



**Arab American University**

**Faculty of Graduate Studies**

**Approaches to Palestinian Literature of Resistance in  
the Face of Injustice**

By

**Wesam Jamil Yahya Khlaif**

Supervisor

**Prof. Abdel Sattar Kasem**

Co-Advisor

**Dr. Rose Othman**

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**By:  
Wesam Jamil Yahya Khlaif**

**This thesis was defended successfully on January 10<sup>th</sup> -2021 and  
approved by:**

**Committee Members**

**Signature**

**1. Supervisor: Prof. Abdel Sattar Kasem**

.....

**2. Co- Supervisor: Dr. Rose Othman**

.....

**3. External Examiner: Dr. Adel Atawneh**

.....

**4. Internal Examiner: Dr. Ayman Yousef**

.....

## **Declaration**

I declare that this thesis was composed by myself, and that the work contained herein is my own, except where it states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

Name: Wesam Khlaif

Signature:

Date: 10/01/2021

## **Dedication**

To all the Palestinian Resistance Writers who really believed in Palestine.

To my friend and mentor Prof. Abdel Sattar Kasem (1948-2021).

## **Acknowledgment**

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisors Dr. Abdel Sattar Kasem and Dr. Rose Othman. Their assistance and expertise has been invaluable for my thesis and their devotion and time helped me to grow as a writer and a critical thinker. Without their help I wouldn't have been able to make it. I would also like to acknowledge and profoundly thank Dr. Lenna Odeh, she is the one who introduced me to Resistance literature, and for that I am ever in her debt.

To my parents, thank you for always encouraging me and tolerating me when I start to ramble, as well as always being by my side.

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To my nieces and nephews, your joy is what makes everything possible and keeps me going.

## Abstract

The Palestinian literature has played an essential role in emphasizing people's thoughts to face the violation, displacement and, laceration which led to forming public awareness to the Palestinian cause, and the importance of teamwork to reclaim their rights. This study adopts the descriptive and analytical method, and the method of content analysis, as the researcher collected the primary material exemplified in some of the poetry produced by Palestinian writers, short stories, novels, and literary letters. It also tries to show the importance of literature in Palestine in supporting its cause. However, throughout the years, the resistance changed because of the different political and social circumstances, and so did its literature. The researcher analyzes literature before and after the Oslo Accords (to show how much they differ), while concentrating on Ghassan Kanafani, Samira Azzam, and Emile Habibi in the pre-Oslo era. In the beginning, it had a really strong voice and helped to ignite revolutions. However, in recent years, the resistance wavered, and so did its literature. Palestinian resistance literature is still written but the themes changed, with the change of the political circumstances. Most writers do not write as fiercely as before, which leads to that most readers do not feel the nationalism as before. The researcher believes that literature written pre-Oslo, should be studied more in schools and Universities, so that the feeling of nationalism and belonging will return.

*Keywords,* Ghassan Kanafani, Samira Azzam, Emile Habibi, Resistance literature

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

"Resistance... is an alternative way-of conceiving human history"

Edward Said 1994,*Culture and Imperialism*

Resistance literature has been around for a long time, but it was not given a name until quite recently. The first person to attach resistance to Palestinian literature was the Palestinian writer and critic Ghassan Kanafani in 1966. He defined it as, "resistance literature is meant to exercise a resisting effect, resisting the status quo that is imposed..., resisting all forms of weakness and retreat, resisting the inhuman atrocities ..., resisting all calls for anything other than resistance (Tahboub, 2016, p.61).

Almost every revolution has been inspired by works of literature. There are several reasons why literature has so much power, it makes us understand the culture and society that it is written from, as well as, it offers amusement to the reader. In that way, it has power over the emotion and the fascination of the reader, and whatever affects the emotion of the reader will have tremendous power and force to institute social change (Idowu, 2013).

During the revolutions and even before, people were in need for information and material about what was happening. Writers used that to penetrate peoples' minds and fuel their patriotism. That is what happened during the American Revolution in the Eighteenth Century. Many writers helped to ignite the revolution through pamphlets, like Jonathan Mayhew and John Dickinson, but the most influential may have been Tom Paine. He wrote two pamphlets, *Common Sense* and *American Crisis*. The first one was written before the revolution and the second during it. Three documents are considered

essential for the outcome of the American Revolution, Tom Paine's pamphlets and *The American Declaration of Independence* (Baym, 2003).

The French Revolution was also fused by great literary works, the most beneficial are the writings of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire. Rousseau's book *The Social Contract* was the most distinguished. It is suggested that the *Declarations of the Rights of Man* is nothing "more than anything else it was a statement of the views of Rousseau as expressed in *The Social Contract*" (Otis, 1968, p.251). Napoleon Bonaparte recognized the importance of literature in the Revolution, "The old nobility would have survived if it had known enough to become master of printing materials... The advent of cannon killed the feudal system; ink will kill the modern system" (qtd. in Durant, 1975).

Going to a closer period where words have been used as weapons, we have Gene Sharp's book *From Dictatorship to Democracy*" (1993) which "has been more effective in sweeping away more dictatorships than any other weapon in recent memory" (Idowu, 2013). It has been suggested that the book is responsible for the fall of Milosevic in Serbia in 2000, the Green uprising in Iran in 2009, and of course the Arab Spring that occurred in the Arab nations at the beginning of the 2010s. Even the Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez warned his people from reading Sharp's book. It really shows how words sometimes can be stronger than weapons (qtd. in Idowu, 2013).

Another writer who helped to revolutionize is the Palestinian Professor Abdel Sattar Kasem. During the first Palestinian Intifada in 1987, he wrote more than sixteen articles and books, and he wrote even more after that. He is a fighter for freedom. He has been arrested many times by the Israeli occupation "in desperate attempts to silence his voice, break his pen, and cancel his thought, but in vain, and he never surrendered or

even considered surrendering" (Kanaanonline, 2017). People like him give revolutions a voice and the people hope.

Tom Paine, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Gene Sharp, and Prof. Abdel Sattar Kasem never fired a weapon, but still, they managed to create and fuse revolutions.

### **1.1. Study Problem:**

The Palestinian people have lived under the occupation for a long time, and have not been able to speak. Palestinian literature has given them a voice, a purpose, and hope. Since the Palestinian Resistance has been around for more than a hundred years (when the Jews started to arrive in Palestine at the beginning of the twentieth century), many people and writers do not remember a time before the struggles. As Salma Khadra Jayyusi said in Wafa Agency,

"the Palestinian writers have no room to escape, because the events of contemporary history sweep them into their stream even before they are born ... the greatest struggle waged by Palestinian writers and the greatest victory they have achieved is their refusal to be the subservient victims of humanity in the second half of the twentieth century. Although they have never ceased to feel the dilemma that their people live, they seem to bear the brunt of the tragedy above and beyond the necessity".

This kind of literature – resistance literature – became a part of themselves without even knowing it. Edward Said (1992) wrote, "using restored ways of life, heroes, heroines, and exploits; it formulates expressions and emotions of pride as well as defiance" (p.215). All the resistance that happened through the years (protests, independent movements, and fighting), were all fuelled by nationalism. And because writing is a

process of demolishing and constructive, texts of resistant literature can be considered speeches that go beyond the concept of criticizing reality whenever it has been freed from the ideological sound of a shriek and touches the essence of the issue in a technical way. Ghassan Kanafani, Samira Azzam, Emile Habiby, Mahmoud Darwish, Samih Al-Qasim, and Fadwa Tuqan are some of the Palestinian literary writers that wrote about the occupation but each one in a different way. I concentrated on the first three writers.

Through these different authors, we see what resistance means and conveys in Palestinian literature. Kanafani believed "that the role of literature in the transformation of society was different from that of other forms of writing" (Kilpatrick, 1976, p.15). So, how can it be applied and can we benefit from it in our present time, in that case, how?

## **1.2. Aims and Objectives:**

The aim of the study is to investigate the approaches of resistance in Palestinian literature. More specifically, the study has the following objectives:

1. To investigate the role of the Palestinian literary presence in the stages of the Palestinian resistance between the past and the present.
2. To investigate the types of ideas of Palestinian literature in literary works.
3. To investigate how literary works evolved from their inception to the present day.
4. To investigate the consequences of literary works on resisting the occupation, both internally and regionally.
5. To investigate the methods of the different literary approaches in stimulating public awareness.

### **1.3. Hypothesis:**

This thesis adopts the following two hypotheses:

- 1- Literature throughout its genres plays an important part in forming public awareness everywhere about the challenges facing the Palestinian people, which does not differ from the historical aspect in the interaction of people with literary treaties. The Palestinian literature has played an essential role in emphasizing people's thoughts to face the violation, displacement, and laceration which led to forming public awareness of the Palestinian cause, and the importance of teamwork to reclaim their rights.
- 2- It is difficult to say that there is an integrated Palestinian literature within one classification, but there is a multifaceted Palestinian literature according to the circumstances of time and place. There is Palestinian literature of resistance, but it is colored by epochs and space. Literature after 1948, the Diaspora and the love of Palestine, the usurped land of 1948, before and after Oslo. Each of these aspects has something in common with the other aspects of resistance, but the special circumstances gave it a special character.

### **1.4. Study Questions:**

This study attempted to answer the following questions:

1. What is the role of the Palestinian literary resistance in the stages of the Palestinian issue?
2. What are the ideas and approaches of Palestinian literature in literary works?
3. How did Palestinian literary awareness develop according to the resistance theory?
4. How did the Palestinians receive the outstanding literary works of their writers?

5. What are the consequences of literary works on resisting the occupation, both internally and regionally?

6. What is the Israeli reaction to Palestinian resistance literature?

### **1.5. Importance of the Study:**

The importance of the study lies through the following data:

1. The Palestinian literature added rich material to Arab resistance literature.
2. The Palestinian reaction to the literary work.
3. Helping researchers and those interested in studying one of the means of resistance in the Palestinian issue in general, and the role of the Palestinian writer between the past and the present for the Arab reader in general.
4. Researching about the most important literary works of Palestinian writers and their role in supporting Palestinian resistance between the past and the present.

### **1.6. Study Methodology:**

This study adopts the descriptive and analytical method, and the method of content analysis, as the researcher collected the primary material exemplified in some of the poetry produced by Palestinian writers, short stories, novels, and literary letters. And she studied and analyzed it to its various contents, and the artistic and literary images it contains, along with some secondary sources that talk about literature in general and Palestinian in particular.

### **1.7. Time and Space:**

This study is confined to the Palestinian literature after 1948, as well as, the mandatory borders of Palestine. Which is its border as it was during the British mandate (before 1948).

### 1.8. Previous Literature and Studies:

In Barbara Harlow's book named *Resistance Literature*, she explains what resistance in literature means, and it is to write

"within a specific historical context, a context which may be most immediately situated within the contemporary national liberation struggles and resistance movements against Western imperialist domination of Africa, Central and South America and the Middle and Far East.....it is seen from all sides as no less crucial than the armed struggle" (Harlow, 1987, pp.4-7)

You do not have to actually fight with weapons to make a revolution or resistance, writing can be just as important. As long as you stand up against imperialism. Another meaning for it is "it sees itself furthermore as immediately and directly involved in a struggle against ascendant or dominant forms of ideological and cultural production" (Harlow, 1987, pp.28-29). Sometimes social revolutions can be just as much help towards liberation as armed revolutions. Resistance Literature can be "defined as the literature which calls on people to fight as a nation. It promotes a state of collective consciousness and empowers it with the will to liberate in a specific time and space." (Tahboub, 2016, p.60).

Other studies have been made regarding this topic. Nina Fischer wrote, **"Remembering/Imagining Palestine from Afar: The (Lost) Homeland in Contemporary Palestinian Diaspora Literature"** (2019). In her paper, we are shown the differences between Palestinian authors who were forced out of Palestine in 1948 and those who were born in exile.

"My corpus shows a generational development from a Palestine remembered to one imagined, from a place that connotes "home" to a lost place, defined by transgenerationally transmitted narratives and knowledge of loaded sites such as Jerusalem or the refugee camps" (Fischer, 2019, p.52).

The writers who have lived in Palestine, refer mostly to memory and belonging, while the new generations write more metaphorically. Although the writers live in different places, their love for the homeland is the same.

On the other hand **"The Forces of Presence and Absence: Aspects of Palestinian Identity Transformation in Israel between 1967 and 1987"** by Manar H. Makhoul (2012), examines five novels and autobiographies written in Israel during the time mentioned above. In which Makhoul concentrates on the Palestinian identity and how it has changed through the years. He also highlights the different perspectives that each side (the Palestinians and Israelis) show in their literature.

In **"Writing the Resistance: An Exploration into literature and cinema"** by Maha Bader (2016), she compares the "development of the literature of resistance found in modern Arabic and Irish writings" (p.1). To do that, she goes back to the Palestinian catastrophe (Al-Nakbah) and the Irish struggle for freedom. She has chosen specific novels and short stories from different writers and compared them. She concludes that,

"the definition of resistance literature and its defining parameters revealed that there is a pioneering and powerful political role assigned to it, as writing turns out to be a tool in the cultural resistance through its use of symbols, characters and metaphors" (Bader, 2016, p.170).

Ghassan Kanafani wrote a book about resistance literature called *Palestinian Resistance Literature Under Occupation, 1948-1968* (2012). In it, he talks about the cultural situation of the Palestinians and the extremely difficult conditions the Palestinian resistance literature withstood during the years of 1948-1968.

Many books and researches have been done about Ghassan Kanafani himself. "**Ghassan Kanafani: The Palestinian Voice of Resistance**" by Shamenaz Bano, talks about how Kanafani has fought against the injustice of the Israeli occupation by using his words. "Kanafani has tried to highlight issues related to humanity through his writings. So in depiction about issues related with humanity his perspective is to raise his voice against all kinds of racism, imperialism and atrocities" (Bano, 2018, p.12) It also talks about his books and short stories, as well as, beliefs and how he stands regarding the Palestinian cause.

There are many more researches and books about resistance literature, but what makes my thesis different from the others is that I do not just want to analyze the novels and short stories. I want to find out if literature has any impact on the Palestinian issue and if it affected its people, as well as, its echo around the world. Can the Palestinian people benefit from its literature and is it sufficient and persistent enough to generate freedom for the Palestinians the same way that occurred during the American and French revolutions?

### **1.9. Thesis outline:**

This study is divided into several chapters which are:

Chapter 1: Introduction.

It covers the framework of the thesis.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework.

It shows the beginning of resistance and its connection to literature.

Chapter 3: Preliminary thoughts on the influence of literature on revolutionary behavior and in confronting the expropriation of land and displacing its inhabitants.

To get people to wake up from their long coma and finally face the obstacles that are in the way of Palestinian freedom. To increase the literary knowledge and its importance, so that the people will realize its significance and start acting. What did the great thinkers say about resistance? How do the Palestinian people deal with the stealing of their land through literature? Have they become estranged from their land or have literature helped to preserve it? Many of the Palestinian people have lost their lands during the years and also their homes. They are now living in exile and Diaspora, by endorsing its homelands literature, they feel closer to home and have faith that their homes and land might return.

Chapter 4: The roles of Ghassan Kanafani, Samira Azzam, and Emile Habibi's literature in arousing the Palestinian people.

How can these three writers' literature help to make the Palestinian people fight back the injustice? How important are their writings for the Palestinian people? Do they fuse nationalism in the souls of the Palestinian people? By reading this resistance literature, something sparks in people's souls. They get mad because what they read is the reality of their lives.

Chapter 5: The Palestinian peoples' response to literary treaties supporting the revolution and resisting injustice.

What are the feedbacks of the Palestinian people towards the literary works published? Do these literary works from different writers matter? When reading literature that talks about the real-life situation of many people, be it now or in the past, it will trigger a

response from the reader. Also, how does the Palestinian literature differ after the Oslo accords in 1994 from before? The Oslo accords established the Palestinian Authority, and started the "peace process", but how much did really change in the Palestinian reality?

## Chapter 2

### Conceptual Framework

Many writers, philosophers, revolutionaries, military officers, and leaders of public opinion wrote about resistance: its definitions, tools, instruments, methods, scope, and extent. Most of them approached their subject matter either ideologically or practically through activities in the battlefield. It is difficult to cover all of their works, but few examples clarify my point that there isn't one approach or one definition. Each of these coined down his understanding of the concept through his own experience or theoretical understanding of the world.

Aristotle, for instance, wrote that resistance or revolution develops as a result of injustice. Once people feel that they are exploited and misled, they start complaining and talking to each other about the hardships they are experiencing. And by the time, they start to point at those who are causing the pain and misery. As sufferings develop, people start to gain awareness, i.e., they start to analyze what they are passing through, the causes of their miserable life, and the people responsible for the bad situation. As people get fed up with sadness and life troubles, they decide to defend themselves and revolt for the sake of change. In other words, injustice leads to feelings, awareness, and revolt (Aristotle, *Politics* Book 5).

Marx, on the other hand, didn't quarrel with Aristotle, but explained that people revolt because of exploitation which is injustice. Marx said, that history is the story of class conflict between the wealthy and the exploited poor (qtd. in Schaff, 1973, pp.263-270).

On the contrary of Marxist explanation, Hegel thought that revolution always serves the divinely ordained course of history. All social, political, and economic developments in history serve the intelligent Godly idea of how things should be. So revolution is one of the instruments that lead history toward a certain ordained end which is the evolving of the national state (Hegel, 2018).

