

## The Struggle for Time and the Power of Temporariness: Jews and Palestinians in the Labyrinth of History

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In his novel "Men in the Sun",<sup>1</sup> Ghassan Kanafani describes an historical phase in the cruel reality facing Palestinians after the 1948 Nakba (catastrophe). In doing so he stresses their tragic helplessness in the presence of the impasse. Numerous interpretations have been attached to the story in the scholarly literature, especially to its tragic end – the deaths of three Palestinians, each representing a different generation and each hoping to achieve, by some route, their journey's objective: reaching one of the Arab oil sheikdoms in order to find the work that will save them from the wretchedness that had come to characterize the Palestinian people. "Men in the Sun" was and remains a cornerstone in the construction of Palestinian identity following the 1948 Nakba and the 1967 defeat.

Despite the extensive study of the story's meanings, insufficient attention has been given to its contribution to the characterization of Palestinian time or the Palestinians' dream of launching a cosmological transformation of their social reality and relationship with history. Kanafani's story reflects an intense temporal awareness that refuses to reconcile itself to reality; instead, it attempts to manipulate time and break through the blocked temporal framework imposed in the wake of the Nakba. For instance, Abu Khizran, the book's hero, is likened to the Palestinian people: He – like it – loses his potency, the main symbol of his manhood and humanity after the Nakba. The manner in which he brings about the deaths of the other two characters represents his inability to act as a "normal" historical subject in the current reality. His historical impotence leads him and his comrades to a dead end, to a future infused with death. We therefore see in Kanafani's story the initial signs of Palestinian awareness of the price exacted by their exclusion from open modern time and from their dispatch to an alternative temporal order, lacking any sense of the future, one that banishes them from their homes, country and control of their own time.

"Men in the Sun" not only symbolizes the expulsion of Palestinians from evolving, open time or their abandonment to death's mercy; it also represents a resounding plea for the return of their control over time and for the transformation of that control into a stimulus for renewing the self-construction of Palestinian identity. Both are seen as preliminary conditions for return to the homes from which the Palestinians were cast out. And so, the story equates their characters' distancing from Palestine and their departure to the oil sheikdoms with rejection of their true struggle: opposition to their exclusion from history and fulfillment of their aspirations to return to both history and their homeland.

Kanafani was among the harbingers of the "bare life" theory, reflected in descriptions of the vulnerability and fragility of Palestinian life. His story therefore presents a symbolic portrait of a Palestinian reality marked by clinical and cultural death. According to Kanafani, these conditions will continue so long as Palestinians submit to their individual post 1948 existential plight. At the same time, his story suggests the state of impotence in which the Palestinians are destined to remain until they sunder the bounds of time and open the gates to their future, a feat realizable only after a stubborn campaign directed at altering their reality.

Kanafani launched a struggle against the present while attempting to re-connect the Palestinian past to its future. He objected to the routinization of time in post Nakba Palestinian thinking and hoped to construct a temporal awareness that would bridge the gap between the past and the future by reinforcing Palestinian denial of contemporaneity. His efforts set down the conceptual foundations so crucial to his Palestinian intellectual followers. These thinkers incorporated his ideas regarding the crossing of hegemonic historical time to open new temporal yet liquid horizons that would offer strength as well as release from dependence on the basic concepts of practical Zionism.

It appears, then, that Kanafani's story presents an excellent starting point for a discussion of the development of the Palestinian awareness of time as an antithesis to Zionist time, which expels them from their own time and ejects them from history or suspends their temporal development for the sake of advancing its own.

In order to clarify this point, we first delve into the importance of temporal awareness for the establishment of national consciousness. We then compare diverse time frames as conceptual infrastructures that rationalize one or another political reality. This implies that temporal awareness is crucial for the conduct of national struggles. The conflict between Zionism and Palestinian nationalism can thus be considered a temporal struggle, expressed in efforts to enforce one as opposed to another time frame onto territorial and human space within the boundaries of what both parties see as their historical homeland.

