect the fabric of the Palestinian society.

*In Jerusalem* reviews the history of Jerusalem and smartly exposes the double-standard of the historians who admits the histories of nations who existed in Palestine while denying the ancient- modern of history of the Palestinian people. Tamim asks the writer of history to reread and rewrite the history in a just way. The history that acknowledges the presence and existence of Palestinian through space and time on the land of Palestine. Tamim relates,

*In Jerusalem, rows of graves are lines of the city's history*

*Her dust the book*

*everyone has passed through*

*For Jerusalem welcomes the faithful and faithless*

*Walk through*

*Read her tombstones in every nation's language*

*here lie the Africans and the Franks*

*the Kipceks and the Slavs and the Bosniaks*

*The Tatars and the Turks*

*The people of God and of Destruction*

*The poor and the rich*

*The Debauched and the arctic*

*Here lies everyone who's ever trod the earth*

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

*Old man, rewrite and think again.*

The poem of Rafeef Ziyadah, *We Teach Life Sir*, exposes the biased Western media that turns a blind eye to the massacres that Israel commits in Palestine while stereotyping Palestinian people and accusing them of teaching their children to hate. The poem gained international popularity as it is in English and therefore could reach to a wider audience worldwide. The poem also reviews the agony of the Palestinian people who have been living under the anguish of occupation and its atrocities. It touches the hearts of the free people around the world and prompts them to stand in solidarity with Palestine. More importantly, the poem confirms that no matter the atrocities and countless cases of murders among Palestinians due to Israel's racist war machine, Palestinians still teach life.

## **2.3 Conclusion**

The reviewed studies provide an interdisciplinary perspective into the revolutionary literature generally, and the Palestinian revolutionary literature particularly. The researcher builds upon their analyses to support the arguments put forward in this research. From their investigation into the utility of literature in the cultural and historical arena, the research seeks to apply these arguments into the Palestinian revolutionary literature and shows how these arguments can still be valid for this literature. The research further reveals more dynamic and deeper roles for the Palestinian revolutionary literature to play. Given the unique geopolitical situation of Palestinian

in that it is living under a settler colonial occupation, the importance of this literature in leading the struggle against the Zionist agendas increases highly.

## **Chapter three: Methodology**

### **3.1 Nature of the study**

Due to the nature of my discipline my research will require both qualitative and quantitative methodologies to ensure the accuracy of the results for the quantitative methodology, the researcher used a well-designed questionnaire that is neatly tailored to objectives of the study. For the qualitative methodology, the researcher utilized literary texts to see the social, political, cultural, and intellectual impact Resistance Literature has had internally within the Palestinian movement and society, as well as transnationally. Certain poetry and novels written both pre and post Oslo will be analyzed along with an interdisciplinary framework of theory in order to extrapolate my analysis and prove my arguments.

### **3.2 Study population and sample**

The study targeted the educated stratus of the Palestinian society. In particular, the study sample is consisted of the Palestinian students at high school and university level including 11th and 12th grades, Diploma Bachelor, Master, and PhD degrees holders. In addition to a small sample of 12 international students and professors who were interviewed, 177 Palestinian students with various academic degrees participated in the questionnaire that was questionnaire locally.

### **3.3 Scope of the study**

The study is both focused and various which gives the research more validity and accuracy. Locally, the study is limited to Palestinian students at Arab American University, University

College of Educational Sciences, Najeeb Al-Ahmad High School, Jenin Industrial Secondary School. Internationally, the study targeted a sample of twelve undergraduate and post-graduate international students from the university of Bucknell, PA, United States of America. The interviewees are American, French, Italian, German, Romanian, Spanish, Ethiopian, Bangladeshi and Chinese.

### **3.4 Study instrument**

The researcher used two instruments: interviews and questionnaires. The questionnaire, to begin with, was designed and distributed online through google forms, an accurate, efficient, easily accessible, and highly classified online app for data collection. To ensure the accuracy of the data input and the proper level of comprehension of the questions/paragraphs of the questionnaire among the respondents, I targeted the Palestinian students at high school and university levels as these categories have the sufficient intellectual ability and understanding of the topics of Palestinian revolutionary literature covered in my questionnaire. The questionnaire was distributed online at Arab American University, University College of Educational Sciences, Jenin's Industrial Secondary school, and Najeeb al-Ahmad High School. The choice of Arab American university was not arbitrary as this university is home to wide strata of Palestinians students who come from different parts of the fragmented land of historic Palestine. This ensured a highly focused yet diversified sample of respondents, thus yielding more accurate, diversified results. As for the interview, it targeted a small sample of 12 international students at the university of Bucknell, Pennsylvania, United States of America.

### **3.5 Design of the study instrument**

The questionnaire is consisted of four key sections: the first section collects general information about the respondent such as age, gender, academic qualification, and place of residence. The second section and deals with core roles of Palestinian revolutionary literature. The third section is intended to gauge the transformation of the Palestinian culture from a culture of resistance to a neoliberal, capitalist culture. And the fourth section delves into the role of the Palestinian academic institutions in preserving this revolutionary and cultural heritage. The questionnaire has standardized answers to the questions ranging from Strongly agree to strongly disagree that the respondents can choose from. It should be mentioned that 177 respondents participated in the questionnaire.

The interview is consisted of two sections. Section one contains 10 questions that assess the interviewee knowledge of Palestine, its culture, its people, its history, its political situation as well as the stereotypical image and representation of Palestine and its people in the western society and media. For the second section, the researcher had the interviewee listen to two poems by Palestinian revolutionary poet Rafeef Ziyadah and then answer two related questions regarding the utility of Palestinian resistance literature as a powerful tool to communicate the Palestinian plight to the free world and its capability of changing the stereotypical image of Palestinians that some biased western media has been propagating in the western societies.

### **3.6 Validity of the study instrument**

Under the supervision of professor Nidal Jayuosi, the researcher developed a questionnaire that addresses the research questions and hypotheses and is tailored to the objectives of the research. Before the distribution of the questionnaire, the researcher consulted with two

academic referees: namely Professor Ayman Yousef and Professor Lenna Odeh regarding the accuracy of the questionnaire. The two professors confirmed after reordering some of the questions for the logical flow of the questionnaire. The researcher modified it accordingly and distributed the questionnaire online.

## **Chapter four: Results, Discussion and Analysis.**

The results of my research study were collected through a questionnaire distributed at the Arab American university, University College of Educational Sciences, Najaeab al-Ahmad High School and Jenin's Industrial Secondary School. Besides, several interviews have been conducted with international students at the university of Bucknell. Below the researcher provides an accurate description of the results of these interviews and questionnaire supported by the charts and graphs that show the exact numerical ratios and results.

### **4.1 Results of the questionnaire**

#### **Section one: General information**

1. Age	15-25	25-35	35-above
	59.7%	25%	15.3%

As illustrated in the table above, the respondents to my questionnaire were divided into three age groups: 15-25, 25-35, 35-above. 59.7% of the respondents aged between 15 and 25, 25% aged between 25 and 35, and 15.3% aged 35 and above.

2. Academic qualification	High school	Bachelor	Master's	PhD
Ratio	21%	60.8%	15.3%	2.8%

The academic qualification of the respondents varies from high school diploma, bachelor's degree, Master's degree, and PhD degree. As the chart shows, the bulk ratio of the respondents are BA degree holders (60.8%) while the ratios of high school diploma, Master's, and PhD holders are 21%, 15.3%, and 2.8% respectively.

3. Gender	Male	Female	Prefer not to disclose
Ratio	41.4%	58%	0.6%

The gender of the respondents to the questionnaire are divided into 3 categories. Male respondents constitute 41.4% of the population while female respondents make up 58% of the population of the study, with a scant of 0.6% who prefer not to disclose gender affiliation. It is very natural that female ratio is higher than the male ratio because the number of female students is higher than that of male students in the Palestinian academic institutions.

4. Place of residence	Town/Village	City	Camp
Ratio	69.4%	26%	4.6%

As for the place of residence, 69.4% of the respondents are from villages/towns and 26% reside in cities, while a scant of 4.6% live in camps. The ratios seem logical considering the number of populations in cities, villages/towns, and camps.

## **Section two: Palestinian revolutionary literature and its core roles.**

5. I have extensive and deep knowledge of Palestinian revolutionary literature.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
16.9%	37.9%	39.5%	4.5%	1.1%

The results for this paragraph were as follow: 16.9 % strongly agreed, 37.9% agreed, and 39.5% agreed to some extent. However, 4.5% disagreed and 1.1% strongly disagreed. We clearly see from the ratio that high percentage of the respondents have knowledge of revolutionary literature because it is taught at the Palestinians governmental schools. Even though not a great deal of revolutionary literature to be found in the curricula, but they still have the chance to read some pieces of it in their schoolbooks. This issue is to be discussed in the coming pages of the research.

6. I know many poets and writers of Palestinian revolutionary literature.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
11.3%	42.4%	40.1%	4.5%	1.7%

11.3% strongly agreed, 42.4% agreed, and 40.1% agreed to some extent. Whereas 4.5% disagreed and a scant of 1.7% strongly disagreed. As illustrated from the ratios, the bulk of the respondents confirmed the statement above. In comparison to the ratios of the previous statement, the results for this paragraph are justified as students must have come to know revolutionary poets by reading and studying their literary works in school.

7. Palestinian resistance literature has a key role in preserving the Palestinian identity.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some degree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
55.9%	33.3%	9%	0.6%	1.1%

The majority of the respondents also confirmed this statement as these following ratios show. 55.9% strongly agreed, 33.3% agreed, and 9% agreed to some degree. Yet, a scant of 0.6% disagreed and only 1.1% strongly disagreed. The results were in favor of my argument as revolutionary poets and writers have always emphasized the Palestinian identity in their literary

works and sought to preserve and protect it against the systematic distortion and evanescence conducted by the settler-colonial Zionist occupation. I will show numerous examples of this later in my research.