Others, such as Voltaire thought that social injustice ends in a revolution aiming at destroying the prevailing social fabric in favor of new social arrangements that might establish justice for all (Shank, 2020). But Hobbes thought that man is aggressive by nature and always feels insecure. For the sake of protecting oneself and his/her property, he/she keeps accumulating power to deter others or abort their intransigence (Duncan, 2017).

Revolutionary figures such as Castro of Cuba, Guevara of Argentina, and Hoshe Mynah of Vietnam, always wrote that resistance is the armed struggle against dictators and nations of exploitation such as the United States. These people believed that colonial powers would never listen to the voice of freedom peacefully, and they only understand the sound of guns. Colonial powers prevailed and dominated through their military force, and they understand what military might defeat them. Once their soldiers start to die, and their colonialism becomes an economic and financial unbearable burden, they leave.

### **2.1. Resistance of Palestine:**

In my thesis, I depend mainly on the resistance theory of Professor Abdul Sattar Kasem. My thesis is on the resistance approaches of Palestinian literature, and these approaches will be discussed within the frame of this theory. This theory is based mainly on the Palestinian experience, and on the understanding of international

revolutionary experiences. It is the most relevant to my study. Kasem stresses a main point that applies to the Palestinian dilemma. He says, that every man/woman has a limited ability to endure humiliation. Resistance or revolution erupts once his/her capacity to endure is consumed. This is compatible with psychological conclusions concerning human behavior (Kasem, 2012).

## **2.2. Resistance and Protest:**

In the experiences of people that have fallen under occupation or colonialism, there are acts of resistance and other protests. The protest actions do not aim to break the will of the enemy, but rather try to draw his attention to popular demands or conditions of the masses, hoping that he may take steps towards relieving pressure on people or improving their conditions, etc. Alexis de Tocqueville (2000) wrote, "when I refuse to obey an unjust law, I do not contest the right which the majority has of commanding, but I simply appeal from the sovereignty of the people to the sovereignty of mankind" (p.287). Protest actions include activities such as real-time demonstrations that do not disrupt civilian life, issuing non-inflammatory statements of demand, possibly burning tires, writing on walls, and throwing stones at enemy soldiers and institutions. These actions are often automatic, spontaneous, and not directed by a specific program of work and fixed goals that cannot be undone. They are also public, and a high percentage of people participate in them.

Absence of internal or external forces that challenge the enemy or the source of pain that work toward straightening the situation, causes the people to fall victim to frustration, and lose their confidence in the other formal institutions and leadership. That way mass protests are triggered by feelings of persecution, humiliation, loss and weakness (van Stekelenburg, 2015). So, in the end, they set out to protest without a

clear compass to organize what they want, and pursue the demands they want to achieve. And since the protest actions are mass, their ability to continue their activities is weak due to lack of careful organization, and because people, in the end, cannot be separated from their jobs and actions that provide them with the means of living needs.

Most of the Palestinian uprisings fall within the category of protest because they were mass and spontaneous and without a clear program or long-term goals, such as the strike of 1936, and the uprisings of 1923, 1976, and 1987. Military actions interrupted some Palestinian uprisings, but did not turn into a continuous military phenomenon that we can describe as a revolution or coherent resistant movement ("Popular Resistance In Palestine"). Military actions remained spaced out in time and did not turn into a daily approach adopted by factions with a resistance strategy that is not subject to bargaining or circumstantial transformations in time and space.

### **2.3. Definition of Resistance:**

The forms of resistance vary, and there is resistance in the world of physics and electricity, resistance in the factors of nature, human resistance to diseases, human resistance to enemies and occupiers, etc. In this paper, the concern is limited to human resistance to an enemy who occupies his land, or tries to occupy it, violates his rights and tries to dispose them, and works to control him in one way or another. Specifically, attention is focused on the Palestinian people's resistance to the Zionist occupation. Accordingly, the definition adopted for the resistance in this paper is confronting the occupation with the aim of weakening it and forcing it to end its occupation unconditionally, and it can be limited to the following definition (in my opinion):

Resistance is an act of self-defense, and it aims to absorb the harm resulting from distress or aggression and respond to its source, by weakening the source of harm

and empowering oneself with the aim of causing damage to distress occupation or aggression and establishing a normal, reassuring and secure self-life.

Resistance development is based on awareness, as opposed to protesting, which develops on the basis of feeling. Awareness is more profound than a feeling because the one who is distinguished with it knows fully why injustice has befallen him or is filled with distress, he is aware of the means and methods that he must follow in order to be saved, and he is ready to make the sacrifices that result from acts of resistance.

#### **2.4. Resistance Hierarchy:**

Resistance has many forms, ranks, and various means and methods, and every person chooses the type or types of resistance that it deems effective and sufficient to achieve its strategic goals in confronting the enemy. These ranks are shown here with their description:

##### **First: Non-Violent Popular Resistance:**

The term non-violent popular resistance is not recent, and it was previously used by leaders such as Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi. Its patriotism for people under occupation, by not cooperating or dealing with it, and establishing security for people through developing the values of teamwork and mutual cooperation that lead to solid social cohesion and moral sophistication that prevent the brute force from penetrating the ranks of people (Mercer & Beckett, 2003). The goal is to push the occupation or colonialism to leave without bloodshed. This type of resistance requires a lot of effort, fatigue, watchfulness, and the ability to mobilize the energies of the crowd.

The expression of peaceful popular resistance has been repeated in the Palestinian agreements concluded between Fatah and Hamas, but without a clear

explanation or a clear limitation of the meaning of the expression. The expression comes in the context of the agreements that the signatories stand with the peaceful Palestinian popular resistance in the face of the occupation towards the restoration of some of the Palestinian rights. And what is repeated in the media, that some believe that this type of resistance includes some demonstrations and protests against the confiscation of land and building settlements, activating the media to expose Israeli practices against the Palestinians, as well as setting up various activities such as sit-in tents and issuing statements in favor of Palestinian prisoners and demanding their release. But peaceful popular resistance also includes the following in the opinion of Mubarak E. Awad (1984):

1- The economic boycott of the occupation, as this boycott is the first step of resistance that unarmed people can take without violence. The people who want to resist their enemy. Continuous and serious resistance begins first with the economic boycott that harms the economy of the enemy, or prevents the enemy from benefiting economically, and encourages the local product, which is one of the pillars of the continuation of the resistance. This requires a national awareness of individual and collective responsibility, and giving priority to national values over consumer values. In other words, the economic boycott means two complementary and important matters: namely, the failure to subdue the people's productive and consumption power to serve the occupation, and the second to support the national economy to enhance the people's capabilities to withstand and expel the enemy.

2- Boycotting the enemy in various fields and stopping normalization with them, just like the social, academic, cultural, and negotiation fields. Boycotting means stopping all joint activities and dealings, including greetings or exchanges of any kind.

3- Not working in the enemy's administrative, economic, and security institutions, and not responding to its economic pressures aimed at breaking the will of the people, no matter what the suffering costs. People are supposed to develop a method and method of solidarity to mitigate the effects of pressures and actions that can be taken against them by the enemy.

4- Focusing efforts on building a popular economy commensurate with the conditions of the people under occupation or colonialism, which is an economy that is dominated by domestic characteristics and aims to achieve self-sufficiency. This economic structure does not aim to enhance the consumer mentality or achieve prosperity, but rather aims to achieve food self-sufficiency first and to promote those economic activities necessary for the normal functioning of life, such as the activities of carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, etc. This is a primarily productive economy, not a recreational service economy, and it focuses on agriculture as the main economic source, and on all the artisanal and industrial activities associated with it.

5- Establishing various people committees to supervise the smooth running of the civil life of the people, such as the municipal committees responsible for municipal services, water provision, and energy sources, medical, legal, and women's committees, etc. Under popular resistance, the occupation does not allow the building of institutions without its supervision, and there is no escaping the establishment of popular committees by the people themselves to oversee the smooth running of daily life, and to avoid what would impede life, such as the lack of necessary goods, the spread of diseases or conflicts between individuals.

6- Taking care of popular education and distributing educational and educational tasks to specialists outside the schools supervised by the occupation. Popular education is

necessary for essential educational fields such as national education, history, religion, and community building, because the enemy adopts educational curricula that serve them and contradict the requirements of the people.

7- Giving the media a special importance, as this constitutes a global public opinion against the oppressor and supports the liberation of the people under occupation. This includes activities that attract the media, such as issuing statements, holding demonstrations and sit-ins, etc. (pp.22-36).

### **Second: Partial Civil Disobedience:**

Hannah Arendt (1972) believes that civil disobedience is vital if change is asked for, but not for an individual. It has to be for a group of people in general, and it has to be carried out by a group of people. She also highlights that it is not a criminal act because its main goal is to raise public awareness (pp.75-76). It is a legitimate political act and it is their right to pursue for their liberation and stand up against their unjust treatment. It is possible that the people under occupation are at a high level of awareness and have great energy to defend their freedom regardless of their sacrifices. Boycotting the enemy is considered a postulate that does not need awareness, instigation, or persuasion, and it immediately jumps to the rank of partial civil disobedience as a kind of warning to the Occupied Force. This kind of resistance is higher than the boycott because it includes it, and the great international writer Jawaharlal Nehru previously wrote about this, and his writings were a source of inspiration for many revolutionaries on a global level (Jethva, 2013). The disobedience also includes non-violent rebellious steps aimed at isolating the occupation and breaking its will. For example, people may choose not to license cars, and not to register newborns with the occupation, and uniqueness to register popular. He may choose not to pay taxes, and instead develop a

private house of money to spend on the work of the people's committees; He may decide not to respond to summons, and not to abide by some military orders, such as orders for university teaching or kindergarten (Awad, 1984, p.30).

This kind of resistance requires great stamina and patience to harm, because the enemy's actions are often cruel. This is a matter that depends on the culture of the people, their belief in their cause, and their desire to get rid of the yoke of others in search of freedom and independence. A loose culture cannot tolerate this kind of resistance because it is a relaxed and non-challenging culture.

It prefers verbal, rhetorical, and informational struggle because it is inexpensive and does not affect much of the welfare. As for solid cultures, they cannot coexist with those who challenge them and impose their will on them, and appropriate steps are quickly taken to keep the enemy in a state of alert, preoccupation, and instability.

This requires leaders with a broad perspective and deep awareness, an iron commitment to the national cause, and a willingness to endure arrest, persecution, and abuse. It requires an amount of responsive people, for whom the values of pride and glory overcome the values of consumption and slackness (Myers, 2017).

### **Third: Total Civil Disobedience:**

If the partial civil disobedience fails, it is likely that the people will raise their level of resistance to declare total civil disobedience and revolt against all the actions and orders of the enemy. Caroline Ashcroft (2018) wrote, "what distinguishes civil disobedience from revolution is not the act itself but its context and its consequences" (p.475). This status of nonviolent resistance means that people will not pay taxes, will not abide by curfews, but instead hold conferences and demonstrations. This rebellion

reaches its culmination by refusing to carry identity cards issued by the enemy and burning whatever exists thereof. People decide to move without cards in order for the enemy to remain in error, not knowing the people (Awad, 1984, p.30).

Moving to this level of nonviolent resistance makes the occupation completely isolated and dark, it paralyzes its ability to work, is unable to manage people's affairs, fails to control them, turns its presence into a path of absurdity, and turns its army into a farce in front of others. The enemy will resist such a popular stance and take harsh measures against the people, but the battle remains between wills and victory for the one who has a longer breath and stronger faith in his cause.

Civil disobedience requires a solid popular will, a deep awareness of the importance of freedom, liberation, and salvation from the control of others, and an ample eagerness to achieve pride, dignity, and national independence. It also requires the readiness of the various social, economic, political, cultural, and educational groups to fulfill their duty in organizing the daily affairs of the people and supervising their various activities in order to remain able to continue in a normal civilian life as much as possible in light of a bitter civil struggle against the enemy. This depends mainly on people's culture and capabilities (Myers, 2017).

Leaders of all kinds, political and non-political - the more the people's culture was primitive and inclined towards individualism, relaxation, and special interests - they were far from implementing such resistance, and the more they were cohesive and inclined towards activity and concern for the public interest, they were able to adopt strong resistance against the enemy. "Civil disobedience and resistance, like revolution, is an expression of that action that is both a necessary and fundamental part of politics"

(Ashcroft, 2018, p.476). If it is felt that there is no response to the non-violent resistance, it will escalate until a revolution starts.

#### **Fourth: The Armed Revolution:**

Armed resistance that escalates into a revolution against the enemy is considered the highest and strongest form of resistance because it is violent, uses deadly weapons, and bears bloodshed to defeat the enemy militarily and force him to leave. "No oppressed people ever gained their liberation until they were ready to fight ..... including the use of force and power of the gun to bring down the colonizer" (Forman, 1970, p.36). The revolution begins with armed resistance that is scattered, and perhaps unorganized, but it may develop into an armed revolution facing the enemy in every corner, and waging battles in various parts of the country.

The armed resistance and the revolution are not separated from the people's lives and their various daily activities, but rather cast a shadow over it, staining it with a special character that is commensurate with the requirements of the confrontation. Resistance cannot continue or turn into a revolution unless the appropriate incubating environment is provided, that is providing the fighters and the mujahideen with the various domestic and equipping requirements, as well as, the human supply and armament. Resistance may appear in an inappropriate environment, but it cannot continue, and its existence remains circumstantial, scattered, sporadic, and does not produce results. As for the resisters who work in an environment that considers that the duty to fight the enemy is general and individual, and that those who cannot carry weapons can play another role in supporting and empowering the fighters. According to Yezid Sayigh (1997), the appropriate environment is characterized by:

A- A culture of pride and dignity ready to defend its freedom and not cave to an enemy or occupation, and is characterized by production ethics, self-respect, and self-affirmation.

B - People basically depend on themselves, without excluding the possibility of receiving help and support from others or friendly countries, and their willingness to make various sacrifices, including self-sacrifice, money, effort, and time.

C - Rejection of the enemy and not to deal with him, including carrying out actions that distinguish the ranks of resistance referred to above. That is, people are supposed to adopt the economic boycott and rebel against the enemy, and to develop the values of teamwork, mutual cooperation, etc.

D - Social cohesion and development of feelings of brotherhood, love, values, and practices of solidarity. Resistance leads to taking harsh measures against people by the enemy, and some suffer severe damage, and no society can bear these measures if the values of solidarity are not prevailing (pp.17-32).

## Chapter 3

### **Preliminary Thoughts on the Influence of Literature on Revolutionary Behavior and in Confronting the Expropriation of Land and Displacing its Inhabitants**

Literature has been around for a long time, for hundreds and hundreds of years. It gives us a look into the past, the present, and maybe even the future. Through literature, we get to understand politics, medicine, art, and so on, without reading specifically about them. "Achebe (1988) is of the view that literature should be a tool for education, reformation and social engineering" (Onwuka, 2010, p.61). We do not just start to understand, but we get affected by what we read. Professor Glden Ertuğrul writes, "it is in fact language which communicates the past cultures to the present and to the future minds of the nation so long as they tend to live. Culture is inseparable from language" (p.3). So by reading literature, we get a chance to find out what happened in the past, not by reading history books, no, literature is like Anzar Ahmed (2017) says, "the expression of written words" (p.129). He continues by pointing out how literature influences the readers and makes us understand life better.

"Its boundaries cross our lives, our traditions, culture, social relations, national unity and a lot more. Our life is manifested in the form of literature. It is an embodiment of words based on human tragedies, desires, and feelings. It cultivates wonders, inspires a generation and feeds information. Even though it is dynamic, endless, multidimensional, literature contributes significant purpose to the world we live in" (Ahmed, 2017, pp.129-130).

He clearly shows how literature mirrors the reality we live in. It does not matter if it's poetry or novels, it gives us a reflection of how that community lives, as well as, it gives the reader information, foresight and sentiments towards that community.

Bernard Devoto writes something similar, but in a different way. He says, "literature is a record of social experience, an embodiment of social myths and ideals and aims, and an organization of social beliefs and sanctions" (qtd. in Albrecht, 1954, p.426).

It has been proven multiple times how literature has affected the real world, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* 1852 by Harriet Beecher Stowe, is one of these kinds of literature. It showed the state in which the slaves lived in. Ever since the book was published, it has been discussed and cursed, especially by the Southerners of that time. What helped the book to gain its popularity, was its timing. Hollis Robbins wrote,

"Nearly everyone agrees that the reason for *Uncle Tom's Cabin's* initial influence was a matter of timing. Its author, Harriet Beecher Stowe, was the perfect combination of magpie, shrewd, political operator, and grieving mother. After the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, the time was right for an anti-slavery novel and Stowe wrote one".

To this day people talk and argue about *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. They mention the characters in their books and plays, and they compare them to real-life persons.

"'Uncle Tom' remains, even today, the standard epithet for any black man who serves whites and does not carry a gun. Indeed, in recent history, the

term has been applied to Dr. King, Clarence Thomas, Colin Powell, and Barack Obama" (Robbins).

All these persons that Robbins mentions, are black Americans that have held highly regarded positions within the government and the people. This shows how powerful this book really is. That after more than one hundred and fifty years of being written, highly regarded persons are still being compared with the ones in the book. Although the book may not have started the American Civil War, it did have a huge impact and influence on the political scene and the presidential election at that time. "The ex-slave Frederick Douglass affirmed that no one had done more for the progress of African-Americans than Stowe" (Reynolds, 2011). *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had the political impact that Stowe wanted and it is "believed that Harriet Beecher Stowe played a major role in the battle to end slavery in America" (McNamara, 2019). The book had such a huge impact on all elements of life in the United States, not just at the time it was written, but people can still feel the aftermath from it. W.E.B Du Bois wrote, "Thus to a frail overburden Yankee woman with a steadfast moral purpose we Americans, both black and white, owe our gratitude for the freedom and the union that exists today in these United States" (qtd. in Reynolds, 2011). To have such strong words written about a person and a book is something unbelievable. That people believe that this book is the reason for the freedom that they live in today is extraordinary.

