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DIASPORA AND COUNTER DISCOURSE IN QUEST OF PALESTINIAN IDENTITY

***Rashad Mohammed Moqbel Al Areqi**

Department of English, Sana'a Community College, Sana'a, Yemen

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ABSTRACT

Diaspora and counter discourse become a mark of Palestinian Diasporas to express their sufferings and sacrifices for their country. This paper examines how Palestinian writers reveal diasporas and counter discourse in their literary works. Diaspora has detached them from their families and friends, from their people and place. Mourid Barghouthi's *I saw Ramallah* is one of autobiographical works but it brings to the memory of the reader many stories of diasporas that brought an end to the lives of many creative Palestinians who realized in their thought and writing a counter discourse to raise awareness of international community in general and Palestinians in particular about the fairness of Palestinians' issue. The paper found Diasporas a means of escape to initiate a new life of struggle; it is a quest for an identity in a world endeavors lastingly to reshape their identity. Diasporas struggle to give a voice for a voiceless nation and they think their Diaspora would bring to them safety and security while it would become a way to death. Sometimes Diasporas die strangers, attempting to give a voice for voiceless nation.

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INTRODUCTION

What does Diaspora mean for Palestinians? Is it a sort of escape from the troubled life in Palestine, from a country controlled by Jews, the colonizers, to find a refuge from such oppression and injustice? Do you think Diaspora could make Palestinians forget their homeland and initiate a new life away of occupied territories? How do Palestinian writers look at Diaspora and how such writers view their life's repercussion? Literature which bears an issue, reflects a real experience of a person or a people, this is the literature deserved to be analyzed and studied. Palestinian literature comes to express the dreams of a nation, suffering under the Israeli occupation; it appears to reflect exiled nation and his right of life in a land belongs to them. Diaspora and counter discourse are involved with Palestinians who have been suffering under Israeli occupation and their struggle to keep their identity where the colonizer attempts to impose his style of life and culture on all facets of life in Palestine. Exile in post colonialism reflects two senses: the first one is detachment from one's country to live the lives of strangers. It is physically detached from his homeland to move to another country. The second sense is detachment from one's own culture and beliefs. (Ashcroft and *et al.*, 2002, p.92) Exile is that imposed by the circumstances

of occupiers, which make Palestinians see exile is a mercy in a world does not recognize the sense of mercy. To remain in a country lacks the components of honorable life is a big problem and to find yourself exiled or dislocated is another beginning for a new journey of suffering in a new community that would not match with the dreams of diasporic people. As a result, Diasporas and counter discourse literature arise powerfully to express the reality of sufferings and sacrifices in the occupied land and in Diaspora. It comes to reflect the traumatic experiences of many generations living in occupied Palestine. Mourid Al Barghouthi has spot the light on his experience of Diaspora and exile, when he left Palestine to accomplish his study in Egypt and his dream to see his homeland, Ramallah, the place he was born in. Ashcroft and *et al.* (2002) pointed out that Diaspora is taken from" the Greek meaning 'to disperse'. Diasporas, the voluntary or forcible movement of peoples from their homelands into new regions, it is a central historical fact of colonization" (p.68-69). Looking to colonialism, it turns out that colonialism is a diasporic movement that endeavors to spread their settlements over the world for imperialistic expansion. The first connection of 'Diaspora' word was with the Jews who were scattered in the different parts of the world. Then they found in Belfour Declaration to give the Jews Palestine as a country for Jews a golden opportunity to establish their country at the expense of Palestinian people, giving something does not belong to Britain to a nation does not have rightness in

*Corresponding author: **Rashad Mohammed Moqbel Al Areqi**
Department of English, Sana'a Community College, Sana'a, Yemen