8. Palestinian revolutionary literature preserves the Palestinian cultural heritage.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some degree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
57.1%	35.1%	6.8%	0.6%	0.6%

57.1% of the respondent strongly agreed, 35% agreed and 6.8% agreed to some extent. Nonetheless, the percentage of the respondents who disagreed and strongly disagreed to this paragraph was 0.6% evenly. The results for this paragraph come in compatibility with the results of the previous paragraphs which is logical. One of the most important topics of revolutionary literature is also the culture. The culture is an important component of the Palestinian identity, and the protection of this culture means the protection of a whole people. Culture is our vibrant proof of existence. It is what firmly establishes our roots in this land. The occupation spares no effort in distorting and even wiping off this culture that signals our existence over this land through time and space. Further, the Zionist occupation systematically try to steal this Palestinian culture and claiming it to be its own culture. From stealing our traditional breakfast, Hummus, Falafel, Labneh to recently stealing our traditional Palestinian costume that an Israeli lady wore in the Miss World contest that was held in the occupied city of Um El-Rashrash, today known as Eilat.

9. Palestinian revolutionary literature preserves the Palestinian history by serving as an important archive, documenting the Palestinian bitter reality, and recording all its massacres, crimes and violations				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
55.7%	33.5%	9.7%	0.6%	0.6%

As featured in the table above, 55.7% of the respondents strongly agreed with the fifth paragraph, 33.5% agreed, and 9.7% agreed to some extent. However, similar ratios of 0.6% for disagreement and strong disagreement were posted. Obviously, the agreement with this statement totaled 98.8%. The historical aspect of revolutionary literature is as highly essential as the cultural one. Our battle of this settler colonial occupation is both cultural and historical as this occupation tries to delegitimize and deny our historical roots to this land while legitimizing its roots based on highly questionable biblical texts. The importance of our revolutionary literature is also in recording the massacres that the Zionists committed. This literature is an important archive for all historical events that the Palestinians have gone through since the early Zionist occupation of Palestine.

10. Palestinian revolutionary literature maintains the geographical identity of the historic homeland of Palestine				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some degree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
49.4%	34.1%	14.2%	1.1%	1.1%

Most of the respondents confirmed the statement argument above. As exhibited from the table, 49.4% strongly agreed, 34.1% agreed, and 14.2% agreed to some degree. However, the disagreement and strong disagreement with the argument only accounted for 1.1% each. Again, the bulk 98.8% of the participants in the questionnaire showed agreement with this statement, compared to a scant 2.2% that presented disagreement. This high ratio signals a great awareness among the Palestinian community of the important role of this literature in preserving the geographical identity against the systematic Zionist campaign of Judaization Palestine and its geographical and cultural features. The occupation has been replacing and changing the names of the Palestinian cities and villages into Jewish names, demolishing entire Palestinian cities, and

even planting trees that are not native to this land to change the whole geographical Palestinian features of the land. And here comes the important role of our revolutionary literature that documented the names of these cities and all Palestinian historical sites as well as drawing the authentic Palestinian map through the literary lines and pieces of literature. As we read through the literary works of Kanafani, Darwish, and Al-Barghouti, we see authentic and historic Palestinian map illustrated in their genuine words. Indeed, it offers the Palestinian generations a complete picture to their authentic homeland that would never be forgotten, and the process to free and rebuild it.

11. Palestinian revolutionary literature reconnects the politically and geographically fragmented Palestinian people and restore the Palestinian national unity.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some degree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
42.9%	38.4%	14.9%	1.1%	0.6%

The results for this paragraph came in line with the previous one as they are connected to each other. As can be seen from the table, while 1.1% disagreed and a scant of 0.6% strongly disagreed, 42.9% strongly agreed, 38.4%, and 14.9% agreed to some extent with unifying role of Palestinian revolutionary literature. This literature addresses all Palestinian people no matter what their differing political affiliations are. It, in fact, is the contributions of all Palestinian writers and poets from all colors of the Palestinian spectrum who led to the production of this huge revolutionary literary heritage. Revolutionary literature is therefore the bigger umbrella that brings all Palestinians parties under it and redirects their struggle and resistance against the occupation only. Through this literature, the Palestinians get united because this literature includes and reconnects the politically and geographically fragment bridges between all Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza, 1948 occupied land, and those in diaspora.

12. Revolutionary literature is a compass for directing and leading the struggle with occupation on all fronts of the battle, that is, culturally, historically, and militarily.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
37.9%	36.7%	19.2%	5.1%	1.1%

The table shows that 37.9% strongly agreed and 36.7% agreed, while 19.2% agreed to some degree with this paragraph. This reflects a high ratio of agreement, which is no strange at all. Building on the previous paragraph result, the revolutionary literature works systematically to keep the Palestinian people on the right path for liberation. It unifies the Palestinian front with all its parties and different political routs, bridge the gaps between the Palestinian fractions and redirect the struggle towards the occupation and its agendas that targets the cultural and historical identity of the Palestinians, let alone stealing the land. This brings hope back to the Palestinian case as we can see how much aware the Palestinians are of their literature and its potence. Compared the sweeping majority who validate the argument above, only 5.1% disagreed and a scant of 1.1% strongly disagreed. Yet, revolutionary literature remains as a corrective compass pointing Palestinians and their movement back to their true north.

13. Palestinian revolutionary literature plays a pivotal role in refuting the occupation's claims to the land of Palestine.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
38.3%	40.6%	16%	4%	1.1%

The rations also show that the sweeping majority agrees that the literature of resistance is essential in refuting the Zionist historical claims to the land. As we can see, 38.3% strongly agreed, 40.6% agreed and 16% agreed to some extent with this argument, in contrast to 4% and 1.1% disagreement and strong disagreement in a row. This is indeed very low ratio of 5.1% (in total) compared to an agreement ratio of 94.9% altogether. Revolutionary poets and writers have always

sought to refute the highly questionable biblical and religious texts upon which the Zionist occupation based its historical claims to the land. The revolutionary literary heritage that chronicles the continuous Palestinian existence over this land through time and space, featuring its resounding culture and ruins all around historic Palestine and refuting and delegitimizing the western, Zionist claims to this land. Unlike Palestinians, these settler colonials have no shared roots, history, or culture as they are all gathered from around the world.

14. Palestinian resistance literature has an influential role in communicating the plight and suffering of the Palestinian people to the international community as well as exposing the occupation and its criminal acts.				
Strongly agree	Agree	Agree to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
50%	39.2%	8.5%	1.7%	0.6%

The percentages showed sweeping agreement with this argument as we can clearly see from the table. 50% strongly agreed, 39.2% agreed, and 8.5% agreed to some extent in the essential role of revolutionary literature in reaching out to the international community and exposing the occupation crimes and barbaric acts against the Palestinian. Although it is very fine compared to the sweeping agreement of this argument, the disagreement (1.7%) and strong disagreement (0.6%) posted in the table signal less awareness of the power of spoken and written word in our modern world. This literature that is distributed and recited in different languages around the world such as the work of Darwish and Kanafani and contemporary works of Rafeef Zayada and Tamim al Barghouti wake up the consciousness of the Western world and international community in general, bringing them all in solidarity with the Palestinian cause and refuting the biased journalist representations of Palestinians in the western media.

15. Revolutionary literature plays a key role in protecting the Palestinian heritage against the occupation's systematic attempts to Judaize and westernize the Arab Palestine.				
Strongly agree	Agree	Agree to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
45.7%	39.4%	13.1%	1.1%	0.6%

As was earlier emphasized in paragraphs nine and six, the settler-colonial Zionist occupation spares no efforts in erasing everything that is of a cultural importance to the Palestinian and further try to steal it. This is implemented through systematic process that targets the culture, and the examples on this are abundant, including but not limited to cuisine, costume, historical sites and cities. I once attended the International Food Day at my university in America and one of the dishes that was presented is the Arab Salad, but they change the name to Israeli Salad. The Famous Kunafeh Nabulsia – named after the city of origin Nablus\_ was also stolen by the Israelis and they sell at the western restaurant as an Israeli dessert. In the most recent Miss Beauty contest, the Israeli participant wore the Palestinian traditional costume.

As you walk through historic Palestine, you can easily see how they changed the names of the cities and town to Hebrew words, and the signs on the road written either in Hebrew or even writing the Hebrew name in Arabic letters so it will still sound Jewish name. However, Palestinian poets and writer have offered us an archive that recorded and documented the authentic historic Palestine. This archive that is embedded in their literary works and pieces will always stand in the face of this campaign and remind the younger Palestinian generation of their original historic homeland. With only tiny disagreement (1.7% in total) the table above shows that the bulk of the respondents (98.3% in total) confirmed the key role of revolutionary literature in standing as a fortified stronghold against the giant Zionist campaign of Judaizing Palestine and stealing its culture.

16. Palestinian revolutionary literature is able to guide the political action towards the liberation.				
Strongly agree	Agree	Agree to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
30.7%	39.2%	22.7%	6.6%	0.6%

Although some would argue that literature should not be immersed or involved in the political field. I still argue that literature cannot be detached from politics as the writer and the poet speak for their people and spot the light on their problems and providing a critique of the political decisions that does not serve the society. Ghassan Kanafani for example was a writer and a political figure. His works provides a road map for the liberation of Palestine and criticizes the political wrong moves. Murid al Barghuti as an academic writer, a poet, and a member of Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) who also provided a harsh critique of the Palestinian political side in his novel, *I Saw Ramallah*, and how we should reform this corruption to finally be able to free our land.

As illustrated from the table above, the majority of participants (92.8%) believed that revolutionary literature has the ability to inform the political moves towards in the struggle against occupation. Only 7.2% (in total) of the respondents recorded disagreement. The results for paragraph 13 were also close as the two arguments inform each other. The table presents that 26.3% strongly agreed, 33.7% agreed, and 27.4% of the respondents agreed to some extent with the ability of revolutionary literature in reforming and re correcting the Palestinian political track. (An agreement by 87.5% in total). However, 10.3% disagreed and 2.3% strongly disagreed. (Disagreement by 12.5% in total)

17. Revolutionary literature is capable of correcting and reforming the Palestinian political track.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
26.3%	33.7%	27.4%	10.3%	2.3%

18. The captive movement and women have a major contribution in the Palestinian revolutionary literature.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
36.6%	40.9%	15.9%	3.4%	1.1%

As the table shows, the majority of the respondents (95.5% in total) believed that the intellectual Palestinians prisoners and women have heavily contributed to the Palestinian revolutionary movement, compared to 4.5% disagreement. In fact, not only do the literary works of prisoners constitute a huge part of the revolutionary literature, their own struggle and presence in the Zionist prisons is itself a huge topic of the resistance literature. Their agony and bitter as well as inhumane prison conditions that they experience are heavily tackled in the revolutionary literature to document and communicate their plight to the free world.