Another book that influenced politics and laws is *The Jungle* 1905 by Upton Sinclair. The book gives an account of the harsh conditions that were endured by the laborers and livestock in the meatpacking industry. Although Sinclair wanted to expose the working conditions in the meat industry at that time, people were more concerned

with the food quality than with the working conditions and animal cruelty. Gary Younge (2006), wrote, "The politicians were so interested because the book's release sparked a public outcry both nationally and internationally". Because of the wide interest in the book, it led to a federal investigation (the NY Times), which led to The Pure Food and Drug Act and The Meat Inspection Act. Even though this was not Sinclair's main aim, it still served the greater good. President Theodore Roosevelt said,

"There are, in the body politic, economic and social, many and grave evils, and there is urgent necessity for the sternest war upon them," he said. "I hail as a benefactor every writer or speaker, every man who, on the platform, or in book, magazine, or newspaper, with merciless severity makes such attack, provided always that he in his turn remembers that the attack is of use only if it is absolutely truthful" (qtd. in Younge, 2006).

What he does not realize, is that most of these stories are true, but no one cares. They just look at the other side, especially nowadays. Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* 1899 does not fall far behind when it comes to making a statement. The story shows the brutality of the colonizer. At the time, the colonizer rejected Conrad's accusations, but that did not mean that the rest of the world did not believe him. The world only knew what the colonizer told them, but through Joseph Conrad, they got a look into how things were and started to do something. Edward Said (1994) wrote,

"Conrad's genius allowed him to realize that the ever-present darkness could be colonized or illuminated – *Heart of Darkness* is full of references of the mission civilisatrice, to benevolent as well as cruel schemes to bring light to

the dark places and peoples of this world by acts of will and deployments of power-but that it also had to be acknowledged as independent" (pp.29-30).

That is what scares people. Kurtz is shown to be a regular man before becoming obsessed with power and ivory. That means that anyone can become like Kurtz, and Conrad showed them that. Isam Shihada (2015), wrote, "*Heart of Darkness* has contributed to the launch of an international campaign that strove to expose and end the genocide committed against the Congolese" (p.18). All this shows that "literature basically effects contemporary social-political and historical conditions of the immediate environment from which it evolves" (Onwuka, 2010, p.59). *Heart of Darkness* and its aftermath show how literature can affect every aspect of life, and how to make a change in the world.

### **3.1. The Palestinian Experience:**

So, can the Palestinian literature have the same effect as the previous books or literature? The Palestinians have been resisting the challenges they have been facing since the beginning of the previous century, by using bombs, weapons, demonstrations, and of course literature. Although the writings are fiction, they are based on real events and circumstances. Michael Mack (2011), believes that,

"Literature not only represents to us our world but it also shows us ways in which we can change the world or to adapt to changes which have already taken place without our realization. Literature's cognitive dimension helps us cope with the current as well as future challenges by changing the way we think about ourselves, our society and those who are excluded from or marginalized within our society" (p.11).

That is why it affects the Palestinians more, because they know it is not just fiction, but it is their reality that they are reading. But for people to read this literature, it comes with a price, not for the reader, but for the author. There has always been a fear of literature, from Plato, to the Christian church, to the Soviet Union (now Russia). They all tried to control what was published because they were afraid that it would corrupt society (Albrecht, 1954, pp.425-436). From the very beginning, Palestinian writers had trouble getting published. Hanan Ashrawi (1978) writes, "the Hashemite rule over the West Bank was overtly and directly involved in suppressing the publication of worthwhile literature, especially that of political or social significance..... censorship and lack of freedom of speech were also familiar in Israeli-occupied Palestine" (pp.77-79).

So both the Arabs and the Israelis helped to suppress the Palestinian literature and writers. The Israeli government uses not just this approach, but also several others. They try to control what is published, or they assassinate the writer. In an interview with Emile Habibi in the Boston Review, he says,

"we had to fight, from the very beginning, for our survival. We could not wait. There were some writers who hoped for a knight on a white horse who would come and rescue us; but these were few – most had a daily struggle for bread and work and survival" (qtd. in Hardy, 1982).

The Palestinian writer does not differ from the people. They do not sit in a closed room and look out at the world. They go through what the rest of the Palestinians go through. From harassment to fighting to starvation. Palestinian writers have shown what the conflict is. They all show what has been lost. Even though the writers are from

different generations they all "attests to the power of literature to transcend the world's consistent attempt to silence these voices within an already oppressed group" (Naguib, 2011). They have struggled through the economic and psychological pressures. Above that, they have a significant role in the eyes of the people. Hanan Ashrawi (1978) highlights that by saying, "They are national figures, symbols of resistance and political as well as aesthetic consciousness, who are wielding their mighty pens in the face of the enemy" (pp.82-83). That is why they have such respect and status from the rest of the world. Their devotion to Palestine is unquestionable. Many Palestinian writers and artists who publish, often use pseudonyms to hide their identity for security reasons, but those who do not have been killed for speaking up and telling the truth, like Ghassan Kanafani and Naji Al Ali. Both whom were killed because of their voices. These are attempts made by the Israeli to frighten the Palestinians as not to recite the past, as well as, not to try further resistance. Israel uses these methods of assassination and murder of political, cultural and literal personalities to shatter the Palestinians desire to fight (Hamdi, 2011, p.21).

Samih Al-Qasim was arrested multiple times by the Israelis because of his writings, and so was Dr. Abdel Sattar Kasem. Tawfeq Zeyad was threatened and assaulted several times and Mahmoud Darwish has been compared to Adolf Hitler by Avigdor Lieberman, the Israeli defense minister. This shows the importance of what is being said in literary pieces. That these writers, artists, and cultural figures are having courage to show us something that is so important that the Israelis are willing to kill them to keep them quiet. Roshni Duhan (2015), says,

"What writers of literature do is to transport the real-life events in their society into fiction and present it to the society as a mirror with which people can look at themselves and make amends where necessary ... and find the need for positive change" (p.192).

That means that power and resistance are connected. Michel Foucault (1997) writes,

"for power relations to come into play, there must be at least a certain degree of freedom, on both sides .... (if) there were no possibility of resistance (of violent resistance, flight, deception, strategies capable of reversing the situation), there would be no power relations at all" (p.292).

This means that resistance is an act of making and acquiring power to weaken the domination of an aggressive and suppressive power. Suppressions are connected with unjust animus power that seeks domination. Resistance is a counteract that insists on self-defense and the realization of freedom and independence.

Mikael Baaz and others (2006) believe that "resistance should be separated from power. If not, we are just talking about a different form of power. Speaking of resistance, we are primarily interested in power that creates, upholds or demands subordination" (p.6).

Benjamin Constant (2003) believes that "citizens possess individual rights independently of all social and political authority, and any authority which violates these rights becomes illegitimate" (p.180). That is exactly what was happening to the Palestinians, all their rights had been taken from them and it was the writers who exposed these violations. Marc Ferro believes that resistant writers give a "voice to

those who never had the right to bear witness" (qtd. in Harlow, 1996, p.30). That means that the writer bears a huge responsibility on his shoulders. He needs to have the strength and a forceful heart to oppose the hegemonic occupation and ongoing violence. Now it is up to the people to listen and take action.

### **3.2. Details of the Palestinian Misery:**

Although that might be easier said than done. MAP (Medical Aid for Palestinians) wrote,

"Israel's military occupation has impacted on every aspect of daily life for Palestinians: restricting movement, imposing stressful bureaucratic control, and threatening homes and livelihoods. Palestinians in Gaza have also lived under a decade of stifling blockade and repeated military attack."

This is only a small piece of the problem. According to the United Nation, the key issues that are at stake when it comes to the question of Palestine are the settlements, the borders, the separation wall, Jerusalem, the Palestinian Refugees, the security, the water, and of course the two-state solution. This has been the life of the Palestinians since 1948 with Al-Nakba, and it became even harder after the 1967 Naksa.

In Edward Said's book *The Question of Palestine* (1992), he talks about the Palestinian history. It all began with the Balfour Declaration in 1917, which promised the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. The problems with this declaration were many. First of all, it gave authority to the Zionist claim of Palestine, not just that, this declaration was made by Europeans about a land that was not theirs, without the approval of its residents, and it literally gave a country and its

territory to a foreign group of people. After that, the immigration of Jews to Palestine increased from being eleven percent of the population in 1922 to being thirty percent by the end of World War Two, and it kept on increasing. The Palestinians are now dealing with the repercussions of these decisions.

Palestine is not facing ordinary occupation, its occupation is more than that. Dr. Asaad Abdel Rahman (2020) writes,

"Military occupation is carried out by an authority over an independent territory and the region is known as an occupied territory. However, what historical Palestine is facing goes beyond typical military occupation, which usually does not demand complete sovereignty over the occupied territory and citizenship rights are limited to the dominant authority, which does not grant citizens of the occupied land its nationality".

He continues by saying that Palestine is subjected to different types of occupation. They are not just dealing with military occupation, but they are dealing with the most critical occupation, because its main aim is to implant itself after extinguishing its inhabitants and uprooting them (Abdel Rahman, 2020).

They are also occupying the Palestinian economy, and not letting the Palestinians benefit or develop the different assets that they have. This results in losses that are "estimated in the billions of dollars" (Abdel Rahman, 2020). The last type of occupation that is practiced is cultural. It "aims to plunder and erase the history of Palestine, and even the memory of Palestinians, who cherish their Arab history, language, and culture" (Abdel Rahman, 2020). That is why they assassinate anyone who speaks up or writes something that could trigger the emotions of the Palestinian people

and the world. They do not want anyone to know or remember that there was a place called Palestine with its people, culture, religions, and lives before they occupied it. They do not want there to be a record of Palestine. As long as Palestine has its literature and its writers, they will not succeed. Anna Bernard (2018), wrote, "the prominence of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Arab politics since 1948 has meant that Palestinian writers have had an influence in Arabic literature well beyond what might be expected from the size of the Palestinian population" (p.3).

Palestinian literature has given them a voice, a purpose, and hope. Said (1994) writes, "using restored ways of life, heroes, heroines, and exploits; it formulates expressions and emotions of pride as well as defiance" (p.215). In *The Wretched Earth* by Frantz Fanon (1977), he also writes about the impact of the writer "the colonized writer, after having tried to lose himself among the people, with the people, will rouse the people ... Combat literature, revolutionary literature, national literature emerges" (p.159). The Palestinians need to do just that. It is sometimes hard to remember how life should be. The people get used to all the checkpoints, roadblocks, and the apartheid wall. They get used to the permits that they have to require to go from one place to another. That is wrong. They must be remembered that that is not how life is, that is not how regular people live, and that is not how Palestine used to be.

The Israeli occupation has fractured the Palestinian life, in a way history has not witnessed. It is a life of misery and hardships. Occupation controls all the details of Palestinian life and seeks to control their feelings, thinking and behavior. It aims to erase the Palestinian history, culture, values, traditions, norms, and ideals, as to end with

an extent Palestinian identity. It is a ruthless and savage occupation, that annihilates the Palestinian memory and history.

Writing might strengthen an argument or beautify a situation, or it might weaken an argument through its language and logic. That will lead people to reject a certain situation or policy. Writers do not develop an opinion or a position haphazardly, but they understand first and then convey what they think to others.

Writers do not write positively or negatively according to wishes, but according to reality. When it comes to Palestinian literature, we do not expect literary people to draw a nice picture of the occupation.

Gramsci (2012) noted that "literature exists because writers and people do not have the same conception of the world" (p.206), but he does not seem right when it comes to the Palestinians. Palestinian writers are not separated from the people, neither culturally nor ideologically. Both have the same tragic and miserable experience with the Israeli occupation. They share the same history, the same culture, and the same circumstances, even though they lived many years apart. The Lebanese writer Abdallah Al-Alaili wrote,

"the political struggle in Palestine and the specific difficulties facing its people, endowed Palestinian literature with the following qualities: depth of perception, imagination anchored in reality, abroad understanding of the essential in life attended by acute sense of the mystical, all at which was reveal in an attractive and original writing" (qtd. in Peled, 1982, p.150).

This shows why the Palestinian writers and people are playing almost the same rhythm, which stems from continuous sufferings, "although the relationship of ... literary patterns to the larger culture is complex and not well understood, it is assumed that these patterns reflect insignificant and characteristic ways the attitudes and shared experiences on society" (Albrecht, 1954, p.427).

If you want to remember the past, you can always read history books, but there is a huge difference between history and literature. "Literature is the revelation of beauty. Beauty is the expression of emotion and all such expression without any exception is beautiful" (Duhan, 2015, p.195). History may give you all the facts that you need, but it will never paint it in the same way as literature, nor affect your emotions the same way. Achebe (2002) said, "a literature which draws its sustenance from the life lived around it and develops imaginative identification with that life has a good chance of achieving the quality and the authority of prophetic utterance". That resembles the relationship between the Palestinian writer and reader. They are connected on many levels, but people get busy with life. It is now time for them to wake up and face the challenges and obstacles. When Professor Ilan Pappé (2020) was asked how the Palestinians may overcome their obstacles and achieve freedom he answered, that there are two major obstacles. The first, is that there are very powerful coalitions that support the Zionist project. From the very beginning, the West, and especially the USA, have supported unconditionally the Israeli narratives and aspirations. The second obstacle, is that the Arab and Muslim countries and regimes are not willing to be a part of a counter coalition against the West. However, civil societies around the world, feel a strong sense of solidarity with the Palestinians and it has grown over the last thirty years. Although it

had failed to influence policies so far, it is here that more effort should be invested. Pushing from below, to make changes in the policies above.

After knowing what the obstacles are, and how to face them, as well as, seeing how literature has had its impact on the world. It is not impossible for the Palestinians to do the same.

### **3.3. The Diaspora, and the Loss of land:**

"They wasted no time in letting us know that life was not going to be as it once was... In a way, they turned the village into a prison" (Gorkin, 1993, pp.130-131). The Palestinian feels the misery of displacement once he/she is abroad and interacting with others from different countries and is asked, "Where are you from?", and a simple answer would be, "Palestine". Things start to get complicated when he/she is told, "you mean Israel" or "there is no Palestine". That moment one's heart breaks into pieces. One starts to think, "I am Palestinian and my homeland is Palestine, how can I restore my homeland?".

After 1948 and 1967, Palestinians fled. They left their lands and houses. Everything they owned was left behind, with the hope of one day returning home. But the Zionist forces and their supporters had other plans. Dr. Stephen Halbrook (1981) says,

"Neither military force, God, a distant past, Lord Balfour, Hitler, nor Arab state acts may, by equal standards of international law, be called upon to demonstrate the rightfulness and legality of taking the land of Palestine from

Moslem and Christian Arabs and giving it to Zionists from Europe and elsewhere" (p.359).

But still, that is what happened. The British usurped a land that is not theirs and handed it to the Zionists. The Jews believe that they have a right to Palestine, because they inhabited it a few thousand years ago, and that it is the land gifted divinely to them. Not just that, they argue that it was they who developed the land, that it was taken back in defensive wars, and that there were not that many Arabs living in Palestine at that time (Bard). Dr. Stephen Halbrook (1981) writes,

"If it can be shown empirically that at the time Israel was founded the overwhelming majority of Palestine's inhabitants were Arabs and that most of the country's land was held by Arabs, then the Zionists' claim to legitimacy must be based on their acquisition of the land through equitable and voluntary methods based on the consent of the indigenous inhabitants. But if Palestine was in essence stolen from its people, not only does Israel's existence become negotiable, but a secular democracy becomes imperative" (p.359).

Halbrook makes a simple statement on how it can be proved who has the rightful claim to Palestine. However, this has never been done, because if they did, they would prove that Palestine really belonged to the Palestinians and not to the Zionists.

The Israelis use different methods to gain and take over the land, like military force, claiming it to be "state land" or for public and military needs, and that it is absentee land (Tahhan, 2017).

This has been going on for years, but the real trouble for the Palestinians started when the Nakba began and the state of Israel was born. The disastrous catastrophe started with genocide and massacres against the Palestinians, such as Lod, Deir Yasin, Tantora, Dawayn, and so on. About 900000 Palestinians became refugees because of this war. People did not just lose their homes and land, but they also lost their culture. Amilcar Cabral (1979), believed that we must "preserve the positive cultural values of every well defined social group, of every category, and to achieve the confluence of these values in the service of the struggle, giving it a new dimension—the national dimension" (p.48). Many elements of the Palestinian culture now concentrate on the exile, the Diaspora, and the loss of land. Elias Sanbar (2001) wrote,

"The contemporary history of the Palestinians turns on a key date: 1948. That year a country and its people disappeared from maps and dictionaries.... the Palestinians would be referred to by general, conveniently vague terms, as either 'refugees', or in the case of a small minority that had managed to escape the generalized expulsion, 'Israeli Arabs'" (p.87).