Palestinian land. The irony here the diasporic people came back to Palestine to create their country and send Palestinians to be scattered in many countries in the world. However, some of Palestinians become exiled and diasporic in their country when they have been detached from their homes in Palestine to move to other regions in Palestine, away of their homes and interests in their small communities. Counter-discourse is one of the means of Diasporas to defend their existence and make their voice hearable. This counter discourse's aim "thus also raises the issue of subversion of canonical texts and their inevitable reinscription in this process of subversion" (Ashcroft *et al.*, 2002), colonial and post-colonial mechanisms proved its failure to entirely controlled the fate of people. It is confronted by resistance in its different forms: cultural, political, social, economic and military. The first one who addressed the issue of resistance literature in his writings was Ghassan Kanafani in his study *literature of Resistance in Occupied Palestine: 1948-1966*. Kanafani argued, "This literature, remained unknown to us throughout the years of exile, although it is brighter side in the struggle of helpless people" Kanafani's works are translated to many languages and his creativity moves his reputation to global appeal. Homi Bahbha (1993) pointed out how the exiled people caught between two cultures that make them torn between two completely different identities. This is what Bahbha called it 'unhomeliness', the exiled one could not feel that stability he searches for in such collective identity. Dislocation is defined by Ashcroft (2002) and at al as "the phenomenon may be a result of transportation from one country to another by slavery or imprisonment, by invasion or settlement, a consequence of willing or unwilling movement from a known or an unknown location" (73).

Palestinian Diaspora: Causes and Consequences

1948 was the beginning of *Ghurba* (Diaspora and exile); the irony is that the circumstances that end the Jews Diaspora are the same circumstances that have created Palestinian tragedy and misery that drifted large number of Palestinians into Diaspora. It was a birth for Israel and *Nakba* for Palestinians who find themselves helpless and dislocated. Palestinian Diaspora is categorized into Palestinian Diaspora in Israel, in west bank and Gaza, Palestinian Diaspora existing in western countries, and Palestinian Diaspora in neighboring Arab countries. Palestinians became refugees even in their countries after 1948 and there are many reasons for emigration from Palestine, for instance, Arab revolt from (1936-1939), then the war of 1947 to 1948 which resulting in creating the state of Israel and caused setback (*Nakba*) to Palestinians. Another reason is economic depression from 1950 to 1960. The six days war 1967 gave an excellent opportunity to Israel to expand to occupy the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza, driving Palestinian residents to leave their homelands to flee to Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon and Syria. The first and second intifada in (1987-2000) pushes many Palestinians to escape to western countries as refugees or asylum seekers. The last strong event was the Gulf war of 1991 that led a large number of Palestinians to leave Kuwait under the pretext of supporting the late Saddam Hussein's troops to occupy Kuwait. They have lost their personal documents and their savings and some of them favor to initiate a new life in other countries, whether in the same area or in European countries. Voluntary and involuntary migration, most of events of dislocation are

outside of the individual's control. The causes are not only political, but also economical, social, and religious oppression. Zionism has been working on eradicating any mark of Palestinian territories occupied in 1948. It has changed the marks of the Palestinian village and demolished their cultural, social and religious manifestations in those areas. Pappé (2006) pointed out that "for many Zionists, Palestine was not even an occupied land... the native Palestinians who lived there were largely invisible to them". Jews migration into Palestine changed the demographic within Palestine and 1948 represented *Nakba* to Palestinians and offered an excellent opportunity for Israel to establish its state and expand at the expense of Palestinian land. Ilan Pappé (2006) put it very clear that "Zionist movement started ethnic cleansing in Palestine in early December 1947"