The literary works, classified as *Prison Literature*, have flourished the revolutionary literature and given it more dynamic and magnitude. Examples of these works can include, but not limited to, the novel *Captive Moon and four Walls*, written in 1989 and 1990, by Muath Hanafi during his imprisonment in Nafha prison. The Palestinian prisoner Rafat Hamdoni also wrote two novels, *Lover from Jenin* in 2005 and *Diaspora* in 2003. Palestinian women also contributed to the revolutionary literature, and I shall mention famous poet Fadwa Touqan and her huge selection poems that she wrote on Palestine and in resistance to the occupation. With her far reaching, resounding poems, the contemporary Palestinian poet Rafeef Zayada has brilliantly communicated the Palestinian plight under occupation to the international community. One of her famous poems

is *We Teach Life Sir*, in which she exposes the biased western media in propagating the narrative of the occupation and refutes the western journalistic representation and stereotypical image of Palestinians as terrorists.

### **Overall analysis of section two**

My British professor once told me that before she came to Palestine, she had always wanted to know about Palestine: its culture and identity, its people and their life as well as the way they think. To do so, she did not ask anyone, read the BBC news or any other western news agencies regarding Palestine as she strongly believed it would be misleading and fabricated. Rather, she read the works of Mahmoud Darwish and Ghassan Kanafani. This, in fact, made me very conscious of how powerful and far-reaching our resistance poetry and literature in general had become. It also assured me that Palestine already have an authentic, overseas reporter to cover its news and reflect its reality: that is, resistance literature.

To expand a little more, it is important to reflect on the assassination of two prominent literary figures as it really rang a bell to me. On the tenth of April, 1973, the Israeli Mossad murdered Kamal Nasser, a Palestinian poet and spokesperson for the Palestine's Liberation Organization (PLO), along with two of his comrades in Beirut, and put a bullet in his mouth. This was a crystal-clear message from the Israeli Mossad that they wanted to silence the Palestinian intellectuals as they posed a dangerous threat to Israel and its twisted narrative. A year before, on July the 8<sup>th</sup>, the Israeli Mossad also assassinated the most influential Palestinian writer Ghassan Kanafani in a booby-trapped car. For some, the way Israel murdered these two figures might seem ordinary, but for me it is not. At the time Israel, supported by its imperialistic allies, was trying to change, destroy, and obliterate everything that is authentically Palestinian through the systematic ethnic cleansings, massacres, forced displacement of native Palestinians, and destroying entire

villages and towns, Kanafani managed to reconstruct and reunite Palestine in his novels and short stories. He was a vibrantly speaking archive that saved the authentic Palestine, with all its nature, villages' names and historical geography for generations to come.

Resistance literature of Palestine has come from a desperate need to encounter the horrific occupation which has been persecuting Palestinians for roughly a century by all means, that is, words and arms. The vicissitudes of history and recent geopolitical upheavals –the 1948 war (Nakba), 1967 war (Naksa), and the first and second Intifada (Palestinian uprisings) –have forged a new role for poetry in Palestine and given poetry, as a form of self-representation and protest or resistance, a renewed significance and value. To put it another way, Resistance poetry emerged as the counter-narrative to the imperialistic and historically revisionist discourse of the occupier: that is, poetry as a form of self-affirmation and cultural salvation/preservation within the Palestinian community as set against the adverse effects of occupation and external political involvement, and as a means through which to counter the sometimes partisan political and journalistic representations of Palestine in the international community. Moreover, it has offered the Palestinian generations a complete picture to their authentic homeland that would never be forgotten, and the process to free and rebuild it.

Since the very early establishment of the Zionist state on the land of occupied Palestine, the Israeli narrative has always sought to strip the Palestinians off their rights, deny their very existence, distort their identity, and steal everything that is of substantially cultural importance to them. In a televised interview with the former Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu, he claimed that the Israeli traditional dish for breakfast is Hummus and Za'atar. (Netanyahu, interview). Ironically, this is the very Palestinian traditional breakfast, especially when it is served with a cup of tea in the shadow of an olive tree. However, such a claim made by a top official as

Netanyahu can never be arbitrary. It is, rather, a part of his country's imperialistic and political agenda to systematically steal the land and culture of the Palestinians, and eliminate everything that is regarded as evidence of the Palestinian existence on this land. But a country with a flourished resistance literature and culture such as Palestine never fades away nor can be ignored as literature will always speak for it in the international arena, refuting every claim made by the Israeli revisionist narrative and adopted by the imperialist, capitalist countries supporting the illegal occupation.

As the Zionist narrative is pathetically bankrupt of any substantial historical and legal proof to claim the land of Palestine, it primarily based its claim to the land on highly questionable religious texts, in addition to the illegal argument of "a land without a people to a people without a land", and the notorious promise of land given to the Jews by the British government. However, this promise was severely and sarcastically criticized by leading intellectuals around the world. What right does Britain have to give away somebody else's country? It would be fanatically insane to even discuss such claim that has no legal grounds at all. In this essence, Arthur Coestrel wrote in his book, *Promise and Fulfillment*: "One nation solemnly promised to a second nation the country of a third." (p.4).

As for the second claim, it is paradoxically illogical, for if Palestine was not populated, then who has Israel been fighting for almost eighty years on this very land so far? If it was empty, as they without evidence claimed, why did they wage all the previous wars, build the Apartheid Wall in the West Bank, and demand a two-state solution from the diplomatic and political side? The answer to these simple questions is a strong refutation to the aforementioned claims and consequently an absolute recognition of the Palestinians' right to the land in which they have rich culture and history, unlike the Zionists who are culturally bankrupt. In a televised interview, the

contemporary Palestinian poet, Tameem Al-Barghouthi, commented on the cultural identity of Israel, confirming that it has no distinguished culture. That is, the Zionist movement is not a nation like France, for example, whose people have a shared language, history, culture, costume, cooking, etc. Rather, it gathered Jewish people from all over the world. These Jews have no proven historical roots in this land and also have radically different cultural identities, except for the religion. (Al-Barghouthi, interview).

The Palestinian poet Tawfiq Zayyad declared in his poem, *Here We Shall Remain*, that the Palestinians will stay in their land and will never leave it. He also emphasized his very kin to the fig and olive trees, alluding to the well-established roots in their land as these trees are long standing, and to their cultural identity as farmers.

*Here, on your chest, we shall remain like a wall*

*Guard the shadow of the olive and fig trees."1"*

Mahmoud Darwish also highlights the strong roots of the Palestinians in this land, confirming that every attempt to deny the right of Palestinians to this land or ignore their historical vibrant presence in it will not succeed. In his article, *Bearing Witness in Palestinian Resistance Literature*, Professor Tahrir Hamdi argues that "as Darwish continues to build his poetic oeuvre into a Palestinian genesis, he concerns himself more and more with the origins of the Palestinians people and their inseparability from land." (Hamdi, p.34)

*We, the Palestinian offspring of this sacred land, ...*

*Declare our resounding presence in time and place, ... "2"*

Darwish reinforced this idea, providing a significant historical proof. He linked him to the Canaanites, the natives who inhabited Palestine thousands of years ago. And more importantly, Darwish invoked the Palestinian woman in his poetry because he thinks it is the source of

production. Accordingly, the Palestinian descent will never ever end as mothers will always give birth to Palestinians who have pure Canaanite origins and are very deeply rooted in this land.

*My mother is a Canaanite,  
and this sea  
is a bridge leaping to Judgement Day. (3)*

As witnessed throughout history of occupation and war, the invaders have always tried to justify their occupation of other people's land as a way of helping the indigenous people leverage the level of their life on all sides: that is, culture, economy, health, and education. For instance, when the British came to Palestine, they called it mandate just to euphemize the term occupation. Ironically, the word, mandate, suggests that Palestinians were of low level of culture and education; i.e, backwards. This idea was underscored in Edward Said's internationally remarkable book, *Orientalism*. As Said put it:

"Every single empire in its official discourse has said that it is not like all the others, that its circumstances are special, that it has a mission to enlighten, civilize, bring order and democracy, and that it uses force only as a last resort. And, sadder still, there always is a chorus of willing intellectuals to say calming words about benign or altruistic empires, as if one shouldn't trust the evidence of one's eyes watching the destruction and the misery and death brought by the latest mission civilizatrice." (Said,1978)

However, Zayyad stresses the fact that Palestinians are so highly cultured and educated that they know how to plant the ideas, thus rebutting the occupier's traditional justification of colonizing other people's land.

*And plant the ideas  
Like the yeast of bread (4)*

In her poem, *We Teach Life Sir*, the contemporary poet Rafeef Ziadah supports the point that Palestinians are highly educated that they still teach life although they are oppressed and murdered in cold blood every day. Besides, she exposes the horrific acts of the Israeli occupation and the misrepresentation of Palestinians as terrorist in the western journalistic realm. She also condemns the silence of the international community, exposing their bias and siding with Israel by turning a blind eye to the heinous and horrible massacres committed by the Israeli war machine against Palestinians in Gaza.

*But today, my body was a TV'd massacre made to fit into soundbites and word limits.*

*And just give us a story, a human story.*

*You see, this is not political.*

*We just want to tell people about you and your people so give us a human story.*

*Don't mention that word "apartheid" and "occupation".*

*This is not political. (5)*

Despite all the catastrophic events – vis, Nakba, Naksa, First and Second Intifadas, Diaspora, aggression on Gaza and so forth- that Palestinians have gone through, they would still teach life to the whole world. Palestinians, I insist, have continuously proved to be truly educated even in their Diaspora as well. They were the remarkable intellectuals, engineers, doctors, teachers, skillful farmers, and the hard workers in the refuge countries. After Palestinians had fled Palestine to other neighboring Arab and Western countries due to the heinous massacres committed against them by Israel, they started a real renaissance in those countries, especially the gulf states. Regionally, the Arab gulf states would never forget the role of the Palestinian teachers in leveraging the level of education. (Kuwaiti National Network, 2012). Internationally, the world cannot deny

the substantial contribution that the Palestinian intellectuals such as Edward Said and Mahmoud Darwish made to the world's literature heritage.