Even though what Sanbar is saying is not entirely true (there are a number of photographs to prove the existence of the Palestinians), the situation for the Palestinians was not easy. "Al-Nakba is.... about the tragic fate of the men and women whose lives had been shattered, and about their descendants, who continue to suffer its consequences" (Sa'di, 2007, p.176). Al-Nakba connects all the Palestinians together, that way sharing a collective memory. They teach and show their children how Palestine was before 1948 so that it will not be forgotten. The movie/documentary *Emwas*:

Restoring Memories by Dima Abu Ghoush is an example of how she brings people together, and uses their memories to make a miniature of her/their demolished village. Helping her to construct the village is her sons, that way she is teaching them about her village and carrying its memory on. Edward Said (1992) agrees with her by saying,

"It was not only that Palestinians fought back, which they did, it was also that they projected a vision, if not always a clear program, and in their own lives embodied a nation in exile rather than a loose collection of individuals and a small-scale group living here and there" (xviii).

At the outset of expulsion from their homeland, the Palestinians were incapable of fighting back and waging resistance. They needed some time to manage a subsistence livelihood and to restore the sense of collectivity. They didn't lose their identity, but they needed to regroup and acquire an awareness of what had happened. According to psychology, collective pain leads to collective efforts to quell the pain and resistance to the expected outcome of injustice.

Almost everything written after 1948 has a political or a resistance element in it. However, the Palestinian struggle did not end in 1948. In 1967, the June war broke out and the Israeli's occupied even more land and more Palestinians fled from their homes. In addition, the Palestinian people were divided into two major communities: the community of refugees which was the majority and still is, and the community of those who remained in Palestine, particularly in Gaza and the West Bank. Each community had its own pains in addition to the common one. Those in Palestine became part of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and those in the Diaspora had to live in refugee camps under very difficult dire circumstances and conditions. So many Palestinians carried the

keys of their homes with them hoping that they will be back soon. Actually, all Palestinians thought that the return will be soon.

However, each one of them has his own agenda. The person living in exile only thinks about the things he has lost, and how and when he can get back to Palestine, and his rightful things. The person living in Palestine itself, wants the power of occupation removed and to be able to move freely. And of course, we have the Palestinians living in Israel, who wants to be recognized as a Palestinian-Arab, and not just as a non-Jew (which is something negative). However, they all have one thing in common, they want to come back to their homeland.

### **3.4. The Homeland:**

So, what is the definition of "Homeland"? According to Merriam-Webster Dictionary, it is "a state or area set aside to be a state for a people of a particular national, cultural, or racial origin". While Collins Dictionary defines it, "a region created or considered as a state by or for a people of a particular origin". For Palestinians it has a greater meaning, Hanin Elholy (2018) writes,

"If someone were to ask me the definition of unconditional love, I would answer with an example: Palestinians' love for Palestine.... Palestine is not just the name of a mythical country or a stretch of land; it's part of ourselves—our identity, religion, culture, language, and past, present and future. It's worthy of living and dying for".

Palestine is the Palestinians, and the Palestinians are Palestine. It is an organic embodiment that people see as their homeland. Those who do not carry Palestine in

their hearts or daily life are not the true Palestinians. Amra Hadzimuhamedovic (2008) says, "people need their homeland as proof that they are grounded in this world" (p.2). It also makes them feel rooted. Many Palestinian in exile suffer from rootlessness and not being able to return home plays a big part in that. Any person living abroad can return whenever he chooses. He has the right to decide when to leave and when to come back. However, for the Palestinians it is different, they do not have that luxury. The refugees and the exiled are not allowed to return to their homeland or to carry a Palestinian passport to show where they are really from. There are about thirteen million Palestinians around the world, but only about five million live in Palestine, which means that eight million Palestinians live in Diaspora (PCBS).

William Safran (1991) believes that for people to be considered living in the Diaspora, they need to share several characteristics, that their ancestors have been scattered to more than two foreign countries, that they share a collective memory about their origin, that they are not treated fairly by their new country, that their homeland is their true home and that they will one day return, that they will continue to connect with each other and with their home in whatever possible way (p.83).

All these characteristics can be applied to the Palestinians. Even though he believed it could be applied more to the Jews than the Palestinians. Rogers Brubaker insisted that there are three elements of the Diaspora,

"These are dispersion (either traumatically or voluntarily and generally across state borders); homeland orientation (whether to a real or imagined homeland) and boundary maintenance (the processes whereby group

solidarity is mobilized and retained, even accepting that there are counter processes of boundary erosion)" (qtd. in Cohen, 2008).

There is a strong relationship between the Diaspora and the homeland. Critics say that people miss and care about their homeland when it has been taken away, because people usually want what they cannot have. Although, when it comes to the Palestinians, they were literally run out from their homes and the usual theories should not be applied to them.

Now living under occupation, in refugee camps or exile, these wars became the end of normality for all the Palestinians worldwide, and the wait for independence began. Ahmad Sa'di (2007) puts it like this,

"In the absence of the fulfillment, consequently, the promise has imposed itself on the lives and consciousness of Palestinians in three ways: obsessive preoccupation with the past; a constant dealing with speculative questions such as what would happen if.....?; and, a struggle to return to normality" (p.186).

Life as people knew it changed, and none has ever said for the better. The occupation destroyed everything, even the simple things in the Palestinian culture. Different foods and places became attributed to the Israeli's, but what remained Palestinian was its literature.

### **3.5. The Palestinian Exiled Literature:**

The main message of the Palestinian literature was to overcome the feeling of defeat and encourage the people for resistance and victory (Tahboub, 2016, p.61). All

the Palestinians around the world have been affected and suffered by the circumstances in Palestine, but it is the writers who put these sufferings into words. Palestinians on-site can fight face to face, but those in exile cannot. They suffer from "long-distance nationalism" (Anderson, 2011). In Dima Tahboub's article "Spreading The Wings and The Words: Hybridization and Dissemination Of Palestinian Literature" (2016), she writes,

"The similarity in stories, themes and genres prove that it is not the whereabouts of the writer that affects the story, it is who she/he is, the Palestinian identity with its package of suffering accompanies the writer everywhere and grows more intense and dramatic with time and distance" (p.59).

Regardless of space, the attachment to Palestine is an innate built-in factor in the Palestinian awareness.

Some of the most prominent Palestinian writers are Ghassan Kanafani, Emile Habibi, Fadwa Tuqan, Samih Al-Qasim, Samira Azzam, and of course Mahmoud Darwish. They all wrote about love for Palestine and its land in their different ways and times, and they all wrote about resistance in one way or another. "The idea of resistance gets content and muscle from Palestine; more usefully, resistance gets detail and a positively new approach to the microphysics of oppression from Palestine" (Said, 1992, p.125).

When they write, they write from memory and desire, as well as, from real life and imagination. The two worlds merge together so you cannot tell them apart. It does not matter where they live, they are all rooted in Palestine and it is where their spirit is.

He fails to cut loose from his original roots and similarly fails to adjust to a new land and a new culture. That is what happened with Ibrahim Abu-Lughod. After living in the United States for forty years, he decided to return to Palestine and Jaffa. However, on his return, he found that the beautiful Jaffa had turned into a slum. So, he resided in Ramallah instead until he died in 2001. In his will, he requested to be buried in Jaffa, which was only made possible because of his American passport (Sa'di, 2007, pp.191-192). His daughter Lila Abu-Laghod wrote, "he was excited to be there, feeling at home not because he had ever lived in this West Bank town [Ramallah],... but because he was living among fellow Palestinians" (Abu-Laghod, 2001, p.5). While at home, he felt connected to the people through the political situation, as well as, the shared feelings they have about Palestine in general. People in exile have a certain conflict in him, that only his fellow countrymen understand. What Abu-Laghod did, could be considered a form of resistance and a political statement. Many people living abroad, carrying Western passports have said that the Israeli soldiers in airports always pull them aside and make them wait for hours because they know that they are Arabs and Palestinians. But that will not deter them from visiting their country, they will always return.

Most themes in Palestinian literature revolve around rootlessness, displacement, crisis in identity, the beauty of their lost country, and discrimination from the occupied forces. These are sources of arousing feelings of injustice and inhuman procedures and policies. This is one major element in Palestinian literature, which is elevating the feelings of dignity and humiliation. The ironic thing is that the term 'Diaspora' was mostly used in connection with the Jews and their expulsion from their homes and their longing for their lost country and what they experienced in their new countries and homes.

As the Jewish Diaspora ended, the Palestinian Diaspora started. Their coming around, meant they scattered around the Palestinians. What was at the beginning connected to the Jews, is now what the Jews/Israeli's have done to the Palestinians. The children born from the exiled do not feel the same way as their parents and grandparents. They blend in better in their new alien culture, and they do not feel as displaced unless they are living in refugee camps. They cannot feel the loss of something they have never known. That is why literature is so important. Edward Said (1994) wrote, "writers,.... bear their past within them" (p.212). They do not let people forget, with the help of the memories the older family members share.

However, sometimes it is hard for this literature to spread worldwide, and to reach the Palestinians all over the world. In the early 1990s, the *Anthology of Modern Palestinian Literature* edited by Salma Jayyusi was published by Columbia University Press. This is the only collection of Palestinian literature that has been published in English, of course, there are small collections, but none the size of this. The timing of its publication had a huge impact on its circulation. Salah Dean Hassan (2003) says,

"Within the constraints of the moment, *Anthology of Modern Palestinian Literature* participates in a twofold struggle against the U.S and Israeli denial of Palestinian political and cultural self-representation: first, the anthology delivers English translations of Arabic literature to a U.S readership; second, it uses literary texts to give moral and intellectual depth to the Palestinian national movement built around PLO.... Jayyusi's *Anthology of Modern Palestinian Literature* is an instance of an anthology

that connects political recognition of Palestinian national aspiration to literary representation of the nation" (pp.9-10).

Whether it had a political effect or not, is not for us to say, but it did help to spread the Palestinian literature to the exiled people. They were able to communicate the furious voice of the exiled by irresolute writings believing that one day they would reconcile with their cities, villages and homes in Palestine (Gohar, 2011, p.231).

And they convey these feelings and dreams to its readers, the Palestinian people, whether living inside or outside of Palestine, they all share these feelings. Besides, this literature carries the Palestinian suffering to the world.

"the Palestinians are attached to their homeland because Palestine,... is a reality that exists; it is a land which has been usurped by a ruthless enemy, a mother, a sister, a wife raped by the colonizer, a refugee camp ravaged by Zionist tanks and American-made apaches and F-16 bombers" (Gohar, 2011, p.241).

However, Palestine doesn't exist in Palestinian passion and emotions just because of enemy savage attacks, but because it is an organic structure of Palestinian metabolism.

The current Palestine is different from its past, but it still remains in the memory of its exiled children, due to Palestinian narratives at home or through literary works. That way writers try to give hope to the Palestinian people. While writers like Kanafani encourage a revolution that will free Palestine, other writers in the occupied territories, supported the reunion of its people (Tahboub, 2016, p.61).

### **3.6. The Life in the Diaspora:**

In 1948 thousands of Palestinians fled or were expelled from their homes. Many were afraid of the military assaults and the massacres, while others were forced to leave by the Zionist forces. Many of these refugees, now live in different refugee camps in the neighboring Arab countries. The living conditions in the camps are horrible. Most people are poor and the camps are overcrowded. Electricity comes and goes, and when it rains, the sewage drowns people's homes. In most camps, people are not allowed to repair their property. With all the pollution and the lack of infrastructure, most refugees suffer from either chronic or acute illnesses. There is no way for them to return to their old houses since it has now been either destroyed or resettled by Jews. Although there are many international laws that give the Palestinians a right to return home, Israel refuses to abide by these laws (NAD).

This is further shown regarding the displaced Palestinians of 1967. The Israeli military forces continued their ongoing assaults, by demolishing houses, confiscating land, military attacks, and building Jewish settlements. More Palestinians became refugees, and even those who stayed in Palestine were not able to go home.

To make things even harder and crueler, Palestinians inside Palestine, were not allowed to reunite with their families on the outside. The Washington Post wrote that "Israeli officials said family reunification is a privilege, not a right" (Frankel, 1987). They don't want Arabs to return when their main goal is to have the remaining Palestinians leave.

To live in exile is hard to imagine. To be uprooted from your home, dispossessed, banished, to leave your homeland by force or compulsory volunteering, is

not easy. Their hearts and minds are always with Palestine, but each writer describes the life in exile differently from the other. Palestine lives in the details of one's life. Every little activity stimulates the memories of similar past activities.

In 1967, many Palestinians were living around the world, but because of the war, they were not allowed to return. They were living in exile, they were naziheen, which meant that they were neither refugees nor displaced, but they were living temporarily abroad, but it wasn't temporarily. Because of the Zionists' nasty discrimination policies, they were not allowed to return to their homes or to reunite with their families. The whole international community including the UN, didn't care about their new status. Even the Arab countries and the PLO gave little attention to them.

They were uprooted. It does not matter where they live, they will always feel like outsiders. The exiled Palestinian, whether forced or voluntarily, always suffer from nostalgia and longing for their lands, villages, and homes. Many people dream of coming back, and that is why from the beginning they did not establish lives and settled down in the country they lived in. They did not want to possess something permanent. Why should they possess something permanent, when they are not staying very long? However, days turned to weeks, weeks to months, and months turned into years. They are now living in refugee camps in Arab countries without any kind of identification card. Palestinians in the Western countries have it slightly better. In the end, they only have their memories to keep alive what they once had, along with literature. Suheir Michael (2007) believes, that all the stories "depicts home as belonging, security, happiness, affluence and pride, where as exile is depicted as misery, insecurity,

impoverished, alienation, estrangement, and despair.... Palestinian literature echoes of the right to return home" (p.81).

Mourid Barghouti is one of these people. In his book *I Saw Ramallah* (2003), he talks about displacement.

"Displacements are always multiple. Displacements that I collect around you and close the circle. You run, but the circle surrounds you. When it happens you become a stranger in your places and to your places at the same time. The displaced person becomes a stranger to his memories and so he tries to cling to them. He places himself above the actual and the passing" (p.101).

*I Saw Ramallah* is a personal experience of exile, return, and unshakable displacement that assumes new forms, but never really goes away.

Where Barghouti wrote about displacement, Mahmoud Darwish wrote about the loss of identity. Darwish is one of the most famous Palestinian poets, who was forced to leave Palestine and live in exile. He "was associated with aspects of adversary responses such as defiance, resistance, and sacrifice" (Hamzah, 2016, p.260). He wrote one of the most notorious resistance poems of Palestinian literature and what Edward Said calls "a national poem", it is "Identity Card" ("Bitaqit Hawia"). In it, he shows how the Palestinian has been "reduced to a name on an identity card" (Said, 1992, p.155). Its importance became even greater a couple of years after it was published, "it would be the most constantly reiterated actuality in Arab political life, not as a threat but as a presence and, most of the time, as a hope" (Said, 1992, p.156). Fawaz Turki (1972) wrote about hope,

"We grew up in a vacuum. We belonged to no nation. We embraced no culture. We were at the bottom. The only way for us to go was up... we had nothing to lose. We lived on the edge of the desert. On the fringe of the world. We had little to risk" (p.154).

You would think that he is planning to commit suicide, but it is the opposite. They have nothing to lose, so why not fight with all they have. The life in refugee camps was hard, and it still is. Palestinians living in the West have it better, but they still maintain a strong sense of Palestinian identity.

Edward Said (2003), who lived almost his whole life in the West, still wrote about his love for Palestine, and the injustice inflicted against its own people.

"Whatever the claim may be that we make on the world -- and certainly on ourselves as people who have become restless in the fixed place to which we have been assigned -- in fact our truest reality is expressed in the way we cross over from one place to another. We are migrants and perhaps hybrids in, but not of, any situation in which we find ourselves. This is the deepest continuity of our lives as a nation in exile and constantly on the move" (p.164).

Palestinian literature and its writers paint this picture so clear, and reflects what every Palestinian experienced. They concentrate on specific traits like returning home, describing the difficult circumstances and living conditions of the refugees and praising the heroic battles against the occupation. That is why it's so emotional, and that will not change until they gain the right to return home.

## Chapter 4

### **The Roles of Ghassan Kanafani, Samira Azzam, and Emile Habibi's Literature in Arousing the Palestinian People.**

#### **4.1. Resistance Literature:**

Resistance in general is a way of self-defense. Self-defense according to the field of psychology is natural, i.e. one defends him/herself once he/she feels the threatening danger. Self-defense is spontaneous and does not require much thinking or planning at the outset.

People react immediately once they feel that their rights and security are endangered. Their reaction varies in form, sometimes they react by words in the form of scolding, rebuke, or shouting for help, and sometimes violently, depending upon the degree of the threat. As the threat sustains, people start developing plans and strategies to face the challenges. Spontaneous reactions recede in favor of well-organized and detailed reactions. Heba Barakat (2014), writes,

"Resistance is an inherently rooted in the nature of man in order to maintain an instinct for survival, in other words, the person performs the resistance process automatically without or hesitating whether it is by acts, words, or gestures and though the resistance is performed automatically, it is gradually organized and perfected to adopt plans that lead to fight injustice and aggression" (p.27)

Resistance is embedded in our conscious, when we are pushed, we push back. That is how life is. The same goes for literature. While being at war, under occupation, or fighting for your homes and lives, literature fights back. You do not have to fight with guns and tanks, words work as well. It encourages its readers, as well as, it frustrates the enemy. "The rupture in the lived experiences of Palestinians was in fact reconstructed through resistance literature" (Abdo, 2014, p.97).

Barbara Harlow, in her book *Resistance Literature* (1987) explains it as following,

"Within a specific historical context, a context which may be most immediately situated within the contemporary normal liberation struggles and resistance movements against Western imperialist domination of Africa, Central and South America and the Middle and Far East.... it is seen from all sides as no less crucial than the armed struggle" (pp.4-7).