Jewish immigration resulted in Palestinian Diaspora in exile, and Palestinian initiated in establishing resistance movement in 1960 to reconstruct Palestinian identity, which suffered distortion and Diaspora after 1948. Palestinian Diaspora realized well in host countries the value of being integrated and unified to stand against the host countries policies against them and they could not integrate completely with the people of the host countries who look at them as strangers came to compete with them for living and business. Their feeling has deepened the Palestinian Diaspora to work together in preserving their national identity, being undesirable Diaspora in those host countries. Palestinian land as it received Jews Diasporas from over the world in the aftermath of 1948, Jews Diaspora have built their country on the remains of the Palestinian demolished houses and burned land. It is not easy to recognize the exact number of Palestinian living in Europe and American or other host countries, whether Arab countries or western countries. The second generation may not recognize much about the first migration to such countries because they grow up as citizens in those countries after their fathers managed to obtain citizenship of the host countries. Edward said (1993) argued that is not only a senseless loss of years for someone who has left his family and friends, but also an insecure life with a nebulous identity on which a human being always seen to be travelling in the opposite direction to the milieu in which he has been transposed. He can neither find real succor in dwelling on his past, nor taken refuge in his present, not look forward to a better, brighter future.

Homeliness, Homesickness and National Identity

After 1967, Palestinian refugees remained in diasporic refugees' camps in the neighboring countries such Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, living with bitter nostalgia and anticipate a fate they have no idea about. Palestinians find themselves under the influence of the host countries culture as a dominant culture of the majority. They find themselves unable to integrate completely with the host countries people. Palestinian Diaspora are dispersed across the world, it is not the matter of Arab neighboring countries that Palestinians would meet with them in common culture, language and religious rituals, but the problem is their living in western countries that may not meet in culture or language or religious rituals. They require preserving their identity and their sons' identity in a world could not care about the speciality of Palestinians people. They would not pay more attention to their language or culture or even their religious rituals. The

western countries have opened the door for Palestinians as refugees or as business men or as political asylum seekers to make them scattered and dispersed in many parts of the world to make it hard for them to form a big number that preserve their identity and culture. However, they facilitate their assimilation and integration to be insignificant number among the huge masses of the host countries people. After 1948 and 1967, Palestinians are categorized into three groups of Diaspora: the first the people who dislocated after the war to be send into other regions of Palestine, far away of their homes, friends and land to be driven into the West Bank and Gaza as the only available place they may settle. Some of Palestinians have been sent to the jails to be strangers even to their homes families and friends. The second group is those who could not resist the severe conditions of life inside the refugees camps and move to other Arab Countries, whether the neighboring countries or the Gulf countries as Kuwait and United Arab of Emirates. The third group tended the western countries and dispersed in many European countries as Britain, USA, Germany, Canada, Sweden, Australia, Spain, France...etc. they became in very sever conditions, dreaming of return back to their home but most of them may die without seeing his home and his big family.

Lack of identity is well expressed by Mourid Barghouthi (1997) in his novel, *I saw Ramallah*, "occupation (Israeli occupation) leaves the Palestinian villages as it is and turn the cities to villages...we don't cry over the village griller but on the city library ...we don't want to return the past back but we want to return back the future and push tomorrow to what after tomorrow" (96). However, Edward Said (1992) discussed the fate of Palestinian identity under the Israeli occupation " Each Palestinian community must struggle to maintain its identity on at least two levels: first, as Palestinian with regard to the historical encounter with Zionism and the precipitous loss of a homeland; second, as Palestinian in existential setting of day-to-day life, responding to the pressure in the state of residence" (121). Palestinians have attempted to preserve the historical and cultural identity after their migration, however, the place and the people are completely different and create a sever challenge for them, their bodies in the host countries or in the refugees camps but their souls still remain in the lost country. Mahmoud Darwish (a Palestinian poet) pointed out in one of his poems the phenomenon of dispersal and Palestinian lost identity "I'm from there. I'm from here. I'm not there and I'm not here. I have two names, which meet and part, and I have two languages, I forget which of them I dream in".