We open with an inquiry into the centrality of time in human experience. We describe two different perspectives of time, together with how they are to be exploited to promote one or another type of awareness as a rationalization for one or another reality. The first perspective views control of time as the main expression of human action; the effort to exist in time – contrary to

1 Ghassan Kanafani, "Men in the Sun," in *Men in the Sun & Other Palestinian Stories*, tr. Hilary Kilpatrick (London: Lynne Rienner, 1999).

the adoption of a sense of inertia or emptiness – is thus a major dimension of human existence<sup>2</sup>. Martin Heidegger maintains that in the experience of time as temporary, on-going attempts at self-presencing are manifestations of human existence.<sup>2</sup> Many sociologists have interpreted this process as an attempt to construct and then transform time into a social institution.

The second perspective is derived from the conflictual approach to human existence; it focuses on the struggles waged by social groups to acquire control over hegemonic time. According to this perspective, perceptions of history, units of time, the locus of time and control over time are products of long-term – primarily national – conflicts between social groups.<sup>3</sup> Heidegger's conceptions of time's emptiness and suspension will be used to explain why struggles over time are relevant for specific lines of historical development and designated geographic sites.

We then turn to the Zionist-Israeli awareness of time and its efforts at self-construction in time – or, in the jargon of Zionist thinkers, it's "return to history" – while simultaneously emptying, suspending and controlling Palestinian time. Zionism, which sees itself as a modern national movement possessing a modernist culture's temporal awareness, nullifies Palestinian time by declaring it to be empty of meaning. Doing so leads them to believe that it is possible to suspend Palestinian time and replace it by Jewish time.<sup>4</sup>

In the third section we deal with the temporariness of Palestinian time in the post Nakba period and how the Palestinian awareness of time has changed over the years. We therefore review the three main time perspectives that have developed in Palestinian consciousness and characterized the Palestinian conflict together with the Palestinians' return to history: temporal temporariness, protracted temporariness and normal temporariness. These three perspectives accept the Nakba as the main constitutive event and point of departure for construction of Palestinian identity. The Nakba, as a temporal event, permitted the creation of trans-local Palestinian time, a phenomenon that would surpass localism in the Palestinian experience. The dispersion of Palestinian society brought about the construction of a time frame based on the trauma of the Nakba and enabled the bridging of geographic distances together with the expansion of perceptual links for the purpose of connecting the diverse Palestinian communities.

This process developed in stages: from internalization of the main event and coping with the subsequent cognitive dissonance, to an awareness of the blocked time that

gave birth to despair, continuing exile and the attempt to develop a perception of national time. This progression included efforts to re-enter history by means of the struggle over historical awareness as well as opposition to the legitimacy and broad support enjoyed by Jewish perceptions of history in Israel and abroad. Before concluding, we demonstrate that the suspension of Palestinian temporariness has led to the development of a view of time as temporary, an awareness that serves as a source of strength, enabling the boundaries of modern time to be crossed on the journey toward an open time that offers a new type of peace and reconciliation. In closing, we discuss the relationship between Kanafani's story and the evolution of normal temporariness, a perspective supporting the possibility of reconciliatory temporality, an approach capable of helping Jews and Palestinians break down the barriers of mutual negation.

### The Epistemological Framework

The importance of time for society derives primarily from the awareness of human mortality. This awareness has transformed the organization and manipulation of time into a crucial feature of human behavior. People aspire to fill time with substance as part of their desire to control, fully exploit, extend and thereby avoid time's termination. Such attempts have worn diverse guises throughout history. The modern era, with its perception of human beings as enlightened and free, stimulated creation of mechanisms for individual as well as collective organization of time in the hope of harvesting the maximum from human transience. Concurrently, it also improved mechanisms of retribution to deny a person's control over time.<sup>5</sup>

Eviatar Zerubavel notes that in order for time to be shared in inter-subjective social reality, it must undergo standardization. He argues that one of society's major achievements is reflected in its capacity to organize time in a manner enabling personal inter-subjectivity. Zerubavel further states that the organization of time is essential for the presentation of a unique group identity, a process he demonstrates by referring to a set of calendars, each having special emphases – such as festivities – to guide divergent social/national groups.<sup>6</sup> It therefore follows that time is not given to self-segmentation; its allocation, as implemented by humans, is derived from a normative perspective that organizes natural and social reality according to hierarchical, normative and political criteria.

Because the capacity to control and segment time is an important resource having far-reaching existential

2 Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit* (Tübingen 1963).