The main reason for resistance literature to exist was to call "explicitly and implicitly on Palestinians to support and join resistance movements" (Abo Matar, 1994, p.138). It meant for people to start acting and not forgetting what happened and what was going on. The Palestinians have suffered enormously from the oppression and suppression of the occupation. The trauma caused by the continuous and systematic attacks, like murder, physical abuse, torture, imprisonment, as well as, their honor, have had a tremendous impact on their physical state of mind. The problem is that the trauma does not stop here. The occupation also targets Palestinian property by demolition, sabotage, confiscation of land, and uprooting trees. That way preventing them from having decent incomes. All these factors helped to stimulate people's emotions to fight.

They had lost almost everything, so it was now time to fight until victory or die as martyrs.

Different types of resistance were and still are used, both unarmed and armed. The unarmed resistance consisted of protests, strikes, prison hunger strikes, and boycotts. While the violent resistance consisted of everything between rock-throwing and bombings. It is not likely that the Palestinians will give up anytime soon. As long as there is an occupation, they will continue to do so. Fouad Moughrabi (1992) writes, "Palestinian youth has iron in its soul. It has shown moral courage in defying the occupation and has fashioned from existing cultural materials new ways of resistance and political behavior" (p.55). He continues by saying, "the key factors that enables the Palestinians to endure rests on two elements: their ability to overcome potential divisions and the new generation to create new forms of struggle" (p.60).

Their land is too important to give up on. Orange orchards and olive groves have an important connection with the Palestinian people. They are a part of the Palestinian culture and an essential source of income. That is why they are being burned, confiscated, and destroyed. One of the major themes in Palestinian literature is the story of land, people, and its connection to it. With the 1948 and 1967 wars, hundreds of thousands were forced to leave their lands and homes, and dreamt of one day returning to their villages and farms. "Palestinians have farmed the land for centuries, and their connection to the land is a powerful symbol of rootedness, making clear the injustice of displacement" (Palestinian Relationships With & Rootedness To The Land - Museum Of The Palestinian People). Both the people and the trees are deeply rooted in the soil of Palestine.

In 1966, Ghassan Kanafani connected resistance with Palestinian literature. It was not something new, but it did not have a clear name until then. He was a forerunner in establishing a vision of literary resistance orientation. He coined down the term of resistance literature to describe how Palestinian literature should handle the Palestinian Nakba. He defined it as, "resistance literature is meant to exercise a resisting effect, resisting the status quo that is imposed...., resisting all forms of weakness and retreat, resisting the inhuman atrocities...., resisting all calls for anything other than resistance" (qtd. in Tahboub, 2016, p.61). It is noticeable in his definition, that he concentrates on factors, such as weakness that encourages enemies to transgress the rights of others, rather than concentrating on the power of others and their greed. This is an excellent remark, because it is not fair enough to blame the stronger, but the weak should be blamed for leaving himself a target for others.

Even though "Resistance literature" has many concerns, it has only one goal "stopping oppression, achieving freedom, protesting against terrorism, tyranny of opinion, suppressing of legal freedoms, and illegal practices that violate regulations and law" (Barakat, 2014, p.28). This kind of literature shows what the oppressed is suffering and at the same time gives them hope. It also showed the Zionists' evil, terror, and inhumanness, as well as, the sadness, destruction, and patience that the Palestinian people had to go through. The Palestinians Resistance literature relates to both the social and the political issues, because each one of these issues is connected with the other. Most stories revolve around the Diaspora, exile, identity, prison, homeland, love, hope, and the future.

Although there are many magnificent Palestinian writers, we will not be able to concentrate on all of them, instead, the researcher will look at four different stories by Ghassan Kanafani, Samira Azzam, and Emile Habibi. Each story represents a specific time, different than the other.

#### **4.2. Samira Azzam – "Bread of Sacrifice"**

Samira Azzam was born in September 1927 in Acre, Palestine. In 1948, when the Nakbah happened, she and her family fled to Lebanon. After a couple of months, she left Lebanon and moved to Iraq to work as a teacher, there she met Adeeb Yousef, whom she married. In 1967, when she was forty years old, she suffered a heart attack while traveling to Amman, Jordan, which caused her death. Throughout her life, she was politically engaged and fought to free Palestine by any means necessary. She played a huge part in the establishment of The Palestine Liberation Front in 1961, where she fought side by side with her male friends and fighters. Although, she denounced the armed struggle. She believed that the struggle against Israel was the responsibility of the whole Arab world.

The story "Bread of Sacrifice" revolves around Ramiz, a member of the National Palestinian Guard, and Su'ad, a nurse. The story takes place in 1948, consistent with the fall of Haifa. Although it might seem first as a love story, him training young men and women and she nursing the wounded soldiers, the story is much more than that. After the fall of Haifa, Su'ad's brother decided to leave for Lebanon, but Su'ad refuses to leave. He hits her because she wants to stay and fight and not run away. She then runs to Ramiz. When he asks her if she stayed because of him, she answers "No, not because of you, yes I love you, it's true. Still, you're not everything" (Azzam, 1992, p.395). After

Acre was evacuated, it was Ramiz's job, along with five others to "hold fast until the mandate ended and the Arab armies could come in to fight the battle" (Azzam, 1992, p.395). The person responsible to deliver their food was of course Su'ad. The second time she comes, she gets shot and dies. Because of the difficult circumstances, no one else is sent with food, and the six men start to get hungry. But Ramiz does not allow them to eat from what Su'ad brought, which is now stained with her blood. In the end, he calls his comrades and offers them to eat and says, "eat.... Su'ad would not have wanted us to die of hunger" (Azzam, 1992, p.399), because that's not how heroes die."Azzam undertakes writing under the umbrella of resistance as a method of participating in her peoples struggle to their freedom" (Chaher, 2020, p.48).

However, Azzam uses symbolic language to make her point, Jameel Kallab (2005) comments, "they found in symbolism a maneuver and triumph over the military censorship; as well as a fully aware method to express freely. Consequently, it enabled them to continue their artistic invitation, besides their duty" (p.33). That way they can convey their thoughts in an interesting and suspense way, as well as gaining the sympathy of the readers.

In the story "Bread of Sacrifice", Azzam only concentrated on two main characters, Ramiz and Su'ad. The brave soldier and the patriotic hard working Palestinian woman, who will do anything for her country.

The first person we met is Ramiz, but we met him without a name, and also without any physical descriptions. This might suggest that he could be identified with anyone who might experience a similar struggle or situation. "It could be argued that Azzam portrays Ramiz in her story in such a way to represent a person struggling for

his rights that are stripped off from him" (Chaher, 2020, p.40). We do not know his name until he meets Su'ad. Su'ad, the female heroine, who represents Palestine itself, Ramiz describes her "in Su'ad's eyes he saw all of Palestine's goodness" (Azzam, 1992, p.394). She is also pictured as Palestine, not just representing it. Ramiz daydreams about her as "a wife who would bear him young heroes" (Azzam, 1992, p.394). His children who would walk in his footsteps to liberate Palestine, because for him this is "the meaning of his existence" (Azzam, 1992, p.394).

To further highlight Su'ad's patriotic actions, she is the only one to bring them food when the rest would not. That way, she is risking her own life to save theirs, and that is what happened. She died so they could live and continue the fight against the Zionist forces.

Azzam is known to slip in her orthodox upbringing in her stories, and she does that here, "the self – scarifying Su'ad, who does not hesitate a moment to risk her life in order to preserve those warriors' lives, appears as a form of manifestation of Jesus Christ" (Chaher, 2020, p.41). That way she is seen as a rescuer or redeemer, by putting the lives of others before her own. Also, if you take a closer look, there could be a significant meaning that both of them - Su'ad and Jesus Christ – were killed by Jews. That way, presenting that they have been killing the Palestinian people for the last two thousand years. "Azzam's "Bread of Sacrifice" offers a woman's experience where country and woman are merged into one entity" (Nasser, 2014, p.7).

Sarah Chaher adds two more symbols that Azzam uses. That is the koffiyyeh, which is considered apolitical symbol for Palestinian independence, but in the story it does not ward off the cold. While the cup of tea that Su'ad brings, sustains him warmth,

just like his home, especially since tea is a known beverage the Palestinians drink when they are gathered together.

Chaher also highlights the use of bread, how they take advantage of the poor conditions of the people, to compel them to resign. The bread can also be seen as a code for the Palestinian honor and resoluteness (2020, p.44).

Nejmeh Khalil – Habibi wrote,

"Azzam bases *The Bread of the Saviour* on a historical foundation but manipulates her characters around real events for artistic expression. Azzam employs a poetic style, the absence of heroism, cynicism and shallow compassion to help create a natural and realistic milieu leading to the tragic end.... Azzam is perhaps the first to expose the women's active role in the Palestinian struggle, showing her for the first time as an independently patriotic character, unaffected by external persuasions to be otherwise".

Azzam breaks down the conventional traditions with their relationship. They are seen together outside of work, which is not something regular, even until this day. They met after his class and sat down and talked. Even when Su'ad delivers Ramiz and his comrades the food, she always stays a couple of minutes to talk. Then you have when she dies, and Ramiz starts to hug and kiss her to wake up. However, one of the most untraditional acts, is when Su'ad's brother and his family leave and she comes to Ramiz's house. Although she does not enter, it is still very untraditional. I think it is a very crucial moment in the whole story.

"That spring, Ramiz learned about two things – love and war- and the first gave meaning to the second. War was not simply an enemy to kill voraciously. Rather, it was the assertion of the life land he loved and the woman he loved" (Azzam, 1992, p.393).

Azzam manages not only to resist the occupation, but also the constricted thought of the time.

Through her story, she conveys the message that you should stay and fight like Su'ad did, and even though you might lose your beloved ones – like Ramiz - you should get back on your feet and fight the injustice that you are facing. Just like Aristotle said, revolutions develop as a result of injustice.

Samira Azzam died in 1967 after the Arab defeat. She was deeply shocked and disappointed. Although she died of a heart attack, she wasn't ill or suffered from any diseases. Her publisher wrote,

"Azzam's death was not due to chronic disease, but due to the shock she was beaten by. She died because she was heartily Arabic, because she bore in her heart all the pain and frustration of her nation. Her personal dream was to see her people victorious and to see unity among them" (qtd. in Khalil - Habibi).

#### **4.3. Ghassan Kanafani - "All That's Left To You"**

"All That's Left To You" is an artistic piece of Kanafani's writings. It is an outstanding piece, and it was described by Jayyusi as, "a masterpiece of modernist

literature unmatched by any in his time, an experiment in triumph and despair rejecting the chronology of time and the contemporaneousness of place" (2005, p.46).

Ghassan Kanafani was born in 1936 in Acre, Palestine, just like Samira Azzam. He too had to leave his home when the war began. He moved to Syria then to Kuwait, before finally settling down in Beirut, Lebanon. He is the one that connected armed resistance with Palestinian literature. His wife Anni wrote,

"His inspiration for writing and working unceasingly was the Palestinian – Arab struggle... He was one of those who fought sincerely for the development of the resistance movement from a nationalist Palestinian liberation movement into a Pan-Arab revolutionary socialist movement of which the liberation of Palestine would be a vital component. He always stressed that the Palestinian problem could not be solved in isolation from the Arab world's whole social and political situation" (qtd. in Kilpatrick, 1976, p.9).

Kanafani was politically engaged in the struggle to free Palestine and was the spokesman for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which was a Palestinian Marxist organization. His enthusiasm and writings about the injustice caused by the Zionists, and Jews in Palestine, led to his assassination. In 1972, in Beirut, he and his niece were killed after his car was booby-trapped.

While Samira Azzam's "Bread of Sacrifice" is quite straight forward and easy to understand and analyze, Kanafani's "All That's Left to You" is not. It contains a more psychological aspect, especially since most of the story is about memories and self-realization. "Kanafani uses indirect, experimental approach and symbolic language to

demonstrate the predicament of the Palestinian subject and views the relation between the imaginary narratives in reference to the geopolitical reality" (Meryan, 2016, p.25). Through the story, different events occur at the same time, there is no separation between time and place, and many times between the speaking characters.

"All That's Left to You" talks about honor, male dominance, family and liberation. The story follows Hamid, his sister Maryam, and her husband (the traitor) Zakaria. Hamid and Maryam are born in Jaffa, Palestine, but when the Zionist forces took over the city, they were forced to run, and their mother was left behind because there is no place left for her on the boat. They have now been living in a refugee camp in Gaza for the past sixteen years. We meet Hamid at the beginning of the story when he gives away Maryam to "the swine". She is already pregnant, and everyone knows it, which makes Hamid feel ashamed. At that point, he decides to leave Gaza and go to Jordan, where his mother is. In the rest of the story, Hamid is in the desert walking to Jordan. He starts to think about his life and about the past. He starts to analyze what happened and why. And we get to know why he hates Zakaria and what prompts him to this journey. While he is in the desert he achieves self-realization. On his way, he meets a lost Israeli soldier, whom he ties up, and later on kills. That way giving some kind of victory to the Palestinian people.

Maryam goes through something similar, while she is at home with her new husband. She starts to think about what she has done (married a man, who is already married and has five children). While she is thinking of the consequences of what she has done, Zakaria tells her that she must terminate the pregnancy or get divorced, but she chooses a third option. She fights back and kills her husband by stabbing him in the

groin. In that way, she is seen as a symbol of resistance and liberation. Without this self-realization both Hamid and Maryam cannot become "capable of attempting the defeat of the historical forces that currently control his nation" (Azouqa, 2000, p.164).

For Hamid, in his journey through the desert, which he crosses to reunite with his mother, has been symbolized that he is returning to his beloved Palestine. "The political theme of return is expressed in the voice of a lover yearning for his beloved. The passion for return to the mother [Palestine]" (Meryan, 2016, p.28). He thinks of his father and Salim, who both were killed for their country. While Zakaria, whom he despises, because he is a traitor and the reason for Salim's death. Both incidents help to create Hamid's character. For Maryam, it happens when Zakaria asks her to abort her pregnancy. "In this respect, Maryam represents Palestine, while the elimination of Zakaria represents ridding the nation of its traitors" (Azouqa, 2000, p.169).

This is not the only time where Maryam is compared to Palestine. Some believe that Zakaria forced himself on her and raped her, that way comparing Zakaria with the Zionist forces. Not just that, when she becomes pregnant, her womb is described as "fertile", just as the land of Palestine is.

Two other characters that are introduced in the story are the desert and the time. Both have a huge impact on the story. Kanafani gives both of them a voice of their own. Hilary Kilpatrick (1976) writes,

"Ma tabaqqalakum [All That's Left To You] is a work of ambitious technical complexity, and the treatment of the desert in it differs significantly from that found in the earlier novel. On the factual level, the action takes place at night, and so the most fearful aspect of the desert, its

heat, is not mentioned except at the end, when the sun rises and the coming day's inferno is evoked. The desert is here immense and mysterious,... Most unexpected, perhaps, is the parallel between the desert, that most arid part of the globe, and the mother whom Hamid is seeking. Another aspect of the desert is that it brings realization of what is essential and inessential; thus Hamid throws away his watch, which is no longer of any use to him, and it lies in the sand, ticking pointlessly away.... The desert also provides the bare stage on which Hamid confronts the Israeli soldier who has lost his way. But it is more than an object or a surrealist landscape... Kanafani exploits it in particular as a means for describing Hamid from an observer's point of view, throwing into relief his helplessness and insignificance against the forces of nature, and at the same time his courage in going unarmed and unguided into the trackless wastes" (pp.59-60).

Salma Jayyousi (2005) also comments on the same issue,

"All That's Left to You" unifies time and place, where the desert stretches in time and through time to seal the fate of the protagonists and where time, through place, is an ever-stretching desert, that describes their destiny. The fusion of time and desert is perhaps a symbol of the interminable Palestinian experience of suffering that has been deepened by time and by the way the fertile place (the Palestinian homeland) has been snatched from them. They keep straddling the gaping desert that prepares to swallow them" (pp.47-48).

The occupation inserts terror, inflicts oppression and exploitation in the protagonists and that is what the Palestinians are feeling. That way, there is a bigger

anger inside each Palestinian that is waiting to come out. For Hamid, it happens when he confronts the Israeli soldier and decolonization starts taking place. "Here decolonization is both internal and external. It takes place inside Hamid as he decides to confront his loss, and externally as he handcuffs the soldier after disarming him" (Meryan, 2016, p.29).

But in the end, both siblings conquer their obstacles even though they are apart, they are combined in their heroic actions. Maryam kills the traitor at the same time as Hamid kills the Israeli soldier. Their will to live is stronger than the occupation. Ibrahim El-Hussari (2018) comments, "the two heroic scenes combined in a flash point to a gestation process of a kind that foreshadows the birth of an armed struggle against two types of enemy; one within, the traitor, and one without, the occupants" (p.7).

Franz Fanon in *The Wretched Earth* (1977) calls it, "willed, called for, demanded. The need for this change exists in its crude state, impetuous and compelling, in the consciousness and the lives of the men and women who are colonized" (p.36).

By defeating both the enemy and the occupation, Kanafani gives hope to the Palestinian people. That they will defeat the Zionist forces and live in a free Palestine.

"Kanafani lived and died according to his ideals... He believed that the role of literature in the transformation of society was different from that of other forms of writing, and it should therefore not be subjected to rigid rules applicable elsewhere... his plays, novels and short stories were written to serve the cause of Palestine" (Kilpatrick, 1976, p.15).

He only had one thing on his mind when he wrote, and that was Palestine.