The Palestinian diasporas are lost and they could not integrate with the people of the host countries and as the same time they cannot practice their ordinary lives routines and rituals. If they act as the people of the host countries in their culture and conventions, they may lose the remains of their identity and culture, they sometimes act as the host countries people to avoid questions about their national issues and they have detached themselves from discrimination and racism practiced by the host countries people against them. 1948 became the crossroads in the lives of Palestinians people. Israel demolish the villages, the cities and disperse the Palestinians, attempting continually to eradicate any marks for Palestinians in the occupied lands and even worked to change the name of villages to erase any existence for Palestinian identity as an Arab country or Islamic country, which encompass the third

important mosque, Al Aqsa Mosque, after the two Holy Mosques in Mecca and Al Madinah. It also worked to silence any voice calls for Palestinian freedom whether from inside Palestine or outside Palestine, whether Palestinians or from other Arab or foreign nationalities who may show their sympathy with the Palestinian issue and see in this issue a fair issue deserved to be written about and struggled for it. They have murdered most of the voices, which express or call for national entity or national identity for Palestinians. In 1972, Ghassan Kanafani was murdered by the hands of investigative apparatus of Israel, the hitting power that ended the lives of many Palestinians inside Palestine or outside. He was smart journalist and a creative novelist who has dedicated his efforts to write about resistance literature and other articles about the situation in Palestine, and to awaken the people of the world in general and the people of Palestine in particular about the honorable life for Palestinians in their land upon the dust of their country. Kanafani was murdered at his prime youth, at the age of 36 when Israel bombed his car in Beirut. His living away of Palestine would not make Israel to ignore him.

In London 1987, Palestinian caricaturist, Naji Al Ali, was murdered because he has painted caricatures that portray the pains and hopes of Palestinians. He recognizes well that any one will write for Palestine or paint for Palestine, he will be dead. He himself wrote "the one who writes for Palestine or paint for Palestine, he requires to recognize that he is dead" he recognized his fate before the Israeli bullet penetrates into his body. The Israeli occupiers have not only ended the lives of creative Palestinian artists, but also they have ended their creative hands that have written masterpieces in literature and art. Those works have occupied the top list of Palestinian works of resistance and Israel have confronted Palestinian counter discourse with killing to silence and voice for Palestinians whether inside or outside of Palestine. Palestinian history is distorted if not completely eradicated by the hands of the Jews to build another sort of history to demolish the Palestinian identity. Palestinian struggle to preserve their identity is a sort of resistance and the word *Nakba* and intifada become prevailing in the political and social areas of Palestinians or non- Palestinians, however, the same two Arabic words are added to some foreign dictionaries after *Nakba* of 1948.

Civil war in the region forced Palestinians to search a new refuge in other countries away of conflicting countries, the Palestinian identity is scattered in the host countries under different names such as strangers, expatriates, refugees, political asylums seekers and stateless people. However, they still yearning to their homes and work on preserving their customs and tradition in their small family and community. No one could deny the influence of social milieu on the lives of a large number of Palestinians who found themselves assimilated and integrated into the host community people. The impact of exile and Diaspora on national identity of Palestinians is different from a country to another. Some Palestinians are assimilated or dissolved into the host countries' cultures as an escape from the word of stateless people or strangers. They want to protect themselves from that suspicious look of the host country people and to avoid useless and helpless argument with the people of host country, which may not change the reality of their lives in such countries. Safran (1991) also ascertained that "diasporists shaped by

globalizing discourse describe genuine erosions of the line between a bounded place and a people, diagnose it as irresistible, and quickly affirm its contribution to a pluralistic, multicultural, hybrid world of which they approve" (11). It is not easy to recognize precise figures for Palestinians because many of them obtain Jordanian, Lebanese, and Syrians nationalities. The Israeli invasion in June 1982 and the subsequent massacres in the camps Sabra and Shatila drive many refugees in Lebanon to reconsider their residency in the regions of conflict to think about leaving the neighboring countries to Europe as an escape from war and conflicts in Arab world. Safran (1991) pointed out that "Tragically, for Palestinians their 'great calamity', *Nakba*, was indeed by the return of the Jews to Palestine and their formation the state of Israel" (39).