3 As to the well-known importance of attempting to return to the reality of daily life as a sign of being meaningful subjects and the aspirations of social groups to carve for themselves a place in time and space, that is, in the temporal topography of their environment, see: Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (New York 1967).

4 For an extended discussion of this and other issues raised here, see: Amal Jamal, "The Hardships of Racialized Time," in: Yehouda Shenhav and Yossi Yonah (eds.), *Racism in Israel* (Jerusalem 2008): pp. 348-380. In Hebrew.

5 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York 1977).

6 Eviatar Zerubavel, "Easter and Passover: On Calendars and Group Identity," *ASR* 47 (1982): 284-289.

implications, human thought tends to focus on the relationship between movement, speed, transience and time. Human beings tend to segment time in different ways and to assign it different meanings. Time's segmentation reflects human self-perception in addition to the relationships holding between segmenting subjects and their natural environment. Patterns of time's distribution and segmentation – but especially its humanization – are wrought through time's conversion into history or awareness, which play important roles in the relational networks woven between individuals and groups. And so, while natural scientists stress natural and cosmic time, social scientists and students of the humanities dwell on the salience of time's organization as part of human awareness and the human soul.

The categorization of cultural time in corporeal measures, symbols and values is a common practice among scholars in the social and human sciences. Time's divisions – into ritual time, ordinary time, historical time and mythic time as well as drawn-out linear time and circular static time – as various anthropologists suggest, express the importance of time's construction for human awareness, especially when parties external to the researched society or culture are those which impose those divisions as if they were inherent to human nature. Robert Young calls such categorizations “white mythologies,” a phrase stressing the practice's racial connotations.<sup>7</sup>

Time plays an especially important role in modernist ideologies. Culturally and historically, time is a crucial resource in the conduct of human power relations in the modern era. Modern philosophy has situated itself among the upper ranks of the historical hierarchy due, among other things, to its stress on human control of its time. The modern subject, whether capitalist or socialist, is perceived as more enlightened and self-aware than her pre-modern cousins. Mechanisms for the production of the modern subject and the construction of her historical awareness by means of a wide range of tools – education, socialization, supervision and discipline, among others – are perceived as more enlightened than those used in the past, primarily because they tend to deny the transcendental dimensions inherent in the subject's pre-modern experience. The enhancement and institutionalization of time-measuring instruments – expressed in punctuality, coordination, control and pre-arranged timetables – as integral parts of the modern cultural experience clearly testify to the obsessive, deeply ingrained relationship to time characterizing modern self-aware subjects.

That obsession has become one important vehicle for the disciplining of the modern subject within the framework of social power relations with respect to cultural differentiation and the construction of intercultural

relations. The spirit of modern time has permeated those subjects capable of “rising above” nature, localism and culture, those who are able to observe human experiential evolution as if it were a 3-D movie. Modernist philosophers therefore characterize Western culture as embracing a linear, dynamic and progressive perception of time. These philosophers perceive time as infinite and people in time as beings moving forward, from a primitive epoch to a more enlightened age, by intensifying human control over positivistic reality. In this respect, speed and progress have become society's main values and stress the importance of technology. Western society – as “technopoly”<sup>8</sup> – has become an ideal to be emulated by other cultures, with the “white man's burden” now encouraging that process. One of the major indicators of this process is the bureaucratization of Third World states, considered as a sign of modernization and efficiency.

The construction of time according to modernity and efficiency criteria sustains the control of those same states in which the measurement of time has become its ruling standard. Other cultures and nations come to be assessed according to their distance from the modern West's perception of time; hence, non-Western cultures are positioned at the bottom of the normative scale. Based on this categorization, we have seen the emergence of regimes rationalizing the colonization of “primitive” cultures, that is, the re-engineering of those cultures according to “correct” standards through the universalization of Western time.

Heidegger assigns special significance to the concepts of time and control, viewed as expressions of the political power observed in the organization of social reality. His attitude to the present, expressed by its negation, defines human existence as temporal while creating an imminent connection between the fact of the self-aware person's meaningful existence and her awareness of time. Existence in time, he argues, is not only part of the human experience, it is the essence of that experience. Heidegger thus shatters the metaphysical conventions emanating from the idealist perception of time characterizing German romanticism by turning his gaze to the meaning of man's existence in time. Control of time, he continues, is a powerful resource for the individual because it affects his being as a unique subject.