The catastrophic event of Diaspora has occupied a large part in the Palestinian resistance's literature. Poets and writers have so extensively written on it and given it a significant attention. In his three literary works, *Men in The Sun*, *Returning to Haifa*, and *The Land Of Sad Oranges*, Ghassan Kanafani describes the anguish of Palestinians and their Diaspora in the different parts of the world while fleeing the persecution of the occupation. However, what distinguishes Palestinians is that they are stubbornly persevering. No matter how destructed they are, they keep their heads high. They also keep working to achieve their most desirable ultimate goal: returning to homeland and freeing it. As Darwish emphasized: " The dual injustice of exile and occupation could not break the will of a people bent on achieving freedom, dignity and redemption of history". (Darwish, 1998). However, in the pursuit of achieving that goal, our agony does not prevent us from standing out in the whole world and leave our unique fingerprint as did Mahmoud Darwish, Ghassan Kanafani, Edward Said, and more others.

Even in his critical stage of illness, Edward Said could still present to us his great book, *Out Of Place*, which is regarded as one of the most remarkable memoirs. In this book, Said takes the reader with him back to homeland and reviews his early childhood in Palestine. This journey allows Said to break the borders that separate him from his homeland and reunite with it again. No matter how luxurious life could become in the exile, Palestinians stay very nostalgic to their home. This is best exemplified in Edward's book, *Out of Place*, when he highlighted that: "all world is a hotel, and my home is Jerusalem". (Said, p.43).

**Section three: Gauging the transformation of the Palestinian society from a culture of resistance to a neo-liberal capitalist culture.**

19. Palestinian society is a cohesive society with a prevailing sense of collectivity.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some degree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
14.3%	29.7%	37.7%	14.3%	4%

Influenced by the Arabic culture that is characterized of being sociability, friendly, generous, hospitable, and caring, the Palestinian society has been, and arguably still is, a cohesive society in which people care about each other and seek to help anyone in need. This sense of collectivity and feeling for each other has helped the Palestinian to remain steadfast in the face of the occupation's war machine over the past seven decades. Whenever any calamity or distress hits any Palestinian family, the Palestinians rush to the rescue of their fellow Palestinian family and generously provide all kinds of help. It is very obvious how Palestinians try to shelter wanted Palestinian resistant figures, provide for the families of martyrs and prisoners and stand in solidarity with each other against the occupation. The table above shows that 14.3% strongly agreed, 29.7% agreed, and 37.7% agreed to some extent that the Palestinian society is a cohesive and collective society while the ratios of the respondents who posted disagreement and strong disagreement were 14.4% and 4% respectively.

20. Palestinian society is a capitalist society characterized by individuality.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
8%	17.1%	32%	34.9%	8%

The respondents have divided into agreeing and disagreeing with this argument. As illustrated from the table, 42.9% (in total) of the respondents showed general disagreement with this paragraph while 56.1% (in total) reported agreement. This can predict the recent transformation of the Palestinian society into a capitalist society, the gravest consequence of which

is a prevailing sense of individuality and selfishness. This will be discussed in more depth in the next section.

21. life at the time of the Intifada was better than life today.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
15.1%	22.1%	22.1%	32.6%	8.1%

22. life today is better than life during the Intifadas/ uprisings.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
12.1%	28.3%	23.1%	29.5%	6.9%

Both paragraph 21 and 22 are interrelated to each other, so the tables are put in juxtaposition to be able to assess the results clearly. In fact, the results for these two paragraphs came surprising and sort of conflicting. As we can see from the tables above, the overall agreement in paragraph 21 is 59.3% compared to an overall disagreement of 40.7%. However, in paragraph 22, the overall agreement is 63.6% as opposed to an overall disagreement of 36.4%. A possibly accurate analysis of and reason for these conflicting results might be a little confusing in understanding the paragraphs. Another reason could be that the respondents consider the bright sides of the two eras: the Intifada and post Intifada eras.

During the Intifda, the Palestinians have felt a sense of resistance and patriotism was very prevailing. This is no to say that it no longer exists. Not at all. The revolutionary flame inside the Palestinians have never been extinguished. However, the post Intifada era and the cash flow and facilities brought about by Oslo economy have changed the lifestyle of Palestinian and made them much more involved in business and in a more capitalist environment. (This will be deeply delved into in the coming sections.) So, again the Palestinians have now become a little more perplexed:

they want the comfort and financially improved environment, but they also hate the boundaries it has created between the Palestinians in their society. These boundaries are threatening the cohesion of the Palestinian society. To sum up, the Palestinian is trying to make a balance between the two eras and take the best from each era. Results of paragraphs 23, 24, 25, and 26 support came in support of this analysis as you will see next.

23. The two-state solution is the best solution to end the conflict.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
10.4%	15.6%	12.1%	16.2%	45.7%

24. I support the project of a Palestinian state within the 1967 borders with a stable, prosperous economy.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
8.8%	20.6%	18.2%	21.8%	30.6%

25. All I care to is getting a job, stable salary, and a stable life.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
16.2%	16.8%	25.4%	19.1%	22.5%

26. The best solution to end the occupation “conflict” is a single civil state for the Jews and Palestinian based on peaceful coexistence between the two peoples.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
5.8%	9.2%	9.2%	22.5%	53.2%

The results for paragraphs 23, 24, 25, 26, came in harmony with the previous results of paragraphs 21 and 22. As I argued earlier, the Palestinian society still adopts the revolutionary culture and stays committed to its revolutionary principles advocated for by the revolutionary

literature. As the table for paragraph 23 shows, the overall agreement with the two-state solution is 38.1% while the overall disagreement is 61.9%. Then for paragraph 24, the overall agreement with a Palestinian state within 1967 borders and a stable economy is 47.6% compared to 52.4% disagreement. Even though the two paragraphs mean almost the same, but the fact that a stable economy is included in paragraph 26 includes a stable economy allures the respondents to agree more. As we can see, in paragraph 23, the overall agreement is 38.1% while in paragraph 24 the overall agreement rose by almost 10% to be 47.6%. This signals the gradual tendency/shift, though slowly, of Palestinian society into a neo-liberal capitalist culture as you will see from the results of paragraphs 27 and 28. (See results below).

The occupation is tactically playing the economy card. All what the occupation cares to is only economic peace, and the Zionists want to immerse the society in a capitalist atmosphere to make sure the people are always busy with business and nothing else. So gradually the society will conform to a capitalist culture and leave behind its revolutionary mentality. This is crystal clear in the results for paragraph 25 that is about getting a job, stable salary, and stable life. 58.4% of the respondents recorded an overall agreement while 41.6% in total disagreed. However, when the flourished economy is not mentioned, the results change dramatically as we can see in paragraph 26 which shows an overall agreement of 24.2% as opposed to 75.8% disagreement in total.

27. Aspects of life and markets in the West bank are of a Western character.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
6.9%	17.9%	33.5%	31.2%	10.4%

28. I care about buying brands and following the latest trends and fashions.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree

8%	17.2%	26.4%	25.3%	23%
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The processional transformation of the Palestinian society from a culture of resistance to a neoliberal, capitalist culture has gradually manifested over the last two decades. I will argue this by touching on two key factors that took place post Oslo. One key factor is the economic facilities and cash flow brought about by the Oslo Agreement after a prolonged period of economic stagnation and social turmoil during the pre-Oslo era. Secondly, the dismantling of the Palestinian revolutionary armed movement which indeed represents the main apparatus for revolutionary literature and culture.

In 1993, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) signed the US- mediated Oslo Accord with the Israeli side, thus paving the way for the emergence of the Palestinian Authority (PA) in 1994. For the historical record, the PLO is a Palestinian armed movement established in 1964 for the purpose of liberating Israeli-occupied Palestine through armed resistance\struggle. In its beginning, all its literature was about getting rid of occupation through armed struggle and liberating historical Palestine, i.e., all Palestine from the river to the sea. Interestingly, the PLO's basic discourse changed dramatically after the Oslo Accord and Madrid Conference agreement, according to which the PLO recognized Israel as a sovereign, legal state on lands of Palestine seized by the Israeli Occupation in 1948 and 1967. Israel, in turn, recognized the Palestinian right to a self-government in Gaza, Jericho and parts of the West Bank. The agreement was later on dubbed as a downfall and a historical mistake in the political history of the PLO. However, I do not attempt here to delve into this controversially political debate of the righteousness or wrongness of that political move. But I rather concern myself in the economic structures and facilities that resulted from this agreement, and their critical role in the making of this cultural transformation.

The pre-Oslo era experienced a very conditioned economy due to the constant state of turmoil and turbulence in the region, especially during the time of the First Intifada from 1987 to 1993. After this long period of economic stagnation, intense clashes, curfews, blockades, and strict restrictions imposed by the Israel, Oslo came as the sigh of life to the deteriorating region. The economic facilities, though enjoyed mostly by the elites, and self-governance given to the Palestinians is, in my view, a very tactical move from the Israeli side in its pursuit of erasing the culture of resistance from the conscious of the Palestinians. For one part, it gave the Palestinian a sense of victory and freedom, so they became satisfied with it and stopped their struggle. For the other part, it indulged the Palestinians in commercial affairs, thus keeping them distracted from going back to the revolution. As Marx proposed in *the Manifesto of the Communist Party*, “the economic recessions and practical contradictions of a capitalist economy would provoke the working class to revolt ....” (67)

In fact, Israel recognized this fact and offered several economic facilities to prevent any potential revolution. Indeed, it wanted to give the Palestinians materialistic things that they would fear about losing. It also managed to make this juxtaposed picture of the pre-Oslo very conditioned life and post-Oslo economically promising life always present in the minds of Palestinians, so they will, of course, end up favoring the latter. In doing so, Israel ensures that the Palestinians reach the stage of no comeback to resistance, i.e., conforming to a new, capitalistic lifestyle and pushing away from resistance.

According to a previous questionnaire conducted in 2020 and that was intended to detect the cultural transformation of the Palestinian society into a neo-liberal capitalist culture, 64.4 % of the respondents agreed that a flourished economy and stable salary is one of the most important matters that concerns the Palestinians these days, compared to 16.6% who disagreed. Moreover,

the bulk of the respondents (84.9%) agreed that getting a good job and a stable, peaceful life is the most important thing for them, while a scant of 5.4% disagreed. The data shows the growing inclination of the Palestinian society to this neoliberal, capitalistic culture.