Mourid Barghouthi's *I saw Ramallah*

It is not only an autobiographical literary work; it is a narrative of a nation living under oppression and occupation. It is about an experience of exile but it spots the light on the sever conditions of Palestine and its creative people. Al Barghouthi has offered an insight into the situation of Palestinians inside and outside of Palestine. Edward Said wrote a foreword for this literary work, putting it as "one of the first existential account of Palestinian displacement that we now have". He also ascertained "every Palestinian finds himself in very weird situation, he realized that Palestine was existing one day, but he sees and it has taken a new name, a new people, and a new identity, denying Palestine completely then to come back to home in such situation, something is not normal, if not full of misery and grief" (iii). From such words, the miserable fact could be realized and the sufferings of Palestinians whether inside or outside of Palestine are unbearable. Mourid Barghouthi was one of those who displaced and enforced to be exiled and displaced. He has written this autobiographical work, not to narrate his own story with the Israeli occupation but to narrate very long story of misery and suffering for all Palestinians who dream of returning to their country to their motherland. It is not easy to narrate a story of a nation you are just a member of this nation, it is the story of many generations who are displaced from their land and forced to be in very strange place, which would not match with their culture and conventions.

The novel is written by very smart writer who bears his country in his heart, and this novel, its forward is written with one of the literature giants whose root refer back to Palestine. It is also translated into English by Ahdaf Suwaif, who recognizes well the sense of literature, the sense of being away of your home and she recognizes well that to come back to your occupied home by Israel would not be possible mission. It is a sort of struggle and sacrifice, it requires patience and determination. The Oslo accord has given a little hope for some exiled to come back under sever conditions. Their visit to their home as the visit of a stranger who is led by the occupying power, which would not grant him an open opportunity to see the whole parts of his country as what happened with Mourid Barghouthi whose visit, was limited to his place of birth and he was prevented from visiting Jerusalem and other Palestinian areas. It comes *I saw Ramallah* to narrate this visit to Ramallah as a dream, by the end it comes true, but not the whole parts of his dream come

true but a part of it, it is the writer's visit to only Ramallah while his dream to see the whole parts of his country is missing. He could not see Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine, the title of this literary work pulls you back to his dream to see Palestine, then he informs you that 'I saw only Ramallah', the birth place of the writer. It is an answer for an expected question: what do you see? The answer comes 'I saw only Ramallah, not all parts of Palestine'. The connotation is also indicates that after those long years of exile and Diaspora, I saw Ramallah, it was a dream but now it is a reality before Mourid's eyes. The story begins to narrates the first moves that may push you to the Palestinian territories, it is that bridge that wood-made bridge which is called by different names according to the Palestinians projection to this bridge. It is very hot on the bridge. A drop of sweat slides from my forehead down to the frame of my spectacles, then the lens. A mist envelops what I see, what I expect, what I remember. The view here shimmers with scenes that span a lifetime; a lifetime spent trying to get here. Here I am, crossing the Jordan River. I hear the creak of the wood under my feet. On my left shoulder a small bag. I walk westward in a normal manner—or rather, a manner that appears normal. Behind me the world, ahead of me my world. (7)

The bridge was the last thing he left when he went to Cairo to accomplish his university study, and now it is the first thing he has to pass to move him to his motherland. The feelings of displacement is very hard for Al Barghouthi and other Palestinians "Displacement is like death. One thinks it happens only to other people. From the summer of '67 I became that displaced stranger whom I had always thought was someone else". (7) Anyone who left his country for many decades, definitely he would not expect to see the place or the city as it was. The change is very huge and Al Barghouthi feels after that long period of displacement and Diaspora as a stranger in his motherland. He found everything is not in its place and the environment is changed by the hands of the occupying power to eradicate any mark for Palestine whether in the village or in the city. The cities and even the villages have given weird names that give marks to the Israeli existence while these names do not show the Palestinian roots in such areas. It was like a dream to come back to see your place, people, and you find the place is not the place and the people are not the people. "The surprise was that after these long years it had become a river without water. Almost without water. Nature had colluded with Israel in stealing its water. It used to have a voice, now it was a silent river, a river like a parking car in a garage" (9). Al Barghouthi could not imagine what he has prevented him from passing to his country just a very small bridge made by the hands of human beings "how such dark small wood piece managed to distance a nation as a whole from its dreams" (15).