The inability to control time thus prevents its organization and undermines the individual's and society's sense of being. Persons or groups deprived of control over their time lose a very important aspect of their emerging self-awareness as unique beings. The control of time therefore reflects a sense of being in the world; its loss or negation reveals its centrality for the development of meaning and self-awareness.

In order to elucidate this point, Heidegger compares two contradictory structures of time – empty time and

7 Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London 1990).

8 Neil Postman, *Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology* (Vintage 1993).

suspended time. These structures represent the negation of control over time; through them, individuals are able to comprehend the meaning and centrality of being in time. People become aware of the centrality of time to their experience when confronted with an event that stops the flow of time. This subversion of being in time undermines the meaning of time as being, as human existence. Hence, the control of time is, among other things, a process that allows people to become aware of themselves as separate beings, differentiated from others on the personal and collective level. Exclusion from time therefore unsettles being and, it follows, one of the fundamental conditions of human existence. This process is especially problematic when the loss of control is imposed rather than chosen. Hence, emptying, or suspension, of time under duress are therefore inhumane acts that stress the meaning of existence just as attempts to return to time or to history represent prominent features of the individual's or group's sense of being.

The importance of control over time and the struggle over that control is especially salient in colonial relationships. When explicating this phenomenon, Giorgio Agamben<sup>9</sup> carries Heidegger's concepts of time into the political world and then connects them to Carl Schmitt's<sup>10</sup> conceptions of sovereignty and exception. Agamben focuses on the meaning of the emptying and suspension in time in their relationship to Schmitt's "states of exception", a condition characterizing colonialism. He discusses the political, legal and existential implications of the suspension of the rule of law during states of exception. In the resulting anomie, he writes, the sovereign power, after suspending the constitution, nonetheless continues to be protected by the legal order; he acts in the name of the law but without abiding by it. The various spheres in which the sovereign power applies legal power are expressed in the differing time frames observed by the ruler and the ruled. Time is, then, a resource as well as an expression of political power, in this case, that of the ruler.

Agamben also applies Heidegger's distinction between people and animals, based on their openness to the world and their primal capacity to position themselves in relation to the world, again with respect to time.<sup>11</sup> The suspension or emptying of time deprive the ruled of a major human attribute and undermine the meaning of their lives in the eyes of their rulers and, at times, themselves. That is, when the difference between humans as temporal and animals as a-temporal beings disappears, it becomes possible to treat people like animals.

This pattern can be extended to the colonial context. In the struggle against the colonizers, the conquered demand their return to history through the construction of an alternative awareness of time. This alternative time challenges the colonizer's temporal sovereignty and aims at displacing it with another temporal sovereign. Like the

attempt to return to history, such a claim can become a cornerstone for the struggle against colonialism and subjugation. Mimicking the colonizer while inverting his historical and temporal consciousness has become an important component of the identity construction of the colonized. It follows that the struggle against the emptying or suspension of time represents an important strategy in the struggle to eliminate the basic rules maintaining the state of exception. Shaking the foundations of the state of exception and replacing its very definition of time likewise become core instruments not only of active resistance but also of the reflexive construction of the conquered party's self as an autonomous being, independent of the state of exception. The colonized people's objective thus becomes that of being in an existential space where the temporal sovereign has neither reach nor control.

Construction of trans-territorial awareness through subversive means against the colonial conqueror becomes one of the principal tools facilitating the return to history. Cultural production can also be considered a tool of subversion when it is aimed at abolishing the other's control over time. Moreover, exploitation of suspended time becomes subversive when it nullifies the conqueror's capacity to control or empty the colonized people's time.

The negative dialectic relationship between the conqueror's time and the conquered people's time creates a complex human symbiosis traversing the boundaries of the dichotomy that the two parties attempt to establish as parts of the rationalization for their separate states of being. The struggle over history and time thus becomes the main sphere of their tragic existence. This sphere demonstrates the fragility of being and the banality of its subordination to power mechanisms aimed at subjugating and emptying it of meaning. Under these circumstances, the conqueror's surplus physical power, used as its main instrument in the construction of temporariness as the conquered people's unstable time, nonetheless contains a strong subversive potential to be exploited by those conquered.