However, it shall be clear here that the research in no way criticize this new trend. Such criticism would be very naïve as these demands are very legitimate for any human being and their existence is fundamental to a healthy and stable society. The critique is rather of the Palestinian growing tendency to conform to this colonial economic structure that changed them to only consumers, while leaving behind a long and rich heritage of resistance. In 2014, the Israeli Tenth Channel made a report about the Palestinian city of Jenin, and subtitled it as “*Jenin Chooses the Economic Prosperity Over Terrorism*”. The report described the economic growth in Jenin and the capitalistic lifestyle that Jenin shifted to after an era of “terrorism”, a reference to the Palestinian revolutionary armed movement. The reporter wandered the market of Jenin, showing the numerous prestigious shops, restaurants with western cuisines, cafes and housing systems. In fact, this report unfolded the great extent of Palestinian society’s involvement in this culture.

The manifestation of emerging neoliberal, capitalistic culture is a central theme in Murid Barghouti’s novel, *I Saw Ramallah*. The novel illustrates the cultural transformation within the Palestinian society and harshly criticizes the Palestinian politicians for their corruption. “Only in the company of a Palestinian leader carrying a VIP card can you go to Jerusalem. (34). It shows this radical transformation from the culture of resistance to this capitalistic culture. Murid goes on, “At the elegant tables of the Ouda Hotel and Harb Hotel we would recognize celebrities wearing fezzes and discussing politics while holding the long tubes of narghiles. The streets and restaurant and parks of Ramallah and its twin city al-Bireh, were sparkling clean... In al-Anqar billiard hall I learned to play snooker.” (39). It specifically exhibits the transformation of the revolutionary and

political leaders whose main concern pre-Oslo was their homeland, their people, struggle against the occupation, and liberation to corrupted merchants, businessmen, and VIPs whose key concern today is money and luxurious life.

“Who ruins your sweet inconsequential things with the awe of his authority and his driver and his servants and his bodyguards? Who imported this small, shiny teaspoon from Taiwan? What giant ships ploughed the seas to bring you some trivial piece of primitive gad-getry from Stockholm? How did the flowers merchants make their millions and build their fine house?” (41). Similarly, in his poem, the *Tale of the Palestinian Boy*, Ahmad Dahbour tackles this new shift in harsh criticism. He scrutinizes the corrupted, VIP politicians.

The God’s land is wide

Yet it may become crowded

With a caravan of merchants, pandemics, and villains.

Instrumental to the success of the economic facilities in the cultural transformation of the Palestinian society was the dismantling of the Palestinian revolutionary armed movement. In fact, I do not mean here individual revolutionary actions as these have never stopped to date. What I specifically mean is the systematic breaking down of the institutional structure of the Palestinian armed movement which represents the main apparatus of the revolutionary ideology and culture. With the emergence of the PA in 1994, the PLO revolutionaries were incorporated into the security service in the PA. Through this tactical move Israel achieved many goals and gains.

First, the Israeli recognition of the PA changed the relationship between the Israeli side and the Palestinian side from an occupier-occupied relationship to a conflicting-political-entities relationship whose main conflict is over borders rather than existence. Secondly, the dismantling

of the armed movement was meant to eradicate the sense of resistance from the conscious of the Palestinians. And this could not be achieved unless they remove the incubator of the revolutionary ideology. 74 % of the respondents to my previous questionnaire said they no longer feel the sense of resistance within the Palestinian society. Thirdly, Israel sought also to strip the Palestinians from their legitimate right of resistance. The incorporation of the PLO revolutionaries to the PA restricted them. While pre-Oslo actions would be internationally recognized as revolutionary, such actions have been labeled as *aggression* and *terrorism* post-Oslo. In fact, Israel's systematic plan is to eradicate the culture of resistance and its armed movement and replace it with a neoliberal capitalistic culture, so those remaining revolutionary individuals will be casted off and alienated within their own society.

The effect of this transformation has badly affected the societal fabric of the Palestinian community. One effect is a prevailing sense of individuality rather than collectivity. I shall say here that I am not against individuality in its abstract meaning. I should clarify that the notion of *individualism* criticized here is in no way its universal, abstract meaning as “the emphasis on the moral worth, dependence, and self-reliance of the individual”. (Wood, 117). My criticism is rather of its discursive meaning, one that is particularly understood inter-communally in the Palestinian society. In fact, each member of a society needs a comfort zone, a boundary within which s/he feels safe and ensures a healthy interaction with other members. Yes, we need to set out the boundaries that gives us the privacy and comfort we need.

However, my particular critique is of a capitalistic individuality along with the attributes that are connotated with it. Such attributes are the selfishness and fragmentation. In a society fighting against settler-colonial Zionist occupation, the sense of collectivity should manifest at its brightest, for it is an essential tool in strengthening the interior front at the society and keeps it

strong and cohesive. It is, in fact, a top priority in the Zionist agenda to keep this society fragmented in order to subjugate it. In Meari's article, *Sumud: A Palestinian Philosophy of Confrontation in Colonial Prisons*, she argues the fact that people conformation to post-Oslo neoliberal economy and institutions state has fragmented the Palestinian society and almost eradicated its sense of collectivity and resistance. She also quoted the people she interviewed as saying, "The sense of collectivity has collapsed, and if a struggler were arrested, he would feel alone while others are living a normal life". (557)

Similarly, in his book, *Conflict Transformation and the Palestinians: The Dynamics of Peace and Justice under Occupation*, Qassoum argues that in neoliberal economies the sense of collectivity within a society decreases. As he put it, "In this way, once the market becomes the established forms for organizing social relations, consumers' sense of being a part of a collective declines" (173). In fact, the gravest effect of this transformation is the systematic alienation of the revolutionary culture, thus threatening the very identity of the Palestinians. The dangerous, necropolitical, settler-colonial project adopted by Zionist Israel is bent on erasing the Palestinian culture with all its signs of existence and rendering them as Gypsies, Kurds and Indian Americans. Indeed, our revolutionary culture and literature is our Identity. Despite what seems to be the loss of vitality to the collective Palestinian movement post Oslo, I will argue that Palestinian resistance literature still carries the pre-Oslo importance and weight intellectually and politically into the neo-liberal and colonial capitalist economic and political reality that has taken over the Occupied Territories of Palestine. This is why Israel fight to dislocate Palestinian Resistance Literature from the collective consciousness and yet it remains as a corrective compass pointing Palestinians and their movement back to their true north.

#### **Section four: The instrumental role of Palestinian academic institutions to the flourishing of revolutionary literature.**

29. Palestinian educational institutions inculcate values in national and patriotic values students.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
16.8%	41.6%	23.1%	14.5%	4%

30. Palestinian academic institutions focus in their curricula on teaching Palestinian revolutionary literature, culture, and history.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
14.9%	33.3%	25.9%	20.1%	5.7%

31. Graduates of Palestinian academic institutions are educated enough to confront the occupier's narrative and refute its allegations on the academic, historical, and political levels.				
Strongly agree	Agree	True to some extent	Disagree	Strongly disagree
13.9%	27.2%	27.3%	24.3%	6.9%

Paragraphs 29, 30, and 31 are strongly interrelated and therefore the results of each paragraph influences and informs the other. A quick glance on these tables can easily show a slow, gradual downfall in the overall agreement ratios in the three paragraph above compared a growing increase in the total disagreement ratios. In paragraph 29, the gross ration of agreement is 81.5% compared to a low disagreement ratio of 18.5%. in total. In paragraph 30, the overall ratio of agreement is 74.2% as opposed to 25.8% ratio of disagreement. However, in paragraph 31, the overall ratio of agreement is 68.8% while the overall ratio of disagreement is 31.2%. For the paragraph 29 and 30 it is definitely true that our Palestinian schools implant the national and patriotic sentiments in the Palestinian pupils through incorporating them in the school curricula. As a teacher myself, I can see and see the patriotic atmosphere our school provide for students to

keep them connected to their homeland and its issue. So, the Palestinian younger generations are always enthusiastic and filled with patriotism.

But this is not enough alone. We should combine the real knowledge and understanding of our cause to be able to represent and advocate for it in the international arena. On the college and university level, the courses that tackle the Palestinian literature, history, culture are few. We need to put more emphasis on these courses and make them mandatory, not optional. The Palestinian university offers only one mandatory course about the history of Palestine, and this is not enough. We also need to offer courses that tackle the cultural, historical, and political realities and background of our occupier. In doing so, Palestinian graduates will have the sufficient knowledge and intellectual ability to confront the and refute the occupation's revisionist narrative and claims to the land. Moreover, the Palestinians will have a well-prepared young generation that is able to lead the political and cultural and historical struggle with occupier and achieve the liberation of Palestine.

## **4.2 Results of interviews**

The researcher conducted 12 interviews at the university of Bucknell in the United States of America. The interviews made at Bucknell are very essential in, firstly, its widespread strata of international as well as American students, and secondly, in its geopolitical position as this university is located in the Western world. This will be very essential in knowing the perspective of the young generation of the western world into the Palestinian culture and cause as well as the stereotypical image of Palestine and Palestinians in their minds. Students interviewed were from different nationalities, namely American, Chinese, French, Spanish, Bangladeshi, Italian, German, Romanian, and Ethiopian, in addition to two university professors from the department of cultural education and department of political Science. It should be mentioned though that the interviewees

preferred to keep their anonymity and not reveal their names so I will refer to each person by their nationality.

The interview is consisted of two sections. Section one contains 10 questions that assess the interviewee knowledge of Palestine, its culture, its people, its history, its political situation as well as the stereotypical image and representation of Palestine and its people in the western society and media. For the second section, the interviewees listen to two poems by Palestinian revolutionary poet Rafeef Ziyadah and then answer two related questions regarding the utility of Palestinian resistance literature as a powerful tool to communicate the Palestinian plight to the free world and its capability of changing the stereotypical image of Palestinians that some biased western media has been propagating in the western societies. The interview questions are as follows:

Nationality:

Age:

Q.1 Do you know Palestine?

Q.2 What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you hear the name of Palestine?

Q.3 What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you hear the word “Palestinian”?

Q.4 Do you know anything about Palestine and if yes how did you know that? Where did you get your information from about Palestine and the situation there?