#### 4.4. Emile Habibi – "The Mandelbaum Gate"

Emile Habibi was born in 1921 in Haifa, Palestine. He is one of the few Palestinian writers who did not leave Palestine after its fall. He remained in Haifa and joined the Communist Party and later on Rakah (the Israeli Communist Party), which he represented in the Israeli Knesset for nineteen years. In 1990, he was awarded the Jerusalem Medal from the Palestinian Liberation Organization and in 1992, Habibi received the Israeli Prize for Literature. He was criticized by both the Arab and the Israeli communities for accepting this prize, especially since he received it on Israel's Independence day (the day of Al-Nakba). He was accused of working with the Israelis, as well as, for betrayal. The great Palestinian poet Samih Al-Qasim stated, "Emile Habibi betrayed not only his people during the Intifada, but also his Jewish friends who were rejected by the Shamir government because of their political beliefs" (qtd. in Mendelson-Maoz, 2014,p.38). He supported the 1947 UN Partition Plan, because he believed that Arabs and Jews could live together side by side. He wished that the occupation would end peacefully by saying,

"A dialogue of prizes is better than a dialogue of stones and bullets .... It is indirect recognition of the Arabs in Israel as a nation. This is recognition of a national culture. It will help the Arab population in its struggle to strike roots in the land and win equal rights" (Habibi).

Habibi did not write from his memory, he wrote from what he saw and experienced on a daily basis. He gives an opportunity for the Palestinians and the Arab world to see how people are living within Israel. "Some literary critics have written about the Habibian style of writing. A well balanced mixture of politics, history, and

storytelling, all infused with activism and a refined style of writing" (Mikhail). He tries to show us and the world, the reality of how the Palestinian people live, by using different styles like resistance literature, psychology, and many more tools. He only wrote in Arabic to preserve the Palestinian heritage. Since he was accused many times of being a collaborator, he tried to show how it was for Palestinians to live inside Israel, and how they struggled to find their identity. That showed the readers, that there is not any difference between the Palestinians living inside Israel or those living in the Occupied territories. Both are searching for their identity and a place to belong. Akram Khater (1993) wrote,

"That Habibi uses irony and satire, that he mingles tears with laughter, presents sorrows with happy memories, and that he laughs as much at himself and his culture as at the "Other"- be it Israeli or Western – only makes the impact of his writing more powerful and real.... By "real" I mean the denuded truth that makes us blush in shame, laugh in embarrassment, and sometimes recoil in horror. It is a fantastic "real" that erases all superficialities in which people tend to immerse themselves deeper and deeper, to arrive at the basic elements of humanity.... Habibi's "real", for all its mirth and sarcasm, is serious in its respect for people's weaknesses and failures, even when it urges them to rise to a lofty ideal" (p.94).

Emile Habibi died where he was born, in Haifa in 1996.

"The Mandelbaum Gate" was the first story he wrote in 1954. Many believe that the story is connected with his mother who left Palestine, through the gate, to visit her sons in Syria, but she never returned. In his autobiography, he wrote

"As for you, you may stay here. For your life awaits you and you can still wait for them". It is with these words that I left my mother Um Wadi' when we parted company on the Israeli side of the Mandelbaum Gate. I did stay in the end, as I returned to Haifa and wrote my first story in the State of Israel on the Mandelbaum Gate" (qtd. in Assi, 2013, p.90).

What is the Mandelbaum Gate? Where is it located? What is its historical significance? According to Alaa Abo Qteesh in his article "Eyes on Mandelbaum: The Absent Present Gate" (my translation) (2018), the Mandelbaum Gate was a checkpoint between the Israeli Occupation and the Jordanians in Jerusalem. It divided Jerusalem. The Israeli got the West part and the Jordanians (today the Palestinians) the East part. It was supposed to be a "temporary division" that two men wrote on a map in 1948, Moshe Dayan, the Zionist military commander of Jerusalem and AbdAllah Tell, the Jordanian commander. It was a green and red line on a map. This "temporary division" is what all official records and agreements today consist of. The official gate was established in 1949 and remained until the Six Day war in 1967, when the Israeli Occupation Forces destroyed it. The land between the two sides was no-man's-land, but if you ever cross it, you do not come back. In Emile Habibi's short story "The Mandelbaum Gate", he tells the story of an old woman who has gotten permission to cross the gate, but we never know why. Through the story, Habibi relates to us the area of the gate and how it looks, what the narrator's mother is thinking when she is leaving her beloved home - all the familiar sounds, places and how she feels guilty for leaving - also most importantly how his daughter crosses the gate and comes back from no-man's-land and the "Valley of Death" (Habibi, 2005, p.337).

Habibi shows how the Palestinians were treated. There was no democracy only racism. When the narrator's sister asks to walk her mother to the Jordanian side, the Israeli soldier tells her "anyone on earth has the right to come and go by these gates, except for people who live there" (Habibi, 2005, p.336). They put the Palestinian people in one corner and the rest of the world in another.

In the story, the Israeli soldier was trying to make them feel inferior and powerless. This was done to make the Palestinian people leave Palestine. Abo Qteesh writes that the gates were not open throughout the year, it only opened on special holidays, and even then not everyone got permission to go, but some "special people" could go through it as they pleased.

These "special people" so colorfully painted "belonged to the forces of the Mixed Armistice Commission, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, the United Nations forces, as well as to the ambassadors of Western states" (Habibi, 2005, p.335). These people could go through no-man's-land and return. This does not just emphasize the discrimination and racism mentioned earlier, but also strengthens the Occupational Forces political agenda, as well as, it strengthens its capitalism. Which makes it hard for anyone to even think about fighting back or making a revolution. That these special people "can have lunch at the Philadelphia Hotel in Amman, and dinner at the Aden Hotel in the Israeli part of Jerusalem, while his polite smile never leaves his lips in either place" (Habibi, 2005, p.336), helps to strengthen the Israelis position and financial status, because in the end all "these special people" are a part of the colonial society that has no problem with what is happening. This confirms what Goodwin talks about in state-centered approaches and the state-capacity perspective. It "focuses on

variations in states' fiscal resources, military power and organizational reach (or "penetration") into civil society" (Goodwin, 1997, p.13), and how they can control all economic, associational and cultural systems (Goodwin, 1997, p.11). It also shows how Marx has affected Habibi's writing. It is obvious, especially when it comes to classifications and the difference between the Palestinians and the foreign visitors.

In the beginning, the Zionist leaders could contemplate their political agenda because they had all the necessary recourses at their disposal, with of course the proper encouragement and backup, and because state-centered approaches are one-sided, they are very important to understand social revolutions (Goodwin, 1997, p.11). But that does not mean that revolution is impossible, just very difficult. Sometimes the simplest ways are the ones that work.

All she does is to give her grandmother a hug, but it implicates so much more. She just deconstructed the whole occupation. One meaning for resistance literature "it sees itself furthermore as immediately and directly involved in a struggle against ascendant or dominant forms of ideological and cultural production" (Harlow, 1987, pp.28-29). It also shows the difference between the grandmother and granddaughter. While the grandmother has been subjected and institutionalized by the occupation, the granddaughter has not. That is why she for the first time feels "a spiritual void and a depression in the chest, not unlike the pangs of conscience, which comprises the deep yearning for the motherland" (Habibi, 2005, p.334). When she crosses the gate, she feels remorse for leaving her home and motherland. The granddaughter is still naïve and has not been subjected to the occupation and its laws, that is why it is so easy for her to cross the gates and then come back like nothing has happened, just seconds after the

Israeli soldier tells them "This is the reality of war and restrictive frontiers and the Mandelbaum Gate" (Habibi, 2005, p.336). Resisting and denying the occupation, she gives hope that revolution is possible, because she just proved the opposite of what the gate represents. It represents the division of Jerusalem, as well as, the division and Diaspora of the Palestinian people. "Miraculously occurring before our eyes, was the feat of a little girl crossing the "Valley of Death from which there is no return" and returning from it, having contradicted the reality of war and frontiers and the Mandelbaum Gate" (Habibi, 2005, p.337).

Through the last seventy years, the Palestinian people have been under Israeli Occupation, been discriminated, thrown out of their homes and lands, but without any real solution on how to end it. The Palestinian people have been subjected to the occupation, and that can be a part of the problem, because that is what the occupation wants. Frantz Fanon writes,

"Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's head of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it. This work of devaluing pre-colonial history takes on a dialectical significance today" (qtd. in Harlow, 1987, p.18).

Meaning what? That the occupation tries to normalize the situation they have created, and the Palestinian people have accepted it. That is why not only the grandmother, but also her son (the narrator) and daughter, all stood aside and did as the soldier said. The only one that is changing reality is the granddaughter. When in the end the narrator says, "How sane it is!" (Habibi, 2005, p.337), it can be referred to the act of

the little girl. She is the only one sane enough to stand up to the oppression, while everyone else is "insane" by not doing anything. It was a peaceful challenge.

"The image of the little girl is highly romanticized here. It draws on a utopian expression of free will and without freedom manifested in a child's innocence. This is combined with the tragic image of the departing mother, and the two images are conjoined in a scene of romantic tragedy" (Assi, 2013, p.90).

#### **4.5. Ghassan Kanafani - *Men in the Sun***

*Men in the Sun* defers from the previous three short stories, because its heroes are trying to leave Palestine. The three men have decided to seek their fortune in exile, because of the hard conditions under occupation. "The novel *Men in the Sun* provides a texture of a nation in a certain period of time, not a texture of individuals in a nation" (Barakat, 2014, p.59).

The story follows three men, Abu Qais, an old man who is dreaming of returning to his village and olive trees. He has left behind him his wife and two children. Then there is Assad, who is forced to borrow money from his uncle, to be able to do this trip. However, it comes with a cost, he has to marry his daughter. That is something Assads' father and his uncle agreed on when they were born. Now he tells him that he will lend him the money so that he can make more and marry his daughter. In the end, we have Marwan. A teenage boy, who is leaving Palestine to be able to support his whole family, because his brother, who works in Kuwait, got married and stopped sending them money. They agree with the driver, Abu Al-Khayzaran - who is going to smuggle them into Kuwait - that they will hide in a water tank at the Iraqi and the Kuwaiti borders. At

the first border, they make it without being caught, and they move to the second one. But there the procedures take too long when the guards start to joke around with Abu Al-Khayzaran. When he is finally done, he opens the tank but they are already dead. They have suffocated. Omer Elmahdi and Abdulrahman Hezam (2019) writes,

"Kanafani portrayed the suffering of the Palestinians, who were deprived of the right to a dignified life after being afflicted, represented by the story of three Palestinians representing different generations of age, who were disguised by the world and the people. They sought a distant hope, or a simple dream, for which they paid their lives" (p.35).

Haidar Eid (2013) believes that the text concentrates on resistance,

"resistance as a pre-condition for existence of the human being who worthy of his humanity and the homeland which grants him dignity and stability. Furthermore, the text is not only a condensed image of the Palestinian exile/hell, but also a rejection of the individualistic solutions that dominate the 1950's – solutions that called for confronting defeat in the 1948 war with silence and patience" (p.7).

Patience is what all the Palestinians have been suffering from, but no one is helping. When Abu Al-Khayzaran asks, "Why didn't you knock" (Kanafani, 1999, p.74), he is addressing the readers. He is asking us how long will people remain silent?

"This is what the echo in the desert repeats: "Why? Why? Why?" The question is echoed in our minds. What is our answer? The dead have no answer, but the living might. And if we do not give a clear, sharp answer,

the result will definitely be an undignified death...In other words, the question invites a provocative answer: knock on the sides of the tank/grave; it is death; do not accept it; move and shout. Escape is death; there is no other alternative but confronting political reality" (Eid, 2013, p.7).

It also represents the Palestinian people's conflict and displacement, especially since all the Arab leaders are silent when it comes to the Palestinian issue.

The interesting thing about this novel and Kanafani's magnificent work in it is, that each person can interpret it differently from the other. Some believe that the three men are cowards, because they sought after the money instead of staying and fighting for their country. Shadi Neimneh (2017) wrote, that the terrible end the heroes face is a perfect sentence for the shame and dishonor they bring in trying to find rank outside of Palestine (p.239).

While others criticize the Arab leaders for allowing the Palestinians to suffer and suffocate in horrible refugee camps around the world.

The tank itself has great meaning and irony in it. While the tank is supposed to be filled with water that gives life, the tank is now filled with death. Even though Abu Al-Khayzaran tells them the truth, they still get inside.

"The tank was therefore a symbol of the siege and the imprisonment for the Palestinian people who are guided towards with their corrupt Arab leadership, which the writer in the novel symbolizes as the driver who leads the tank to death (Abu Al-Khayzaran). The tank is the image of hell and the

height of the tragedy of the Palestinians, the great prison they have to destroy if they want to survive" (Elmahdi & Hezam, 2019, p.36).

From the beginning of the story, we get the feeling that it is an unsafe journey, but still, they go through with it. However, their death is not a heroic one or an honorable one. They die in a closed tank and their bodies are dumped like something worthless. Palestinians always try to find a better life outside their country, but Kanafani shows us that outside your homeland – if you are a refugee – you will not have a life, respect, or dignity.

Even the sun in the story is against its heroes.

*"Men in the Sun* is a social document full of many intellectual contradictions and sentimental dichotomies. The title itself refers to a paradoxical symbolism. The word **"men"** tells us to make us imagine heroes representing the violence and the essence of manhood, while their actions disappointed us, and even hit the extent of their defeat and dispersal. The word **"sun"**, which overwhelms us with its light and shine, and gives us a glimmer of life once its name is spoken, becomes a fatal tool in the novel and a source of concern and condemnation (Elmahdi & Hezam, 2019, p.35).

The men feel the dryness and the heat of the sun, and since the sun does not care about the human judgment and it "consumes their consciously wretch existence" (Neimneh, 2017, p.244). Edward Said (1992) also wrote about *Men in the Sun*,

"The main conflict in the book turns about that contest in the present impelled by exile and dislocation, the Palestinian must carve a path for himself in existence, which is by no means a "given" or stable reality for him, even among fraternal Arabs. Like the land he left, his past seems broken off at the moment just before it could bring forth fruit; yet the man has family, responsibilities, life itself to answer to, in the present. For not only is his future uncertain; even his present situation increases in difficulty as he barely manages to maintain his balance in the swirling traffic of the dusty street. Day, sun, the present-those are at once there, hostile, and goads to him to move on out of the sometimes misty, sometimes hardened protection of memory and fantasy. When the men finally move out of their spiritual desert into the present, toward the future, they reluctantly but necessarily choose, they will die-invisibly, anonymously, killed in the sun, in the same present that has summoned them out of their past and taunted them with their helplessness and inactivity (pp.152-153).

Kanafani, who also lived in exile, gives a clear picture of what he thinks about refugees and their situation, He believes that people cannot achieve anything on their own, but that they should combine together, that way becoming stronger and having a chance to survive (Neimneh, 2017, p.245).

You can therefore establish that Kanafani does not want the Palestinians to travel unnecessary journeys, but to stay and connect with Palestine. We might even connect the story with Hobbes. They deterred the power to others. Instead of calling for help, they remained silent, waiting for other people to act.

All these stories have one main goal and one connection, and that is to connect to the Palestinian people and to let the world know what is happening to them. Hanan Ashrawi (1978) wrote, "that it is symbol as well as a mean of resistance" (p.83). They all focus on similar elements like nostalgia for their homes, the conformation of the national identity and the search for society, searching for means and methods to restoring justice and agitating against the Zionists by facing them together.

Palestinian literature has shown us and the world the reality of the Palestinians and their lives after Al-Nakbah in 1948, and it has helped the Palestinians to preserve their identity. Sarah Graham-Brown says "The Palestinians.....have tenaciously preserved the memory of that past, which acts as a form of reinforcement in an unenviable present and a strong assertion of national and personal identity" (qtd. in Harlow, 1987, p.83).

The Palestinian resistance literature is important because through these writings, people will continue to remember and they will teach the coming generations about Palestine and what happened to it. It will add to the patriotism and nationalism in the hearts of their children.

## Chapter 5

### **The Palestinian People's Response to Literary Treaties Supporting Revolution and Resisting Injustice.**

The Palestinian people have always been very peaceful. They have never been at war or in a struggle, until the Jews started to come to Palestine, and the Zionist organization started to take over and make trouble. Anwar Rayan (2020), the director of the Directorate of Culture in Qalqiliya says, "if there was not an occupation, then there would not be any resistance". Not only the previous three writers had an impact on the Palestinian people, but many more. Through this chapter, we will mention some of them and how the people responded to their literature.

#### **5.1. The Beginning:**

The Jews had requested a homeland for a long time, but their dream did not start to come true until 1917 with the Balfour Declaration, which promised the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine during the British mandate. More and more Jews immigrated to Palestine, and the tension reached its maximum. In the 1920s, most of the protests were non-violent like formal statements, marches, and petitions. The armed struggle did not start until the Arab Revolt in 1936-1939,"combining both unarmed insurgency (strikes, mass demonstration, civil disobedience and boycott) and armed struggle, the peasants called for the end of Jewish immigration to Palestinian, the end of land transfers to Jews, and a democratic government (Abu-Manneh, 2014, pp.518-519).

It began non-violently with a strike that lasted 6 months, but by the end of the Arab Revolt in 1939, "several thousand Arab Palestinians were dead, plus several

hundred Jews and British soldiers. It was by far the most violent phase of the conflict up to the point" (Carpenter, 2017, p.11).