In the Palestinian-Israeli context, the act of detaining Palestinians at roadblocks empties their time, transforms their lives into "valueless" entities and victimizes them whenever they do not comply with the sovereign's orders. The roadblock policy, viewed as obstruction of time as well as space, perfectly exemplifies Agamben's state of anomie or "no man's land."<sup>12</sup> Israel's policy in the conquered Palestinian territories is characteristic of colonial relationships, where the lives of the colonized are considered worthless and whose blood can be allowed to flow. Yet, while the emptying and suspension of their time creates deep existential anxiety among Palestinians, it also propels them toward oppositional action, beginning with temporal subversion, including cancellation of temporal boundaries and attempts to overcome time's

9 Giorgio Agamben, *The State of Exception* (Chicago 2005).

10 Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2005).

11 Giorgio Agamben, *The Open: Man and Animal* (Stanford 2004).

standardization. That is, implicit in the enforced waiting that represents the Palestinians' daily routine rests the potential for revolution.

### The Zionist Temporal Model

We can characterize Zionism as a collective effort to return to modern history and to establish new temporal standards applicable to Jewish existence. This effort has existential implications not only for Jews, viewed as carriers of modern national time, but also for Palestinians, who pay the price for Jewish time by being expelled from history, their time emptied and suspended. Location in time and aspirations for change are important elements in Jewish national thought. Zionist thinkers created an explicit link between national awareness and existence in historical time.<sup>13</sup> They developed a modernist conception of time and thus a modern history that diverged from the theological worldview of the Bible and Jewish tradition.<sup>14</sup>

Zionist theorists attempted to institute a temporal revolution that, contrary to Jewish theological determinism, expressed a social reality open to the intervention of human will and amenable to management by a human model. Zionist time was thus reconstructed as open time, immune to control by a sacred entity intent on redeeming the "people of Israel." The national Zionist discourse therefore dealt with the neutralization of history, its release from celestial forces and deterministic finiteness, based on the assumption that the control of time was in human hands. Time was to be returned to the Jewish people, who had lost it in response to historical events beyond their control. The return to history was to become a core myth in Zionist political thought, rooted in several vital epistemological distinctions and practices.

#### 1. Historical and A-Historical Time

Like other historical discourses, Zionist time is tautological; hence, Zionism can be viewed as the Jewish national reawakening within the framework of modern, progressive time. Zionism employs Biblical history to rationalize the Jewish people's attachment to what they referred to as the "Land of Israel". It thus transforms history into the primary component in its effort to construct a Jewish historical subject and return him to history by re-connecting him to statehood within the framework of the State of Israel. Zionism bridges over almost 2000 years of total Jewish absence from its "homeland"; it links between the Jewish people and the "Land of Israel" by means of a uniform trans-historical temporal framework.

The construction of Zionist time according to Biblical history implies the suspension or emptying of Palestinian time, implemented by stripping the Palestinian self of its national characteristics. The "non-modern" Palestinian is therefore banished from the Jewish Enlightenment's shrine of universal history. Palestinian time is consequently viewed

as worthless because it is neither national nor "human"; it is a-historical because it exists outside the modern time frame. This stance rationalizes the Palestinians' status as an inferior group when compared to the Chosen People, whose superiority, as God's Chosen People, is eternal. Many of the texts written and statements made by Zionist thinkers are markedly contemptuous of Palestinians, denying their humanity on the basis of their "absence" from modern historical time and their a-historical and non-modern "sub-human" existence.

This attitude frames the perception of the Palestinians' very physical presence as stumbling blocks to the realization of the Jews' return to history, which rationalizes the Palestinians' removal from the history of the "Land of Israel". Because Palestinian time is content-less and incapable of measurement with modern instruments, Palestinians are present only in nature. According to Zionists, the Palestinians have neither translated their presence into culture nor contributed to the country's development; they have not opened themselves to the world nor altered the natural surroundings as would a truly cultured society. Hence, they are unworthy of treatment as equals. Inasmuch as Palestine was, in Zionist eyes, "neglected and dirty," far from being "the land of milk and honey," the people living there were considered "visitors". This construction of Palestinian identity therefore "sanctions" their exile, murder and imprisonment.