This bridge is given many names by Palestinians or Jordanians who recognize well what it means to be on this bridge, passing to Palestine which becomes in the eyes of exiled and displaced Palestinians as 'paradise lost'. They bear it in their memory for decades, sometimes they would not be able to come back because of the barriers and obstacles made by Israel. Al Barghouthi indicates in this novel the different names of this bridge, sometimes they call this bridge "Return Bridge" and Jordanians favor to call it "The King Bridge", the bus drivers call it "Allenby Bridge", the first generation calls it simply "a

bridge" and Palestinians authority call it 'Honor Bridge'. These names clarify the sense of this bridge in the heads and hearts of the people of the areas surrounded this bridge, whether from Jordanians side or Palestinians. Al Barghouthi's memories are stimulated by the sight of the Israeli soldier, carrying his gun, that gun symbolizes Israeli oppression and domination. The gun of the enemy which represents " my personal history, it is the date of my *Ghurba* (Diaspora), his gun took from us the land of the poem and left for us the poem of the land, in his hands he holds the earth, and in our hands we hold a mirage" (19). Al Barghouthi recognizes well what Palestinians own only dreams and hopes in their heads but on the ground, the situation is completely different. They are controlled by the occupying power, which determines their movement and settlement. "Again and again, the poet confronts the harsh reality: 'the other still the master of the place'".

Palestinian Diaspora and Counter Discourse in *I saw Ramallah*

The mass Palestinian deportation from the territories occupied by Israel and other Palestinians who find themselves exiled even inside Palestine or forced to be exiled inside Palestinian and they are pushed to Gaza Strip and West Bank. They have lost their homes and their interests in their small territories to be forced to initiate new lives in new circumstances, even in their country. How does Al Bargouthi portray Palestinian Diaspora in this narrative? It is not only the misery of a generation but a misery of many generations who may not recognize about Palestine just a name that may not be easily for the new generation to imagine the situation in Palestine because he was born in different country and sometime with different identity. Al Barghouthi points out that "the occupation has created generations of us that have to adore unknown beloved: distant, difficult, surrounded by guards, by walls, by nuclear missiles, by sheer terror. The long occupation has succeeded in changing us from children of Palestine to children of the idea of Palestine" (17). When the writer addresses Israel: the idea and Israel the place, the occupying power that has established its country on Palestinian territories continues expanding at the expense of Palestinian territories. The writer believes that the Israeli settlements "are the Palestinian Diaspora itself". This narrative is not only autobiographical work involves with Al Bargouthi, but it addresses many stories of Diaspora who died strangers in different parts of the world, particularly those giants names in the political and literary history of modern Palestine.

Palestinian narrative would not detach itself from politics because Palestinian lives are a part of this political life and to be absent of this arena means to be absent of the Palestinian life. How could they write their narrative away of politics, that politics which has changed the map of their land, but the map of their lives? It sent them to be exiled and scattered in different parts of the world. The writer could not ignore the massacres committed by Israeli troops in Tel Azater and other Israeli massacres in side Palestine or outside Palestine. The narrative pulls the reader's attention to the death of Naji Al Ali, Palestinian caricaturist, who was murdered by Israel, attempting to silence any Palestinian voice inside or outside Palestine. He was murdered in London on 22 of July, 1987, and the Israeli power could not only exile the Palestinians to live the lives of strangers but also they work on killing the

creative people of Palestine for no reason except their writing and painting for Palestine. Naji recognized well that one day the hands of occupation will hunt him any time and for this reason he was ready to meet his fate, defending about his country and nation by the power of caricature and the power of writing. Al Barghouthi has narrated to the reader how he met Naji for the first time in Kuwait 1970, he was working in political journal and Al Barghouthi worked as a teacher in an industrial college and started publishing the first collection of his poems. Al Bargouthi addresses Naji Al Ali "I hope they (Jews) will let you alive to let your children get bigger and you can leave them alone in this world" (202).