Noh Ibrahim wrote about this period. One of his most famous poems was turned into a song in the 1980s. This poem "From Acre Prison", talks about Muhammad Jamjoun, Atta Al-Zeer, and Fouad Hijazi, it still affects people to this day. They were executed for their part in the Buraq Uprising in 1929 as a statement to scare and discourage the Palestinians/Arabs from resisting. Noh Ibrahim was not only a poet but also a fighter who died in 1938 while defending his country. Noh Ibrahim, Ibrahim Tuqan, Abu Salma, and Abd Al-Rahim Mahmoud were some of the poets who laid the foundation and the basis of resistance poetry. With the unsettling conditions in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Ibrahim Tuqan, with the help of his poetry, made the people understand what was happening around them. At al-Najahs' commencement ceremony he "expressed confidence that the youth, the "hope of tomorrow", would join together for the sake of the nation (watan) and so safeguard the future" (Nassar, 2017).

The audience was so affected, that they started to repeat it to others. He also wrote "Red Tuesday", which also commemorates the three heroes mentioned earlier. Maha Nassar wrote, "Tuqan's poem placed the deaths of the three men within a larger narrative of anticolonial resistance, reassuring his audience that the death of the three men had not been in vain".

One person who listened to Tuqan and was inspired by him was Abd Al-Rahim Mahmoud. By the late 1930s, he was already famous for encouraging the fighters in the Arab Revolt and he himself was a fighter in the field. Abo Salma wrote differently. He wrote anonymously and distributed the poems to the rebels and their supporters. In

them, he denounced the ruling Arabs and glorified the Palestinian/Arab fighters for sacrificing their souls for the sake of their country and people. Maha Nassar (2017) believed,

"The poem's anonymity and circulation through leaflets conveyed an aura of universality: Naqqara later recalled (with a bit of rhetorical flourish) that during the revolt, Abo Salma's poem was uttered on "nearly every lip and tongue. This means of distribution reflects the oral and aural impact that followed the poems' initial textual appearance, allowing both literate and illiterate to take part. Abo Salma's poem also showed other aspiring poets how well-crafted verses that commented on major events of the day could achieve a measure of durability that press commentaries simply could not".

In other words, Abo Salma's poetry encouraged and promoted the continuation of the struggle against the British Mandate and the Zionist forces.

## **5.2. The 1940s and 1950s:**

This period was different from the earlier one. The intellectual life flourished in Palestine, especially in Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa, and Nazareth. Many people continued their studies in the Arab College in Jerusalem, and more printed material was broadcast through Palestine, as well as, radio stations. However, some believe that this period suffered from a setback when it comes to producing literature and poems. Abu Saleh and Assai (2016) remarked on this, "despite their strong determination to fight and maintain hopes, a great number of writers were frustration-stricken and, in consequence, disappeared from the scene while others even lost hope in everything" (p.44).

With the collapse of the Arab Revolt in 1939 and the backstabbing Arab leaders – who did not fulfill their promises – the Palestinian people continued to denounce the increasing Jewish immigration and the policies at that time, without any use. That did not stop the writers. They were now at the frontier of the war and revolution. Abu Saleh and Assadi (2016) continue by saying,

"They stood at the forefront of the battle. They also attended conferences where they delivered inflammable speeches and poems in addition to leading demonstrations and initiating strikes. As a result, they were prone to all kinds of harassment like imprisonment, house arrest, dismissal from jobs in governmental and non-governmental institutions and firms, and loss of all kinds of privileges" (p.45).

These pursuits did not deter the writers, on the contrary, they encouraged them to write even more, because they knew that what they were doing had an effect on both the people and the Zionist forces.

With the second World War going on in Europe, Hitler killing every Jew in the territory, and the Holocaust, more and more Jews ended up in Palestine. On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations, passed a Partition Plan to establish a Jewish state on the Palestinian land. The day after, on November 30, the war broke out. The Palestinians tried to defend their villages and towns, but they were very weak compared with the Zionist forces. However, that did not stop the Palestinians, and the fight continued. The Palestinians lost battle after battle, and the major cities like Haifa, Jaffa, and acre fell, whole villages were massacred and most of them demolished and eliminated from existence. On May 14, 1948, the Jews declared their independence

in the state of Israel. The Palestinian writers were now divided. One part stayed in Palestine and the second was now scattered in different Arab countries and the Western world. In this particular time, most Arab countries integrated politically to achieve their independence, while for the Palestinians it was the opposite. The 1948 war (Al-Nakba), split the Palestinians and dispersed them worldwide. But both parties continued to write about resistance and "to move the Palestinians to persist" (Boayrid, 2019, p.52). After that, the way of writing changed, instead of poetry, they started to write short stories and novels. Bashir Abu-Manneh (2014) wrote, "the emergent novels of Palestine were clearly products of a society in revolt against colonial conquest and expropriation, a society abandoned by a complicit local elite and by imperially allied surrounding Arab regimes, a society threatened by destruction" (p.518).

Jafra Ibrahim Jafra (1988), wrote about the Palestinian writers, "the leit-motifs of the new writers were: freedom, anxiety, protest, struggle, social progress, individual salvation, rebellion, heroism. There was to be a commitment to humanity: a 'Third World' was being born and writers were its prophets" (p.111).

One of the poets during this time was Samih Al-Qasim. He was one of the writers who stayed in Palestine, even though he was born in Zarqa, Jordan, where his father was stationed, he and his family moved back to Rama, where he lived until he died. The new Israeli State turned the Arab citizens into strangers in their own homes and country.

"In that dark period, Samih Al-Qasim's poetry was, to them, like a lifeboat to a drowning man,... His poetry was sharp and defiant, but full of intelligence and agility, and his poems transformed all those experiences

which for Palestinians evoked shame and humiliation into weapons of steadfastness and resistance" (Kassis, 2015, p.43).

One very famous song, which is made out of one of his poems, is his poem "Muntasib al-Qamati Amshi" (Upright I Walk), it has become something of an anthem. He was one of the writers who participated in the fight. "He urged Palestinian Arabs in Israel to resist and revolt not only in his writings but also in his everyday actions, participating in and leading mass demonstrations besides refusing to serve in the new state's army" (Kassis, 2015, p.45).

Al-Qasim continued to write until he died in 2014. Writers and poets of this time were braver than before and they accepted the challenges facing them.

The year 1956 was an important year. The Israeli forces carried out several massacres, the most notorious one is the Kafr Qasim massacre, where 48 Palestinian/Arab citizens were massacred by Israeli border patrols (Robinson, 2003, pp.-393-416). This sparked civil movements, as well as, armed. It also affected the minds of the Palestinians, as it gave them courage to oppose the military rule more freely. Although the Kafr Qasim massacre was and still is a horrible event, the Palestinians used this to show the world "the democracy" the Israeli forces were using with the Palestinian/Arabs. Many poets wrote about this sad incident and helped to restore the peace in people's hearts as best as they could, like Tawfiq Zayyad, David Semah, Samih Al-Qasim, and of course Mahmoud Darwish.

### 5.3. The 1960s – 1970s:

The 1960s and the 1970s witnessed major events (what year in Palestinian history did not), which had a huge impact on the people in their struggle against the occupation and in their literature. Dr. Hanan Ashrawi (1978) wrote,

"Living under the occupation of a regime which is socially, culturally, and politically alien and hostile to the native population has created a defense mechanism reaction among the Palestinians, who insist on preserving their identity at all costs. This adds fuel to the national folklore revival and that at the same time gives Palestinian literature a somewhat defensive and extreme colouring and weighs it heavily with the task of aggressively expressing and affirming this identity" (p.82).

This period might be considered one of the most significant when it comes to armed struggle. In 1964, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was established, with Ahmad Shuqeiri as its leader. In 1967 Al-Naksa happened, and the Israeli forces conquered even more of the Palestinian land, and more Palestinians became refugees. From 1968, beginning with the Battle of Karameh, to Black September, to the seizing of Israeli and Western airplanes, these were some of the major attacks the PLO and its branches committed. Between twenty to thirty attacks a day were launched in 1969-1970 (Sayigh, 2005).

However, this does not mean that the Israelis stood by and watched. During this period, they assassinated several of influential people who fought or spoke up against them, one of them being Ghassan Kanafani. Victoria Brittan says, "assassination aims at destroying resistance movements, thus sapping the will of a people to resist and forcing

them to accept the status quo" (qtd. in Hamdi, 2011, p.22). But when it comes to the Palestinians, it only strengthened their resolve. They knew that these people were assassinated because they were a threat against the occupation and the Zionist forces, and through their presence, they were hurting them, so they had to disappear. Kanafani believed that the Palestinians were, "far from being quiescent, passive victims, Palestinians in "occupied Palestine" were actively resisting Israeli policies and the Zionist ideology that underpinned them" (Nassar, 2017). She also referred to their poetry as being the "most brilliant aspect of the Palestinian's struggle" (Nassar, 2017). Kanafani connected the people worldwide. Mahmoud Boud (2020) said, "His revolutionary and daring philosophy which encourages the masses not to submit to their conditions and to enhance their abilities to seek a new and promising future" (p.2).

Returning to Kanafani, it is hard to select a specific poem, short story, or novel that has affected the people. Through his writing, he affected everyone around him and whoever read his work. Barbara Harlow (1987) described him as, "A commando who never fired a gun: his weapon was a ballpoint pen and his arena newspaper pages. And he hurt the enemy more than a column of commandos" (p.11).

Another writer who affected his readers, is Mahmoud Darwish. He, as Kanafani, wrote many books and poems that affected the Palestinian people and frustrated the Israeli forces. As we said earlier, anyone the Israeli forces perceived as a threat will be eliminated or imprisoned. Darwish was imprisoned several times, as well as, put under house arrest. In 1967, when his poem "A Lover from Palestine", was to be published,

"the Israeli censor board recognized it as a major source of resistance against authority. They crossed out the word 'Palestine' from the poem, and

instead replaced it with 'Eretz Israel'. However, Darwish replied to such an act of force by including an even stronger sense of nationalism in the poem; "I shall write a phrase more precious than honey or kisses / Palestine she was and still is" (Sengupta, p.3).

Darwish, like many of his generation, was politically involved. He is the one who wrote the Palestinian Declaration of Independence that Yasser Arafat read in Algeria in 1988 (Bullimore). Edward Said (1994) wrote about him saying, "he has a fiery and yet also strangely intimate style that is designed for the immediate response of a live audience" (p.114). In 1969, Darwish wrote, "Write Down, I'm an Arab".

"This poem... became the face of Palestinian revolution, being sung far and wide through many generations among the Arabs and the diaspora. The poem gave them a sense of resistance, a cause to stand up to the Israeli forces that were responsible for obliterating their history" (Sengupta, p.3).

He also believed in the strength of literature. He said,

"what do the people of a million refugees want from their literature...? What do the survivors and grandchildren of the martyrs from Dayr Yasin and Kafr Qasim want from their literature...? What about the people whose heroic brothers fought back darkness on the tops of the Aures Mountains [in Algeria], on the soil of Port Said, through the streets of Baghdad, in the untouched regions of Yemen and elsewhere – what do they want from their literature? Simply put, they want a literature that emanates from these wounds and from these victories, not just some cerebral mutterings scattered in the wind" (qtd. in Nassar, 2017).

He knew how to connect with people and how to get through to them."Mahmoud Darwish .... calls for a necessary turn to committed poetry, addressing the "simple" people and becoming an effective instrument of resistance analogous to the plough, grenade and chisel" (Ashrawi, 1978, p.87).

Darwish died in August 2008, in Houston, Texas, after complications from a heart surgery, and he was buried in Ramallah, Palestine.

#### **5.4. The 1980s – 1990s:**

During this time the massacres continued and the killings escalated. The final straw was in 1987, when four Palestinians were killed in a car crash by an Israeli truck driver. It turned out that it was not an accident but revenge from the Israelis (Tedla). People had grown tired of waiting for the world to interfere and for more un-useful political and diplomatic agreements. Carmit Valensi (2016) wrote, "The Palestinian street realised that the Israelis seemed incapable of controlling unarmed attacks by mobs that were only using slingshots, bottles and rocks" (p.236).

The Intifada started out non-violently for the first couple of years. Aden Tedla (2010) commented on this saying,

"to boycott Israeli-made products, resign from government and police positions, refrain from paying taxes to the Israeli government, stage merchants' strikes, and wage countless other forms of nonviolent disobedience. Many of the symbolic acts of resistance helped to build and rekindle both national and cultural pride, as Palestinian flags were raised during protest marches and traditional Palestinian theater and poetry were

performed in open-air spaces. Many protesters also adorned traditional Palestinian clothing to symbolize their resistance to Israeli domination" (p.6).

This was their way of fighting back and resist the occupation the best they could without any weapons. The Israeli forces started to arrest protesters and their leaders. Thousands of Palestinians were imprisoned. During 1988, the numbers escalated and it became hard to continue the non-violent struggle. The Intifada continued until 1993 when the Oslo Accords were signed. It actually ended long before that, but there was some scattered resistance that did not have any real impact.

Only a few poets and writers were mentioned here, but there are many more who wrote just as important pieces of literature to support the Palestinian people through their rough times. These writers did not just sit at home and tell people what to do, they participated in everything, and as we saw, they were imprisoned many times, put under house arrest, and even went into hiding for a time. The Palestinian people responded to their literary work. Dr. Yahya Jaber believes that the relationship between Palestinian literature and the people is one of reciprocation. It comes back to the social reality and cultural environment that they live in. When the dominant thought in society, creates and accepts literature, then it will affect them. The political status of the time also helped. People wanted to fight, and the resistance literature encouraged them. They fought back, and they kept the hope inside of them alive, that one day there would be victory, one day they would be able to return home, one day Palestine would be free.

However, times changed and so did its literature. Literature before Oslo was distinguished because it focused on national dimensions, unity, support, resistance, and

supporting the pillars of the Palestinian cause, like the right to return and the right of self-determination.

The preceding pages give a clear picture of this kind of literature. It was motivating, courageous, and full of vitality, resilience, and determination. It was completely committed to the cause and the liberation of Palestine. However, after the Oslo Accords things changed, the political circumstances as well as the social, all took a turn. That way, changing the course of literature. What was once so clear, had now become blurry. The literature that encouraged people to fight stopped being written and the new modern literature became melodramatic in showing the new harsh circumstances that the people were living in. People became depressed and had no will in carrying on the fight. We cannot blame it all on literature of course, but as we earlier saw, it had a great impact. So, that means that literature after the Oslo Accords also had some kind of impact on the people, although different. Here are some examples of what was written after the Accords, to show how much they differ from what was written earlier, as well as, to show how it stopped encouraging people to fight back and to regain what is rightfully theirs.

### **5.5. The Oslo Accords:**

What are the Oslo Accords? And what lead up to them? At the end of the 1970s, Yasser Arafat reached out to Norway, as to mediate between the PLO and Israel. However, Israel refused at that point to recognize the PLO as a negotiator of the Palestinian people. Arafat continued many times to reach out to Jews, who might help to bring peace, but without any luck. His lack of success continued into the eighties. "In 1985, Arafat signed the Amman Agreement with Jordan's King Hussein, giving Jordan

the power to negotiate with Israel on the Palestinian's behalf. Despite Arafat's willingness, Israel showed little interest" (Yaghi, p.2)

In 1987, the First Intifada broke out and in 1988, the violence escalated. Israel now faced denouncement from the whole world, because of how they dealt with the current situation. In 1988, Jordan backed out of its status as a deputy negotiator, and Arafat sent a letter through the Swedish government to the U.S administration. This was considered as "a step toward direct negotiation with Israel" (Yaghi, p.3), however, Israel, again refused. It also refused the PLO's right to represent the Palestinians at the Madrid Peace Conference in 1991. The Palestinian delegation, however, could not reach an agreement with the Israelis. At this time, Israel wanted the intifada to end, as well as, to weaken Hamas, who was carrying out several operations and bombings against the Israeli citizens. Now (1992-1993), they reached out to Norway to start negotiations with the PLO. They said that they had no choice but to negotiate.

Israel took advantage of the PLO's weakness, because they knew that Arafat wanted recognition from the United States so that the PLO could be recognized as a legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. He had also lost the support of the Arab countries and the world because he had supported Iraq during the Gulf war.

On September 13, 1993, the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government (aka The Oslo Accords). The most important issues that had been tried to be negotiated earlier, were not mentioned in the Accords, like the settlements, the Palestinian refugees, the borders of the state, Jerusalem, and so on. The Interim Oslo Accords were supposed to last for five years, to start negotiations on a permanent status, but no progress had been made in this regard. The major Palestinian cities in the West

Bank and Gaza were supposed to be turned over to the Palestinian Authorities (PA), starting with Jericho and Gaza.

In 1995 a second agreement was signed. It divided the West Bank into three Areas, A, B, and C. The PA has administrative and security control over Areas A and B when it comes to education, health, and other civil matters. Area C remains under full Israeli control. Especially since all the settlements are in this Area (Damen, 2013). Dr. Mustafa Barghouti said, "Oslo was the greatest idea Israel ever had. It let them continue the occupation without paying any of the costs" (qtd. in Dalloul, 2017).

Although the Accords are named after Norway's capital, they were signed in Washington D.C. on September 13, 1993. Rawan Damen (2013), the director of *The Price of Oslo*, believes that they were signed prior to that,

"For most people, the Oslo Accords will forever be symbolized by the grand public signing ceremony that took place on the lawn of the White House on September 13, 1993. Far fewer people, however, are aware of the fact that the Accords were actually signed several weeks earlier, on August 20, in a guest house in Oslo, or of the seven-hour long telephone conversation, on August 18, that was instrumental in bringing the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel to the point where they could be signed".