Simultaneously with the racialization of the Palestinian people, Palestine underwent a deep transformation for the purpose of positioning it along the axis of Zionist time, not as it is but as it was according to Zionist fantasies of the Second Temple period. This "memory" provides the source for the Jewish people's right over the land and the transformation of the "Land of Israel" into a Jewish "homeland". A-historical Palestinian time, being meaningless and residual, is not viewed as the origin of their right to the land. The Palestinians are not only pushed outside history, they are also presented as lacking in history. All the rights accumulated while living their daily lives in the authentic reality of Israel are annulled when confronted by the Jewish realization of time.

#### 2. Dynamic and Static Time

In the Zionist narrative, Jewish time is dynamic, as expressed in the image of the Pioneer, the national hero, resurrected from the wellsprings of history to lead the Jews on their historically modern journey. Jewish sovereignty expresses the Jewish people's efforts to become an exemplary community, responsible for their fate. In contrast, the Zionist narrative constructs Palestinian time in terms of stasis, reflecting their sustained primitiveness, interpreted as a meaningful cultural characteristic. Palestinians are thus presented

12 Agamben, 2005, pp. 1, 13.

13 S. N. Eisenstadt and Moshe Lissak (eds.), *Zionism and the Return to History: A Reappraisal* (Jerusalem 1999). In Hebrew.

14 Eyal Chowers, "Time in Zionism: The Life and Afterlife of Temporal Revolution," *Political Theory* 26:5 (1998): 652-686.

as caught in the past. The best illustration of this attitude is the Biblical image of the "Land of Israel" found in the statements of Zionist thinkers of the early 20th century.<sup>15</sup> The main argument expressed in these texts is that the sole remedy for the land, which has been neglected by its Palestinian residents, is the imminent rebirth of the Jewish nation on its soil.

Within the framework of its modernist discourse, Zionism is perceived as human maturation. In contrast, Palestinians are perceived as caught in perpetual childhood, a state justifying their education and discipline according to the discretion of more mature nations. Obviously, this discourse embraces dynamic Zionist time as preferable to static Palestinian time. These two presumably discrete time frames legitimate construction of a graduated set of values for positioning the two peoples within a distinct hierarchy, one that excludes Palestinians from time while decreeing that Palestinians are duty-bound to permit Zionism, as an act of self-emancipation, to realize itself in their homeland.

The argument does not, however, end there. Zionism and Jewish immigration to Palestine continue to be perceived as furthering not only the Jews but also to the Palestinians, who are told they will enjoy the fruits of imported Jewish progressiveness. And so, Israel is perceived to this very day as an island of progress and light in the Middle East. The price exacted from the Palestinians for the promised progress is expulsion from their homes and their own history. Yet, this weighty price is portrayed as trivial when compared to the benefits delivered by the Zionist project. This argument, so deeply rooted in the Zionist awareness since the days of Theodore Herzl, one of the creators of the progressive discourse directed at those who were left behind.<sup>16</sup> It is therefore understandable why any Palestinian objections to this stance are considered cardinal sins within the Zionist lexicon: Opposition is viewed as directed not only against the principles of universal justice or the Jews' need to protect themselves in their own sovereign state, but also against the realization of the Jews' unique moral destiny.

Numerous Jewish leaders, before as well as after 1948, have brandished the banner of Jewish normalization while erasing the Palestinians' existence. They relegate Palestinians to the past and simultaneously present the Jews as belonging to the present and future by referring to the trans-historical relationship between the Jews and their promised land. In numerous Zionist works, the Jews are portrayed as a people forcibly removed from history and thus entitled to present themselves in history, reflected in the renewal of their spiritual and physical relationship to their historic homeland.<sup>17</sup>

Herzl, like later Zionist thinkers and leaders, was unable to image the Palestinians as objecting to Jewish migration to Palestine.<sup>18</sup> Blindness to this possibility as well as the establishment of Jewish sovereignty indicate, perhaps

more than anything else, the Zionist obliteration of the Palestinians' historical will. An act of this sort also conveys denial of the possibility that rational, political Palestinian agents, aware of their autonomous national interests, may exist. Palestinians continued to be constructed and perceived as a people frozen in time, waiting for an external redeemer to save them from themselves. Palestinian "stasis" was thus gradually transformed into biological time, part of the land's natural order, together with the Palestinians, who supposedly lack any historical sense of their own. Whatever historicity they possessed could be articulated only by a Jewish agent, equipped with "magical" means to free them from their historical chains and infuse them with the spirit of the times.