It is not only Naji Al Ali who was addressed in this narrative but also Ghassan Kanafani who was murdered in Beirut by get his car bombed. Ghassan Kanafani was the founder of resistance literature, but let us call it the 'strangers' literature' which is written for their countries and their people where they are strangers and away of their home. Their writing is mingled with homesickness and pains of Diaspora. Two giants of Palestine were murdered because they love their country and write counter discourse to defend their identity and their nation. In London where the condolence has been held, the people who received the condolers in Al Ali funeral are the son of martyr Naji Al Ali (Khalid) and the son of martyr Khassan Kanafani (Fayez) and the son of Martyr, Wadee Haddad (Hani). It is not the matter of one generation of Diaspora as much as it is the problem of many young generations of Diaspora who could not adapt themselves with such new circumstances of life.

It was not only Al Barghouthi dislocated, but also his brother, Munif, who forced to look for living outside of Palestine to be prevented later to come back to Palestine. Many times, Israeli authorities have refused to get him a permit to pass the bridge to Palestine. He died in France and his dead body could not get a permit to bury in Palestine, to be buried in the remote parts of Amman, "it was not his death that prevented him from returning back to Palestine, but it was his preventing from entering Palestine that caused his death" (44). Deir Ghassana is the birthplace of Al Barghouthi, which he has specified a section for it in the narrative to describe the childhood memories of such simple and small place, he used to hear there from his childhood days the words of 'emigrants' and 'refugees', which become very familiar words to him later. He remembers that he was born before four years of the birth of Israel. Here there is a signal that how Israel claim its right in this place where he was born there before the coming of Israelis. The narrative addresses one of the students in Deir Ghassana School in the days of intifada (uprising), who was killed by the bullets of the Jews who wanted to silence the students' intifada.

This narrative narrates a long history of struggle under the occupying power for many social segments of Palestinians whether inside Palestine or outside: politicians, writers, painters, students...etc. they set a good example of resistance and defense of their identity and their country. In the narrative, one of the Palestinians, Luay, who was led by his fate to Hungary to initiate a new life away of conflicting territories, particularly during the civil war in Lebanon and he realized the refugees camps in Lebanon were no longer safe. He took adventure to travel to Hungary and got married one of the

Hungarian girls, as soon as she heard his travelling to join his brother in USA, she killed him and threw his dead body in an abandoned well. The narrative points out that "Lauay in his dark well could not look to this comfort to tell that happiness lies, safety lies, handsomeness lies, love lies and the air surrounded any Palestinian is a threatening air" (201). Life as exiled and Diaspora do not grant exiled Palestinians safety and security. It is not easy for Palestinians to integrate themselves with the new host country people and they have no option except to be hybrid or to adopt the host country identity. They spend their lives struggling to preserve their identity and their culture to teach their children how to remember their country if the children one day think to return to their home. Lauay attempts to run away of death from south of Lebanon to find it in Hungary.

The political resolutions and peace accords are addressed in different parts of the narrative such as Oslo accords between Palestine and Jews, and Camp David accord between Israel and Egypt because such political accords may change Palestinians' fate. For this reason, Palestinian narrative is immersed in politics that is not easy to be avoided. Politics has made a country for stateless people such as the Jews who occupy Palestine according to Belfour declaration, by which the Jews have been granted a land to establish their country on and simultaneously it has made Palestinians stateless. Politics has made Diaspora come back to a home that was not belong to them, Jews, and it sent the citizens and inhabitants who are the owners of the place, to be Diaspora scattered in different parts of the world, Palestinians. For these reasons, Palestinian writers address politics in their writing because politics made many lost generations or homed generations, it may make wars or it may make peace. Most of Palestinian literary writings, if not all, address Palestinian identity and their dreams to embrace the land of Palestine and politics becomes the piece of the 'king' in chessboard game that controls the end of the game.