Q.5 Do you know anything about Palestine’s culture, history, and current political situation?

Q.6 Do you know about Palestinian literature? Have you read Palestinian literature/resistant literature before? (if yes). What authors? How were you exposed to them? Who exposed you to them? What do you think about it?

Q.7 Did the literature change previous beliefs about Palestine’s cause and Palestinians? How?

Q.8 Do you think Palestine and the Palestinians are well and truly presented in the Western Media or your own media? How?

Q.9 Do you honestly believe Palestinians are terrorist, backwards, barbaric, etc.? Why?

Q.10 Do you think Palestinians have a high civilization, good culture, art, etc.? How?

### **Section two:**

Kindly listen to these 2 poems and then answer the questions that follow:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aKucPh9xHtM>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m2vFJE93LTI>

Q.1 Do you think Palestinian resistant poetry can be a powerful tool for Palestinians to communicate their message to the international community? (Please elaborate)

Q.2 Is poetry/capable of changing the stereotypical image about Palestinians? How?

The interviewees responses were important and interesting. For the first three questions that examine the interviewee knowledge of Palestine, most of the interviewee reported superficial knowledge of Palestine, not exceeding the name itself or the fact that it is Arab. Some of the interviewee limited their familiarity of Palestine to only the conflict that is going on there. Two interesting answers associated Palestine with “Hamas” and conflict between “Jews and Muslims” as they answered. These answers need to be contemplated deeply. The uninformed, biased, and bigoted Western media and authors try to blind the western mainstream people from the reality of the conflict in Palestine. They mislead the public in the west by portraying the conflict as a religious conflict and then attribute antisemitism to Palestinians. And this is not accurate at all. The three divine religions and its followers have lived in Palestine peacefully. The conflict in Palestine is between an occupier and occupied. It is between an armless, indigenous people and

settler-colonials who try to steal the land, culture and history and obliterate their Identity. The indigenous Palestinians fight for their legitimate existence that the occupation legal structure never stop to deny. The revolutionary literature advocates for these legitimate rights and call for the free world to stop the Zionist crimes in Palestine and end the occupation.

For the questions that assess their familiarity with Palestinian revolutionary literature, the majority of the interviewee also reported zero knowledge of Palestinian revolutionary literature. However, some of them said they have heard Mahmoud Darwish and Edward Said, but their knowledge of their works is also superficial. Regarding the questions about the portrayal of Palestine and Palestinians in the western media, all the people interviewed believed that Palestine and Palestinians are misrepresented in the western media and always demonized and portrayed. as terrorists. Living here in the US, I myself can see this very clearly. I have had many conversations with people who hold this mislead and uninformed belief about Palestinians being terrorists and barbaric. An American friend once told me, that throughout his life he has never heard in the media or in his community the word Palestine or Palestinian without being attributed to terrorism. The media has always collocated terrorism with Palestine, and he has never heard in the media about, for example, a Palestinian artist, dancer or painter. Therefore, this stereotypical image and uninformed ideas sneaked into their subconscious, and by daily repetition, they have been established to be true. However, the interviewees have also noted that even though that media portray stereotypical image of Palestinians and their culture which orientalist propagated, they still believe that Palestinians have civilized culture and rich history.

In the second section of the interview, the researcher had the students listen to two pieces of revolutionary poetry, titled as *We Teach Life* and *Shades of anger*, by Palestinian poet Rafeef Zyadah. All of the persons interviewed believed the poems are very moving and highly powerful

in communicating the plight and agony of the Palestinians in very artistic way. They believed that this poetry represents the Palestinians extremely well and is able to change and confront the campaigns that defaces Palestinians and their just cause, let alone bringing the western young generation stand in solidarity with Palestine. However, some of them think that poetry alone is not enough, and Palestinians need to combine other tools. “I think one thing that Ziadah does that is quite effective is to make references that highlight the simple hypocrisy and that the experiences of Palestinians are not unique, but the experience of men and women of color. She effectively communicates that this is not just a political struggle, but a human struggle. I am not sure this is going to make a difference to the people who have the worst stereotypes of Palestinians and simply refuse to engage, particularly in the United States. But again, I think it can be effective in mobilizing those how are sympathetic and want change. I think this tool has to be combined with other forms of resistance and political action in order to create change internationally”.

This is of course very true. And Palestinian need to work on all the front to fight this occupier in the pursuit if their liberation. For this revolutionary poetry to be effective, Palestinians need to translate its ideas into real life. And in addition to the written we need to focus on the visual as well. The visual has more effective power in reaching out to the people, let alone the social media platforms that ensures global outreach for this literature. The other step is the cultural programs and projects. And here I want to mention a pioneering cultural project that was set up in America. This great project is the House of Palestine. And here I quote, The House of Palestine is an affiliate member of the House of Pacific Relations located in Balboa Park in San Diego, California. It is a cultural organization connecting people to the traditions of Palestine. The House of Palestine’s mission is to promote the culture and heritage of Palestine by hosting various social activities featuring Palestinian traditional costumes, folkloric dance, poetry, music, arts and crafts,

and foods. It is our desire that these activities serve as instruments to educate visitors and encourage awareness among all fellow human beings. In addition to fostering Palestinian culture, House of Palestine, provides a meeting ground for Palestinians and friends of Palestine.”

<https://www.houseofpalestine.org/>.

An interview was conducted with Mr. Tayseer Odeh, the president of the house of Palestine, on December 30, 2021. Mr Odeh is a Palestinian American endowed businessman, who also has a degree in mechanical engineering. In the interview, Mr. Oden explained to me what it means to have this house built in America and in Balboa Park, in particular. Balboa park hosts 26 houses for European and south American countries including the occupation state of Israel. Mr Odeh stressed that having the house of Palestine built and its flag flown in the country that denies the Palestinian right to a state, and next to the house of the country that stole Palestine and spares no efforts in obliterating its identity and culture, is a huge victory that many fierce battles had been waged for”. Mr. Odeh illustrated the numerous obstacles the faced on the path of achieving this project. And these obstacles that include securing funds for the project and obtaining a permit from the court to implement this it. He mentioned the fierce pressure that the Zionist movement in America put on the court to not give the permit for the construction of the House. Unfortunately, Mr. Odeh also explained that the Palestinian authority refused to provide the financial help for building the house due to lack of budget. However, Mr. Odeh insisted to continue the dream and build the house and start the donation campaign to gather the sufficient fund, and eventually they all were able to turn this dream into a reality.

The importance of such projects lies in preserving the Palestinian culture and heritage. It simply is way of resistance to the colonial entities that want to bury us alive. Such project shouts

in the faces of colonials and tell them we do exist. No matter how many massacres you commit, houses you demolishes, lands you seize, history you fake, and culture you steal, Palestine tomorrow will be free.

The data presented indicate the literature's significance in the West's Palestinian cultural projects that have gained many accolades in 2021, such as the opening of the House of Palestine. The words of Palestinian poems, spoken narratives of displaced Palestinian families, and the history of each Palestinian city, village, and town are painted beautifully all along the walls of this inaugural museum. This house is a powerful example of the relevance of Palestinian literature in the memory of Palestinians who, for generations, were forced to live and be born away from their homeland. This project claims that through the legacy of Palestinian revolutionary literature, the future of the power of literature for Palestinians is present. They are actively turning to it to recreate Palestine, their cultural identity, their homeland, spreading and expanding its borders worldwide.





Pictures from the opening day of the Palestinian House in San Diego, California, United States of America.

### **Section three: (ANOVA) Overall analysis of the results of the questionnaire and the interviews.**

	Overall Agreement	Overall Disagreement
1	94.3%	5.6%
2	93.8%	2.2%
3	98.8%	1.2%
4	98.8%	1.2%
5	98.9%	1.1%
6	97.8%	2.2%
7	96.2%	3.8%
8	93.8%	6.2%
9	94.9%	5.1%
10	97.7%	2.3%
11	98.2%	1.8%
12	92.6%	7.4%
13	87.4%	12.6%
14	93.4%	6.4%
15	81.7%	18.3%
16	57.1%	42.9%
17	59.3%	40.7%
18	63.5%	36.5%
19	38.1%	61.9%
20	47.6%	52.4%
21	58.4%	41.6%
22	24.2%	75.8%
23	58.3%	41.7%

24	51.6%	48.4%
25	81.5%	18.5%
26	74.1%	25.9%
27	68.4%	31.6%

The table shows the overall agreement and disagreement for each paragraph of the questionnaire

Overall Agreement	Overall Disagreement
77.79 %	22.21%

This table show the overall agreement and disagreement of the whole paragraphs of the questionnaire.

Obviously, the results of the questionnaire and the results came in harmony with each other. It was clear how the majority of the respondents agreed that Palestinian resistance literature still plays its pre-Oslo key roles post Oslo. These dynamic roles preserve the Palestinian cultural heritage that the Zionist occupation has been trying relentlessly to steal. Equally important is the prominent role of the Palestinian revolutionary literature in refuting the Zionist claims to Palestine. The Resistance literature of Palestine has come from a desperate need to encounter the horrific occupation which has been persecuting Palestinians for roughly a century by all means: words and arms. The vicissitudes of history and recent geopolitical upheavals –the 1948 war (Nakba), 1967 war (Naksa), and the first and second Intifada (Palestinian uprisings) –have forged a new role for poetry in Palestine and given poetry, as a form of self-representation and protest or resistance, a renewed significance and value. To put it another way, Resistance poetry emerged as the counter-narrative to the imperialistic and historically revisionist discourse of the occupier: that is, poetry as a form of self-affirmation and cultural salvation/preservation within the Palestinian community as set against the adverse effects of occupation and external political involvement, and as a means through which to counter the sometimes partisan political and journalistic representations of

Palestine in the international community. Moreover, it has offered the Palestinian generations a complete picture to their authentic homeland that would never be forgotten, and the process to free and rebuild it.

The agreement in both the questionnaire and the interviews on the power of the resistance literature in changing the international mainstream attitude towards Palestine and the Palestinian cause emphasizes the importance of this literature. The written words and voice of the oppressed shall reach out to the free people around the world and will bring them all in solidarity with the Palestinian cause. And this was crystal clear in the recent protests and marches that took to streets in the western world, advocating for Palestinian rights and condemning the Israeli atrocities. So, due to huge momentum that this literature has, Palestinian academia and Palestinian movie makers should put more focus into this literature to ensure that the younger generation maintain a good grasp of it and ensure its outreach to the international community.