The Jewish response to Palestinian protestations against the Zionist project thus entailed accusations that the Palestinians were inviting their own destruction. Their primitiveness was presented as the main factor preventing them from identifying what Zionist thinkers describe as the personal and collective benefits offered by the Zionist project. This pattern has been repeated with respect to every expression of Palestinian defiance against Israel's occupation since 1967, especially with respect to one of the occupation's major mechanisms of control: its purported temporariness. Within this context, the morality of Zionist policies is never questioned. It is not perceived as a factor engendering opposition, but just the opposite. Palestinian "feral" actions are depicted as demanding an appropriate Zionist response – violent repression, relocation, expulsion and execution.

In such circumstances, the preliminary conditions for recognition of the Palestinians' humanity are their emancipation from subordination to Zionist "progress", coupled with acceptance of Palestinian time.

### 3. Protracted and Suspended Time

During the 1948 conflict, the State of Israel began to categorize Palestinians according to their location in time and space; the relationship between these two variables emerged as manifest signs of the racial-national differences dividing Jews from Palestinians. Laws were later passed stipulating additional criteria for the award of Israeli citizenship: date of birth, residence, eligibility according to the Law of Return and citizenship. According to the law, all Jews were entitled to Israeli citizenship irrespective of their place or time of residence (i.e., if they had ever lived in Israel). In contrast, Palestinians were required to meet residence criteria. For instance, residence in areas after a date arbitrarily determined by the Israeli authorities would automatically deny them eligibility for citizenship. The Zionist motivation for establishing a legal time frame was minimization, as much as feasible, of the number of Palestinians eligible for Israeli citizenship. In compliance with this goal, the 1950 Absentees' Property

15 Eliezer Schweid, *The Land of Israel: National Home or Land of Destiny* (Tel Aviv 1979). In Hebrew.

16 Theodor Herzl, *Altneuland* (Princeton: Markus Weiner 2000).

17 See: Azmi Bishara, "Between Memory and History," *Al-Karmel* 60 (Winter 1997), in Arabic; Amnon Raz-Karkotzkin, "Exile within Sovereignty: Toward a Critique of the 'Negation of Exile' in Israeli Culture," *Theory and Criticism* 4 (1993): 23-54, In Hebrew.

18 Joseph Gorny, *The Arab Question and the Jewish Problem* (Tel Aviv 1985). In Hebrew.

Law influenced the status of Arabs in The Citizenship Law passed two years later. According to the 1950 law, an absentee is someone who was absent from an area under Israeli control between 29 November 1947 and 19 May 1948, the day on which the Provisional State Council proclaimed the end of the state of emergency.

The precise wording of these temporal criteria in terms of the Israeli political timetable openly expresses clear racial differentiation between Jews and Palestinians. The law transforms time into a thread separating two types of people, each moving along different chronological time lines. One group, the Jews, is unlimited by time and place; they can freely move along their historical axis without damaging their inherent connection to the homeland. In contrast, the second group, the Palestinians, is defined according to a disrupted time line, externally forced upon it by the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel. Moreover, the law created Palestinian sub-sectors, differentiated by a time-related key. In the first group are Palestinians who became citizens of the State, the "Arab Israelis", having a history beginning in 1948; the second group includes people who were physically present but legally absent – that is, subject to the sovereignty of the State of Israel in everything touching upon their legal obligations but absent from it in everything regarding their property rights – that is, the "present absentees" whose time frame is uncertain, discontinuous, and incomplete. These Palestinians are frozen on the Israeli-Zionist temporal continuum but continue to flow along the natural-biological time line in a state of cognitive dissonance having psychological, social and political implications. In other words, the "present absentees" have been racialized through cultural affiliation – expressed in law – with their time suspended, a state in which the Custodian of Absentees' Properties continues to confine them. Third are the refugees, who are considered to live beyond and even outside the framework of Israeli time and even outside historical time, suspended from the history of their homeland and transferred to a time frame that is not derived from their own history but from the Zionist fantasy that seeks to situate them outside the borders of their homeland.