How does Al Barghouthi probe into the sense of *Ghurba*, Diaspora in his narrative? Who is the stranger in Al Barghouth's point of view? He pointed out the stranger and the circumstances he lives in abroad and how he looks at the host people country and how they look at him. The stranger is the person who renews his Residence Permit. He fills out forms and buys the stamps for them. He has to constantly come up with evidence and proofs. He is the one who is always asked: "And where are you from, brother?" Or he is asked: "Are summers hot in your country?" He does not care for the details that concern the people of the country where he finds himself or for their 'domestic' policy. But he is the first to feel its consequences. He may not rejoice in what makes them happy but he is always afraid when they are afraid. He is always the 'infiltrating element' in demonstrations, even if he never left his house that day. He is the one whose relationship with places is distorted, he gets attached to them and repulsed by them at the same time. He is the one who cannot tell his story in a continuous narrative and lives hours in every moment. Every moment for him has its passing immortality. His memory resists ordering. He lives essentially in that hidden, silent spot within himself. He is careful of his mystery and dislikes those who probe into it. He lives the details of another life that does not interest those around him, and when he speaks he screens those details rather than declare them. He

loves the ringing of the telephone, yet fears it. The stranger is told by kind people: "You are in your second home here and among your kin." He is despised for being a stranger, or sympathized with for being a stranger. The second is harder to bear than the first. (p. 7) The Diasporas seem from the first sight as a part of the community the live in, but genuinely they live their own world, whatever they appear integrated with the host country but their pains and hopes definitely do not indicate that they are a part of the community. They live in this community and every day they have to offer many answers for many questions about their home, identity and conflict in their countries. Simultaneously, if they come to their motherland, they feel another sort of Diaspora (*Ghurba*), everything in their countries changed by the hands of the occupying power, "But I do know that the stranger can never go back to what he was. Even if he returns, it is over. A person gets 'displacement' as he gets asthma, and there is no cure for either" (8).

Conclusion

I Saw Ramallah is a narrative that depicts the exiled Palestinians who are torn between two identities and two cultures and they could not integrate completely with one of these cultures. The Palestinian's living exiled for a long time manifests him as a stranger in the host country and a stranger in his motherland country. This is if he is lucky to come back to his country and he is not on the list of prevented from returning to his motherland country for political reasons. Simultaneously, the Palestinian feels dispersed in the host country because he is still bear in his heart the pains and burdens of his motherland country. He is still struggling to preserve his identity. He lives as a stranger detached from his people and place and dies a stranger away of his family and friends. He spend his life expecting the worse for himself and for his children, this sort of exciting about the future of his children who may grow up and they have nothing except their country's name and the name of occupation. The second generation of Palestinians would not realize the miserable life of their future.

This article points out the Palestinian elite such as politicians, writers, famous painters are forced to be dislocated and exiled and they thought their Diaspora may bring to them honorable life away of insecurity, but most of creative Palestinians who write for Palestine and paint for Palestine are murdered by the hands of occupying power which want to silence and voice for stateless people such as Naji Al Ali and Ghassan Kanafani, for no reason except their love for their country. Writing about it and they wanted to write and let their words reach to the world to narrate the story of a nation oppressed by dominating power. Palestinians are in quest of their legal rights and their native identity. They want to redress the balance of justice which is always hard to be redressed. *I saw Ramallah* tells us a long history of Palestine struggle, whether inside or outside Palestine in quest of their identity and their home which are distorted by the occupying power. They attempt to resist the eradication of their history in globalizing world, which pay no attention to the specifications of Palestinians in the host countries, and occupying power intends deliberately to demolish any mark for Palestinians inside or outside Palestine. It is a sort of rewriting the history of the area in general and the history of Palestine in particular to serve Israel's own interests as a dominating power. The occupying power gives

itself the right as a victor to rewrite the history of Palestine, which definitely would not serve the historical facts of Palestinians as much as it serves the occupying power interests.

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