## **Chapter five: Conclusion and recommendations.**

### **5.1 Conclusion**

Palestine's unique, almost uninterrupted experience with occupations and invasions stretches back to several millennia. This protracted history of a constant state of imperialism and colonialism has indeed given it and its people a distinguished status among other colonized nations. Indeed, its intense and direct encounters with the imperial powers over that prolonged history framed within the very sub-conscious of the Palestinian society a strong and vibrant culture of resistance which, later on, consciously manifested through armed struggle and a great deal of revolutionary literature taught and practiced by subsequent Palestinian generations in all eras past. In particular, this revolutionary culture was significantly sharpened during the British Mandate and the Zionist Israeli occupation in the period from 1917 all the way up until 1993. This chapter in Palestine's history witnessed dramatic events that significantly impacted the very structure of

the Palestinian society and thus yielded socioeconomic, cultural, ideological, geopolitical, and demographic changes/effects. However, the signing of Oslo Accord between the Palestinian Authority and Israel in 1993 marked a distinct, gradual transformation from a revolutionary culture to a neoliberal, capitalist culture within the Palestinian society, as evident in most of post-Oslo resistant literature such as Murid Barghouti's novel, *I Saw Ramallah*. One key shift is the Palestinian tendency to conform to a corporate, capitalistic economy, the gravest consequences of which is a prevailing sense of individuality rather than collectivity.

The reality of conflict in Palestine has a unique character that is completely different from other current conflicts going on in our modern era. Unfortunately, Palestinians are not struggling against a normal occupation or colonial power that is only seeking to colonize a land merely for exploiting its natural and precious resources or expanding its territories. This form of colonialism did not threaten the existence of the colonized people but rather used them to help exploit those resources. However, colonialism in Palestine is completely different and dangerous as Palestine is the victim of a much worse form of colonialism. The necropolitical Zionist occupation does not only seek to illegally appropriate the land and exploit its resources. But it also threatens the very existence of the indigenous Palestinians, its culture, its identity, and its history. The conflict between the Zionist occupation - so called today as Israel- and Palestinians is not a matter of borders and geography, though it is very important within the context of conflicts. Rather, the conflict exceeds the limits of geography to include the cultural and ideological fronts.

Throughout history of colonialism and conflicts, all colonial powers, except for a few, always present itself as a colonial power disguised under the mask of enlightenment and civilization. They had not presented themselves as the indigenous people of the colony and the owner of its history and cultural heritage. However, Israeli does. Supported by the Zionist

movement, the occupation state of Israel works locally and globally on multi fronts; vis, politically, economically, culturally, academically, and religiously to legitimize its existence on the land and its ownership of the history of this land. Further, it works ceaselessly to bring the national solidarity and support to its colonial project through misleading the international community and lobbying for far right polices that serve it. It controls the Western academia by, on the one hand nipping in the bud any genuine scholarly work that seeks justice and right for Palestine and, on the other hand, promoting any publications that support the Zionist claims.

Having realized the agenda and dynamics of this grave, necropolitical, colonial project, Palestinians should be prepared to confront it. And here comes the essential role of this revolutionary literature that is the safeguard for our history, culture, and identity. Palestinian revolutionary literature explores a deeply nuanced personal experience in a uniquely touching and beautiful way. To fight against a violent oppressor is something most nations – especially those which experienced colonialism – should be able to sympathize with. Palestinian art and expression, however, tackles this issue amid an increasingly complex system of apartheid that plays on Western fears of Arab and broadly Muslim extremism to perpetuate itself. To articulate these twin struggles so concisely, as poets like Darwish do, is an admirable task.

As one of my interviewees described, Palestinian resistant poetry can express excellently the complexity of Israeli occupation – how it has been cast by media, governments, and interest groups to enable expropriation of Palestinian land and homes, the emotions felt by Palestinians in response to occupation, and how the West has bankrolled profound injustice by one of its closest allies. These nuances are often lost in the prevailing narrative of Israel-Palestine, which avers that Palestinians (e.g.) “teach their children to hate” and promote anti-American and anti-Semitic extremism to destroy the world’s only Jewish democracy. Such narratives are so ubiquitous that

even the most authoritative voices on the conflict can be shut down over accusations of anti-Semitism or hatred of Western values. Poetry represents a radical and clarifying response to these accusations while capturing the very real experience of colonial oppression.

As mentioned above and according to my research findings, I think poetry is capable of changing the stereotypical image about Palestinians. It can describe well the thousand microscopic indignities which contribute to a sum total of Palestinian oppression, from the overt violence of bombings on Gaza to the slanted media questions that uphold a narrative of the extremist Palestinian. As with the Black Lives Matter movement, art is integral to communicating the totality of struggle – against police, courts and justice systems, against discriminatory infrastructure and government-sanctioned plunder of minority neighborhoods, against education systems that leave behind students of color and against racist media narratives. Kanafani's and his fellow revolutionary Palestinian writers and poets' striking writing show the exact multiplicity of oppression under which Palestinians live each day. I would say it made the international community more cognizant of this multiplicity and more understanding of the responses to it.

This literature can lead the Palestinian intellectuals and politicians to stay in the right path. As the results of this research unfolded, the revolutionary literature is able to protect the authentic geography of Palestine as well as history and culture. This thing will not be achieved without the collaboration of the Palestinian academic institutions and political sides in synthesizing the efforts and utilizing this literature in serving the cause locally and internationally. The ideologies and the morals that make up the Palestinian national, societal and political identity is still useful for us today to help us envision an economic, social and cultural system that is more indicative of, and true to, a Palestinian revolutionary culture and vision, rather than a colonial capitalistic culture? In this sense, revolutionary literature is the savior for the Palestinian culture from drowning in the

mire of capitalism. I mean here the colonial structure of capitalism that seeks to distract the Palestinians from their core struggle and immerses them in a conforming capitalist culture. And sooner after that, they will melt into the crucible of occupation and lose their very identity and existence. A nation without a vibrant literature and culture is officially dead. The ideologies and the morals that make up the Palestinian national, societal and political identity can still be useful for us today to help us envision an economic, social and cultural system that is more indicative of, and true to, a Palestinian revolutionary culture and vision, rather than a colonial capitalistic culture.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

In light of the results of this research, the researcher recommends that:

1. Awareness should be raised among the Palestinian society and academic institutions about the utility and power of revolutionary literature.
2. Palestinian schools put more focus on the teaching of revolutionary literature in their curricula.
3. Incorporate the Palestinian revolutionary literature that is written originally in English by Palestinian or the English-translated versions in the English language curriculum instead of only teaching English romantic and tragedy literature.
4. Palestinian universities and colleges open revolutionary literature departments and encourage research in this field and providing generous fund.
5. Palestinian universities mandate different courses in revolutionary literature for all students as university requirements to ensure the appropriate level of understating of this literature among Palestinian future graduate generations.

6. Palestinian Ministry of Education, supported by the Palestinian government, organizes continuous workshops and cultural events that gather Palestinians students from all around historic Palestine. Universities would be the perfect hubs for these gatherings, especially with growing numbers of Palestinian students from the occupied 1948 Palestine studying in our West bank universities. These cultural projects will give the chance to Palestinians from all around Palestine, vis West Bank, Gaza, 1948 occupied territories, and Jerusalem, to reunite and work together. In doing so, especially Palestinians younger generation 1948-land will make up the cultural education they missed due to their geopolitical situation living in the occupation state of Israel. And more importantly, it will bring back the sense of national unity among these generation that will eventually lead to practical national Palestinian unity.
7. Palestinian government supervise, encourage, and provide generous fund and support to cultural projects implemented outside of Palestine due to its, firstly, its high importance in reaching out to the international community and bringing solidarity with the Palestinian cause, and secondly, in countering the Zionist propaganda against Palestinian and protecting the Palestinian heritage by exposing the cultural theft that Israel has been systematically doing. Finally, equally essential is building bridges with the western nations as well as connecting the Palestinians in all part of the world together. This all will bleed into the sacred goal of all Palestinians: liberating their homeland of historic Palestine.
8. It highly recommended that Palestinian move makers dramatize this revolutionary literature to ensure its global outreach. In our modern era, the power of visual is by far stronger than that of the written. And we can see how extremely powerful the western

movie industry like Hollywood and Bollywood and how they are extremely influencing people thinking and even governmental policies. Transforming this written literature into movies and films will help it to be more effective and influencing both locally and internationally.

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## Appendix I ( Questionnaire)

عزيزي المشارك/المشاركة:

تهدف هذه الاستبانة الى جمع المعلومات اللازمة لاستكمال كتابة بحث الماجستير بعنوان "أدب المقاومة الفلسطينية: تشكل وتفكك الثورة الفلسطينية ما قبل وبعد اوسلو" . يشكر الباحث لكم مساهمتكم المهمة في استكمال هذا البحث كما ويثمن لكم مصداقيتكم العالية في الاجابة عن اسئلة هذه الاستبانة للوصول للنتائج الدقيقة والموضوعية في هذا البحث. ويؤكد الباحث على ان جميع المعلومات المقدمة في هذه الاستبانة ذات سرية عالية ولا يمكن لأحد الاطلاع عليها غير الباحث كما لن يتم استخدامها الا لأغراض هذا البحث. من الجدير بالذكر ان هذا النوع من الاستبانات لا يظهر اسم المشارك/ة . كل ما يظهر للباحث هو الاجابات فقط.

### معلومات شخصية:القسم الأول

العمر:

25-15

35-25

35 فما فوق

المؤهل العلمي:

اقل من بكالوريوس

بكالوريوس

ماجستير

دكتوراة

الجنس:

ذكر

أنثى

أخرى

مكان السكن:

قرية

مدينة

مخيم

### القسم الثاني: أدب المقاومة الفلسطيني.

\* ادب المقاومة الفلسطيني كما عرفه الكاتب والاديب الفلسطيني غسان كنفاني هو كل ما كتب من شعر وراوية ونثر ومسرحية وانشيد و اغاني شعبية وفلكلورية منذ عام 1948 بهدف مقاومة الاحتلال بكافة اشكاله وممارساته القمعية والوصول الى التحرر

والاستقلال.