It was signed by current Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas and then Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. Because of this "peace process", Yasser Arafat, Shimon Peres, and Yitzhak Rabin were rewarded the Nobel Peace prize in 1994. Grace Wermenbol (2018) wrote regarding the Accords, summarizing it like this,

"The Oslo Accords, a series of interim agreements reached between 1993 and 1999, are the product of secret Israeli-Palestinian negotiations facilitated by Norway and recognized by the PLO and Israel. With the 1993 announcement of the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements (DOP), the Israeli government and PLO officials committed to a five-year timetable for instating limited Palestinian self-governance in parts of the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Although the Oslo Accords did provide partial self-rule for the Palestinian Authority in some areas of the West Bank and Gaza, the accords did not end the Israeli occupation. Neither did they halt Israeli settlement construction in the Palestinian state-to-be: the number of settlers has grown from about 250,000 in 1993 to 600,000 today".

Many people objected to the signing of the Accords, and that includes literary persons like Prof. Abdul Sattar Kasem (who predicted in 1979 that the PLO would recognize Israel), Samih Al-Qasim, Mahmoud Darwish and Edward Said. Mahmoud Darwish said,

"there was no clear link between the interim period and the final status, and no clear commitment to withdraw from the occupied territories. I felt Oslo would pave the way for escalations. I hoped I was wrong, I'm very sad that I was right" (qtd. in Shatz, 2001).

In an article Said wrote, called "The Morning After", he openly criticizes and rejects the Oslo Accords. He writes that they could have gotten a better deal earlier and without so many renunciations. In his opinion, Palestine surrendered, and with the end

of the Intifada, they ended the Palestinians right to resist. He highlights the important issues that were not mentioned in the Accords, like the settlements, the water resources, the refugees, and the economy. That handshake managed to make years of resistance and struggle to seem as nothing. Said says, "the famous handshake broadcast all over the world is supposed not only to symbolize a great moment of success but to blot out past as well as present realities" (1993, p.5). The article was written in October 1993, and in it, he foresaw what was going to happen. Now, 27 years later, everything he said, became true, and the questions he asked are still unanswered.

#### **5.6. The Literature after the Oslo Accords:**

The Palestinian literature post the Oslo Accords defers from what was written pre-Oslo. Step by step, writers stopped writing about fighting back and started to write about the bitter reality and criticizing the authority. It might not seem much different from what Samira Azzam or Ghassan Kanafani wrote, however, different times require different measures. While Azzam wrote about the fall of Acre, there were now no more cities left to fall. In 1997, Sahar Khalifah wrote *Al Mirath (The Inheritance)*. The story follows Zayna, who is born to an American mother and a Palestinian father. She decides to return to Palestine to connect with her roots and to look over her inheritance. It becomes a journey of self-discovery. But the novel has a deeper meaning. In it, Khalifah,

"describes the life of Palestinians in the West Bank post Oslo Accords after the return of the Palestinian forces to the Palestinian cities. The novelist considers Oslo Agreement a bastard child born to an Arab mother and an Israeli father, she believes that her novel follows the disappointment and the

admission of defeat, while the characters reveal the sterility of the Palestinian situation. She criticizes the Palestinian leadership without suggesting a solution." (Hasanain, 2013, p.140).

In an article, Mona Elnamoury (2016) describes the novel as,

"a world that keeps rewarding the characters' attempts at self fulfillment with either blockades or exiles...It is as if identity quest in this colonized situation is more or less an unjust activity to the characters: prohibited and invasive to others and so is doomed to failure. Khalifeh's narrative counteracts nationalism, patriotism, patriarchy as well as Israeli colonialism and the Western empire behind it" (p.12).

During this time, Israel started to issue visiting permits for Palestinians in exile, so that they could visit their families. One person who returned after 30 years is Mourid Barghouti. His book *I Saw Ramallah* (2003), is more of an autobiography than a novel. We get to experience what he sees and feels at his return home. The book is shown through Barghouti's perspective. In the introduction, Edward Said (2003) says, "there are a good deal of politics in Barghouti's book, but none of it is either abstract or ideologically driven: whatever comes up about politics arises from lived circumstances of Palestinian life" (p.9). Everyone is so caught up in politics that they forget the human and emotional side of the problem. Barghouti highlights the less familiar aspects of the Palestinian cause. The return to what Said described, "that there was once a Palestine and yet seeing that place with a new name, people, and identity that deny Palestine altogether. A 'return' to Palestine is therefore an unusual, not to say urgently fraught, occurrence" (2003, p.9). Barghouti discovers that although he returned to Ramallah, he

did not return in time. He talks about the Palestinians in general, not just himself. He believes that the Occupation "created generations ..... that have to adore an unknown beloved" (2003, p.54), and transformed "the children of Palestine to children of the idea of Palestine" (2003, p.54).

He returns to Palestine and Ramallah in 1996, post-Oslo agreements, however, he does not feel that there is peace. He rather feels the oppression. The last time he was there, everything was clear. Now everything is ambiguous and vague. However, one thing is very clear, and that is who is in charge – the Israeli soldiers. He stays away from politics in general and only tries to highlight his own feelings as an exile returning home.

During this period, even Mahmoud Darwish's poetry and writings changed.

"He kept the Palestinian consciousness in his poetry but the themes of this period changed unexpectedly. The soundscape of social and political issues was missing. He tried to avoid writing as a reaction to socio-political situations of Palestinians as he argued that this reactionary poetry would be a graveyard for the cause of Palestine" (Saini, 2018, p.24).

Moreover, he stopped writing about resistance, and started to concentrate on peace instead. He wrote about humanity and hope. Some believe that this meant that the ideas that they used to promote were not deeply rooted in them. That is why they parted away from these ideas.

The same thing goes for "Resistance Poet" Samih Al-Qasim. In the end "he wished for a peaceful future of Palestine where everyone will live peacefully and

respectfully with their social, political and religious rights" (Khan et al, 2020, p.822). Many believe that the Accords were a huge mistake and from that day the Palestinians lost more than they gained. The State of Israel acknowledged the PLO, but that is it. The Palestinians did not get their homes back nor their land, and they did not end the occupation. They were now living under a different type of suffering, and that is what these novels try to show.

"The overall message of those novels is the rejection of the peace accords in which in the Palestinian situation and struggle from freedom and liberation neither peace nor war have brought a solution, while on the contrary Oslo has increased the Palestinian suffering and that's the narrator's, the novelist's as well as the public's opinion about the whole peace process" (Hasanain, 2013, p.141).

With the signing of the Accords, the resistance waned. The writers did not feel the need to ignite the fire in the people, because the fire had been extinguished. It is not that they changed their minds, however, they felt that their dreams had been lost and hope was nowhere to be seen. They felt frustrated of what had become of Palestine, and that what they had fought for was now history. Some of these writers had been fighting since the forties and the fifties and the sixties and so on, and within one second everything was gone. The whole political and social atmosphere changed along with "structural and intellectual changes" (Yaqeen, 1999). Even those who supported the Accords in the beginning, now started to have second thoughts. Some writers like Mahmoud Darwish and Samih Al-Qasim, started to write more tranquil texts, while some stopped writing. Even though there still were some armed struggles, it was not

something continuous, rather it was some incidents every now and then. These writers and fighters saw their country being taken away before their eyes. We cannot expect them not to feel depressed and betrayed.

Some writers however did not change their themes or their way of writing like Yousef Al-Eleh, Prof. Abdel Sattar Kasem, Lama Khater, and Ala Al- Rimawi. They continued to write in what they truly believed in and still do.

### **5.7. The Difference Between Literature Before and After the Oslo Accords:**

In an interview with Dr. Yahya Jaber 2020, he talks about the difference between literature pre and post Oslo. He believes that literature does not have the same effect and strength, that it had pre-Oslo. These days people are sick of (what they believe are) empty words and they lost confidence. Resistance literature needs to keep in pace with the revolutionary movements, so as to have the biggest impact on its readers. However, when there is not a strong revolutionary movement that shares the same principles as the literature, then it will fall down in emptiness, without any result. He continues by saying, that the revolution and resistance should be an ascending action, and not something disconnected. Literature can help to achieve that, but the problems appear when the political opinion starts to diverge from the literary one. That is the reason why victory was not achieved.

On the other hand, Anwar Rayan concentrates on the current youth. They forget why there is resistance at all. He highlights that we should not just write poetry and novels, we have to teach it, because today's youth suffers from ignorance. They do not know anything about the Palestinian history. We should not stop writing, instead, we should work on spreading it, and to raise consciousness and realization about Palestine.

This is something literature managed to do in the past. Palestinian resistance literature helped to support the Palestinian cause by showing that it is nonviolent, that Palestinians are not terrorists, that the Palestinian issue is not between Palestinians and Jews, but between Palestinians (Muslims, Jews, and Christians) and the Zionists that are confiscating the Palestinians land. It also helped to raise and spread awareness around the world about the Palestinians and what is going on in its territories.

The Palestinian writer Yousef Al-Eleh considers that the previous writings were full of dreams and nationalism, while post-Oslo, they only reflect the frustration and depression that people feel and live in. They also realized that what they once dreamt of, turned out to be just dreams and illusions, nothing more. People have lost their nationalism and care more about artificial things. He reckons that it is because of political repression this all happens.

Dr. Mutawkeel Taha says something similar about the reason why literature differs before and after the Oslo Accords. He believes in "the national controller", meaning what controls what people say and write. Pre-Oslo, there was one common enemy to defeat and only one path to follow. After Oslo, there became three different paths, to three different people. The refugees wanted to return, so they concentrated on that. The Palestinians inside Israel wanted equal rights with the Jews, and the Palestinians in the occupied territories wanted their confiscated land back. Even though these paths existed before, they were fought with one voice. Now, each one has its own voice and it is not as strong as the unified one. People had different opinions about the Oslo Accords. Some supported it, while others didn't. This caused chaos in the Palestinian unity.

Dr. Yahya Jaber, and Anwar Rayan, both believe that only positive aspects come from literature. It is also believed that by preserving the collective memory and the history in the stories, people will not forget. Literature only becomes negative (if we can call it that) when the writers surrender to the colonial system and stop pushing for the truth.

### **5.8. Conclusions:**

This thesis set out to find an answer to the study problem on how can resistance literature be applied and can we benefit from it in our present time?

Palestine witnessed so many writers whose major concern was the Palestinian inalienable rights. They have played a major role in:

- 1- Elevating the awareness of the Palestinians in regard to their plight that has been made and persisted of the Zionists, the Western countries, and some Arab states.
- 2- Conveying to the world the Palestinian agonies and the injustices inflicted upon them by the forces of aggression that claim to be democratic and caring about human rights.
- 3- The Palestinians have a formidable amount of writings on the Palestinian cause, but in general. This literature is not rich enough to be classified as international literature. There were translations of some literary works, but that was not enough to transmit the Palestinian pain to the world. There are only two major writers who became known on the international level, Mahmoud Darwish, who was a poet, and Prof. Abdel Sattar Kasem, a political writer who participated strongly in pulling the Korean troops from Iraq and classified afterward as one of the best one hundred writers in the world.

- 4- These two writers and many others suffered from the Israeli repressive measures among which imprisonment or expulsion. Both of them drew international attention which helped ease these measures. But Prof. Kasem suffered from the repression of the PA, because of his relentless opposition to the Oslo Accords.
- 5- The Palestinian writings were so effective to the extent of posing a real challenge to the Israeli occupation, and that explains the harsh measures that they used to carry out against the writers.
- 6- Although, Palestinian writers had different approaches and interests, all adopted resistance of different ranks and insisted that the occupation does not end and the restoration of rights could not be realized without resistance.

As we saw, Kanafani is the one who connected Palestinian literature with resistance. Ghandi wrote in his book *Hind Swaraj* that resistance is,

"resistance is an all-sided sword, it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop of blood it produces far-reaching results. It never rusts and cannot be stolen .... The sword of passive resistance does not require a scabbard. It is strange indeed that you should consider such a weapon to be a weapon merely of the weak." (2010, p.72).

From the early twentieth century, poets and writers published, printed, or performed their poems and short stories. These stories affected the readers and listeners profoundly and gave them a sense of hope, as well as, lit the fire in their hearts to fight. Many of the early writers, did not stand on the sideline and watch, while others did the fighting. They fought side by side with the rebellions, freedom fighters, and fidayyen. I

believe that it encouraged the public more, because that showed that the writer really believed in what he was saying and writing, as well as, in the Palestinian cause.

As the years went by, the circumstances changed and so did the writings and its themes. They stopped writing about the fighting and started to write about peace, hope, humanity, and social conditions.

"Nowadays, politically speaking, it's the lowest point in many decades; the occupation is still there, the peace process furrowed, the founders of the Palestinian national movement and the most creative thinkers, poets and novelists, who dominated the literary and cultural scene in the last four decades, passed away" (Munawwer, 2018, p.48)

This does not mean that the new or modern writers are bad, just that they do not write as the older generation did, nor do they ignite the reader to fight. Instead, they raise sympathy in the hearts of the readers and are now raising new issues and questions.

Both generations want the people to feel rooted in their homeland, to establish a sense of nationalism in their hearts and they want them to remember. Although their writings and themes might differ, they have many things in common, like the love for Palestine and the longing for it to be free. The literary critic Tahseen Yaqeen (1999) wrote,

"the literary writings that made their appearance during the 1990s, especially since 1993 (the Oslo agreement) are works by young authors .... giving authenticity to their feelings, thoughts, and attitudes towards life, the

homeland, woman and other contemporary issues.... All are influenced by the impact upon society of the changing political climate, with its implications on public and private levels".

That is very close to what the pre-Oslo generation did. People who only read about the history of Palestine cannot be expected to feel like the people who lived through it, however, that does not mean that they feel or care less, only differently.

I believe that by combining the old generations writing with the new, something good can be accomplished. While the old writings are forceful, mightily, and passionate, which makes you want to fight and not forget what the Zionist forces and the Israeli State have done to the Palestinian people. The new generation makes you feel compassionate about the current social and political status that the Palestinians are now living. Both should be studied more and be given more consideration in the Palestinian schools and universities. That way educating the new youth first about its importance and so that they can really understand the difficulties their ancestors went through. After that they understand and realize its significance, they can start to educate the world and fight for what is rightfully theirs. Edward Said (2003) wrote,

“What is amazing to me is the persistence of the Palestinian story, and the many different turns it takes, and the fact that it isn't an organized story, because we are a stateless and exiled people. One has to keep telling the story in as many ways as possible, as insistently as possible, and in as compelling a way as possible, to keep attention to it, because there is always a fear it might just disappear.” (p.187).

That is what is most important, and that is something both generations manage to do. The problem is when politicians start to interfere with what is taught, that way they remove the human sense of it and replace it with their own agenda. However, these actions have serious repercussions because they brainwash the public and especially the young, to believe what they want. Many underestimate the power of literature. Simon Stowe says, "there is something "intuitively appealing" to the claim that reading novels can change the hearts and minds of readers and by doing so contribute to the development of a liberal and democratic society". Literature is supposed to have messages for the world, so that it can become a better place. Politicians cannot control what is already published, they can however control what is being written now and distributing it to the world. This way writers lose themselves because they have written what they were forced to write, not what they believe in, and the public is feed with lies that their government wants them to believe, so democracy is also lost. So it seems that in some cases it is up to the PA to let the Palestinian people choose what they want to read, so they can be educated about the Palestinian issue and its history. Because if we continue this way, future generations will not know anything about their homeland or what writers, fighters, their ancestors, and the people before them went through or what they did to preserve the Palestinian memory.

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## الملخص

كان للأدب الفلسطيني دور أساسي في التأكيد على الشعوب لمواجهة الانتهاك والتهجير والتمزق الذي أدى إلى تكوين وعي عام بالقضية الفلسطينية، وعلى أهمية العمل الجماعي لاستعادة حقوقهم. تتبنى هذه الدراسة المنهج الوصفي والتحليلي، وأسلوب تحليل المحتوى، حيث جمعت الباحثة المادة الأولية المتمثلة في بعض الشعر الذي أنتجه الكتاب الفلسطينيون، والقصص القصيرة والروايات والأدب، وقامت بدراسته وتحليله بمختلف محتوياته، وما يحتويه من صور فنية وأدبية إلى جانب بعض المصادر الثانوية التي تتحدث عن الأدب بشكل عام، والفلسطيني بشكل خاص.

تحاول هذه الدراسة إظهار أهمية الأدب في فلسطين في دعم قضيتها لكن وعلى مر السنين تغيرت المقاومة بسبب اختلاف الظروف السياسية والاجتماعية وكذلك تغيرت أدبياتها. قامت الباحثة بتحليل الأدبيات قبل اتفاقيات أوسلو وبعدها مع التركيز على غسان كنفاني، وسميرة عزام، وإميل حبيب في حقبة ما قبل أوسلو.

في البداية، كان لها صوت قوي حقا وساعدت على إشعال الثورات، ولكن في السنوات الأخيرة تذبذبت المقاومة وكذلك أدبها. الأدب المقاومة الفلسطينية لسه موجود ولكن المواضيع تغيرت مع تغير الظروف السياسية، فمعظم الكتاب لا يكتبون بضرورة كما كان من قبل، مما يؤدي إلى أن معظم القراء لا يشعرون بالقوموية كما كان من قبل.

ترى الباحثة أن الأدب المكتوب قبل أوسلو يجب أن يدرس أكثر في المدارس والجامعات حتى يعود الشعور بالاتحاد والقوموية.