1. انا على اطلاع واسع ومعرفة عميقة بأدب المقاومة الفلسطيني.

\*أوافق بشدة  
\*أوافق  
\*صحيح الى حد ما  
\*أعارض  
\*أعارض بشدة

2. اعرف كثير من شعراء وكتاب الادب الفلسطيني

\*أوافق بشدة  
\*أوافق  
\*صحيح الى حد ما  
\*أعارض  
\*أعارض بشدة

3. لدي معرفة سطحية عن ادب المقاومة الفلسطيني وشعرائه وأدبائه.

\*أوافق بشدة  
\*أوافق  
\*صحيح الى حد ما  
\*أعارض  
\*أعارض بشدة

4. ادب المقاومة الفلسطيني له دور كبير في الحفاظ على الهوية الفلسطينية

\*أوافق بشدة  
\*أوافق  
\*صحيح الى حد ما  
\*أعارض  
\*أعارض بشدة

5. أدب المقاومة الفلسطيني يحافظ على التراث والثقافة الفلسطينية

\*أوافق بشدة  
\*أوافق  
\*صحيح الى حد ما  
\*أعارض  
\*أعارض بشدة

6. أدب المقاومة الفلسطيني يحافظ على التاريخ الفلسطيني بكونه ارشيفاً مهماً لتسجيل وتوثيق الواقع الفلسطيني المرير تحت الاحتلال وجميع انتهاكاته وجرائمه

\*أوافق بشدة

\*أوافق

\*صحيح الى حد ما

\*أعارض

\*أعارض بشدة

7. أدب المقاومة الفلسطيني يحافظ على الهوية الجغرافية للأرض الفلسطينية.

\*أوافق بشدة

\*أوافق

\*صحيح الى حد ما

\*أعارض

\*أعارض بشدة

8. أدب المقاومة الفلسطيني يعمل على اعادة ترابط الشعب الفلسطيني المشتت سياسيا وجغرافيا ويعيد الوحدة الوطنية الفلسطينية.

\*أوافق بشدة

\*أوافق

\*صحيح الى حد ما

\*أعارض

\*أعارض بشدة

9. أدب المقاومة الفلسطيني هو بوصلة لتوجيهه وقيادة الصراع مع الاحتلال بكافة انواعه.

\*أوافق بشدة

\*أوافق

\*صحيح الى حد ما

\*أعارض

\*أعارض بشدة

10. أدب المقاومة الفلسطيني له دور محوري في تنفيذ ادعاءات الاحتلال بملكية الارض.

\*أوافق بشدة

\*أوافق

\*صحيح الى حد ما

\*أعارض

\*أعارض بشدة

11. أدب المقاومة الفلسطيني له دور مؤثر في إيصال معاناة الشعب الفلسطيني للعالم وفضح جرائم الاحتلال.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

12. أدب المقاومة الفلسطيني له دور مهم في حماية التراث الفلسطيني ضد محاولات التهويد والتغريب الممنهجة من قبل الاحتلال.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

13. أدب المقاومة الفلسطيني قادر على توجيه العمل السياسي في طريق التحرير.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

14. أدب المقاومة الفلسطيني قادر على تصحيح واصلح المسار السياسي الفلسطيني.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

15 الحركة الاسيرة لها دور فعال في ادب المقاومة الفلسطيني.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

**القسم الثالث:**

تهدف اسئلة هذا القسم الى معرفة وقياس مدى تحول الثقافة الفلسطينية في المجتمع الفلسطيني من ثقافة مقاومة مدفوعة بالحس الجمعي الى ثقافة رأسمالية يسيطر عليها الحس الفردي.

1. المجتمع الفلسطيني مجتمع مترابط ويسوده الحس الجمعي.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

2. المجتمع الفلسطيني مجتمع رأسمالي يسوده الحس الفردي.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

3. الحياة في وقت الانتفاضة كانت افضل من الحياة اليوم.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

4. الحياة اليوم افضل من الحياة خلال الانتفاضات.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

5. حل الدولتين هو الخيار الامثل والافضل لانهاء "الصراع".

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

6. أؤيد مشروع الدولة الفلسطينية على حدود 67 واقتصاد مستقر ومزدهر.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

7. كل ما يهمني هو الحصول على راتب ثابت ووظيفة وحياة مستقرة.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

8. الحل الامثل لانهاء الاحتلال "الصراع" هو دولة مدنية واحدة لليهود والفلسطينيين قائمة على مبدأ السلام والتعايش بين الشعبين.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

9. مظاهر الحياة والاسواق في الضفة الغربية ذات طابع غربي وأوروبي.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

10 . اهتم بشراء الماركات ومتابعة اخر صيحات الموضة.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

## القسم الرابع: المؤسسات التعليمية الفلسطينية (المدارس والجامعات والمعاهد الاكاديمية)

1. ترسخ المؤسسات التعليمية الفلسطينية القيم الوطنية في الطلاب.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

2. تركز المؤسسات التعليمية الفلسطينية في مناهجها على تدريس الادب الفلسطيني المقاوم والثقافة والتاريخ الفلسطيني.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

3. خريجو المؤسسات التعليمية الفلسطينية مثقفون بما يكفي لمجابهة رواية المحتل وتفنيد ادعاءاته على الصعيد الاكاديمي والتاريخي والسياسي.

- \*أوافق بشدة
- \*أوافق
- \*صحيح الى حد ما
- \*أعارض
- \*أعارض بشدة

## Appendix II ( Interview Questions)

### Interview Questions.

Nationality.....

Age.....

Q.1 Do you know Palestine?

Q.2 What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you hear the name of Palestine?

Q.3 What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you hear the word “Palestinian”?

Q.4 Do you know anything about Palestine and if yes how did you know that? Where did you get you information from about Palestine and the situation there?

Q.5 Do you know anything about Palestine’s culture, history, and current political situation?

Q.6 Do you know about Palestinian literature? Have you read Palestinian literature/resistant literature before? (if yes). What authors? How were you exposed to them? Who exposed you to them? What do you think about it?

Q.7 Did the literature change previous beliefs about Palestine’s cause and Palestinians? How?

Q.8 Do you think Palestine and the Palestinians are well and truly presented in the Western Media or your own media? How?

Q.9 Do you honestly believe Palestinians are terrorist, backwards, barbaric, etc.? Why?

Q.10 Do you think Palestinians have a high civilization, good culture, art, etc.? How?

### Section Two:

Kindly listen to these 2 poems and then answer the following questions:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aKucPh9xHtM>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m2vFJE93LTI>

Q.1 Do you think Palestinian resistant poetry can be a powerful tool for Palestinians to communicate their message to the international community? ( Please elaborate)

Q.2 Is poetry/capable of changing the stereotypical image about Palestinians? How?

## الملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة لتسليط الضوء على الأدوار الديناميكية الفعالة لأدب المقاومة الفلسطيني بكونه حافظاً للتراث الفلسطيني العريق والأصيل، وتاريخه وثقافته وهويته؛ وبالأخص ما أطلق عليه الباحث الهوية الجغرافية. ويستفيض البحث في إبراز الدور المهم لأدب المقاومة الفلسطيني في توحيد المجتمع الفلسطيني ولم شتاته وربط أواصره المقطعة جغرافياً جزاءً الواقع الإحتلالي الجيوسياسي العنصري. كما تبرز الدراسة الدور المهم الذي يلعبه الأدب الفلسطيني المقاوم في دحض رواية المحتل وتفنيد الدعاية الصهيونية وادعائها الدينية بملكية الأرض.

وتشير الدراسة الى الدور الأهم للأدب المقاوم في ردع حملة التهويد الشعواء التي تنتهجها حكومة الأحتلال الصهيوني في تهويد كل ما هو فلسطيني، إضافة الى فرض تاريخ مزيف وجغرافيا وثقافة أجنبية دخيلة على الأرض الفلسطينية، وسرقة التراث والثقافة الفلسطينية الأصيلة، والترويج لهما عالمياً على أنهما ثقافة وإرث صهيوني يهودي. كما تكشف الدراسة عن الدور الفعال للأدب الفلسطيني المقاوم على الساحة السياسية الفلسطينية والمتمثل في تصحيح المسار السياسي الفلسطيني ونقد الفساد السياسي والاقتصادي والثقافة الرأسمالية التي فرضها إقتصاد اوسلو وسياساته المفروضة على صناع القرار في فلسطين. كما يتجلى الدور الفعال لهذا الأدب في مجابهة آلة الدعاية الإعلامية المتساقطة والمتماهية مع رواية المحتل الصهيوني في تشويه صورة الفلسطيني بوصفه إرهابي معادي وليس كأ انسان تائر ذا قضية عادلة وحق مشروع في التحرر والإستقلال.

وعلى النقيض من ذلك، تسعى هذه الآلة الإعلامية الى تلميع المشروع الصهيوني وتسويق روايته في المجتمع الغربي والتغطية على جرائمه بحق الشعب الفلسطيني الأ عزل، التي ما إنفك الأدب الفلسطيني المقاوم في فضحها والتعريض بها في كل المحافل والمنابر المحلية والدولية. وبالتالي تبين الدراسة دور الأدب الفلسطيني الكبير في إستدرار التعاطف العالمي تجاه القضية الفلسطينية والشعب الفلسطيني. وأخيراً تقدم الدراسة نموذجاً ناجحاً في ترسيخ أفكار وأهداف الأدب الفلسطيني المقاوم في حفظ الهوية الفلسطينية وحماية تراثها وترسيخ ثقافتها. ويتمثل هذا النموذج في إتمام مشروع البيت الفلسطيني في ولاية كاليفورنيا في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية.

وتجدر الإشارة الى أن الدراسة إنتهجت نهجاً علمياً محايداً تم من خلاله جمع بيانات ومعلومات الدراسة بكلا الطريقتين، الكمية والنوعية؛ لما لذلك من دور كبير في تحقيق القدر العالي من الدقة والموضوعية في نتائج البحث والبيانات المقدمة. فقد أعد الباحث إستبياناً وقام بتوزيعه في أربع مؤسسات تعليمية فلسطينية، إضافة

الى إجرائه عدة مقابلات مع شريحة عشوائية من الطلاب الأجانب والمنحدرين من جنسيات أوروبية وأمريكية وإفريقية وآسيوية.