Opposite this Palestinian temporal "reality", Jewish time has been structured as uniform and continuous, with normalized national Jewish time expressed in a new historical chronology. Continuous chronological time connects the Jews – as a nation having defined ethnic characteristics – to the land by means of eternal links and thus to their civil rights in this Jewish state. The phrases "the glory of Israel" (*netzach Yisrael*) or "in perpetuity" (*netzach netzachim*) demonstrate this long-term and uniform perspective, embedded in the Zionist paradigm.

Supposedly blocked Palestinian time is the main factor preventing the granting of citizenship to numerous Palestinians who once lived within Israel's borders. The

mechanism of "absenteeing" ("eliminating") Palestinians yet simultaneously "presenting" them with respect to some event is a political tool meant to serve the Zionist time frame. Accordingly, the anomalous category "present absentees" (*nokhahim nifkadim*) refers to neither an exclusively legal nor spatial designation; it is primarily a temporal category symbolizing sheer racism on the basis of national affiliation.

Indications of the policy's persistence are found in the amendment to the Citizenship Law recently confirmed by Israel's High Court of Justice.<sup>19</sup> The amendment introduces precise temporal criteria to segment the Palestinian population on the basis of civil status. If Palestinians from the occupied territories could formerly acquire Israeli citizenship after completing a complex, drawn-out process, the High Court terminated that option when it ruled in favor of state policy suspending Palestinian family reunification for an unlimited period. This suspension of the legal and judicial rights of those Palestinians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip who have married Israeli citizens is an undeniable extension of temporal racialization, a policy preventing its subjects from living a normal life. In Agamben's terms, this policy demonstrates the true meaning of political sovereignty, realized in the capacity to declare a "state of exception" and suspend normal legal process, introduce biased laws and normalize that bias by extending its force.

#### 4. Slow and Fast Time

One of the major practices of power, rooted in time and contributing to the political construction of fast and slow time, is the creation of roadblocks and transfer points separating the rulers from the ruled. Since the beginning of the Jewish colonialization of Palestine, the national segregation between Jews and Palestinians has been effectuated by delineating time through physical and cultural barriers. These barriers represent racial boundaries that divide Jews from Arabs by increasing the flow of the former's time while decreasing the flow of the latter's time. Efforts at Jewish normalization, as put forth in Zionist theory and practical Zionism, are thus translated into temporal distinctions ensuring the speed of Jewish time and the slowness of Palestinian time. This process requires initial geographic segregation between Jews and Arabs so as to preserve "racial purity" (*yehud ha'aretz* or Judaization of the land) on the one hand, and the allocation of different time frames on the other. The engine of Israeli planning has, accordingly, copied national physical space from the Arabic-Palestinian onto the Jewish time frame and thus produced a physical and temporal hierarchy to separate them.

The first expression of these practices was the closing off of Arab villages with roadblocks for the purpose of isolating those villages within artificial geographic

<sup>19</sup> HCJ 7052/03, Adalah etc. vs. The Minister of Internal Affairs, etc. 14 May 2006.

enclaves as well as preventing free movement between villages. Between 1948 and 1966, the roadblock policy produced serious consequences, felt in Arab areas within the State of Israel not only on the physical but also on the temporal level; after 1967, it also affected the occupied Palestinian territories.

During the period between the declaration of Palestine's partition in November 1947 and the signing of the final cease-fire agreements in July 1949, the geographic boundaries demarcating the areas under Israeli control and those under Arab control became temporal boundaries having decisive legal and political implications. These physical control and oversight mechanisms were meant, among other things, to halt the flow of Palestinian time and to empty it of content in order to allow Jewish time to flow undisturbed. Contributing to the construction of these time gaps was the selective distribution of work permits enabling a limited number of Palestinians to integrate into Israel's labor market; curfews as well prevented entire populations from freely moving about in time and space. These practices fixed the differences between Jewish space as open to time and Arab space as frozen in time. In tandem, a sophisticated planning and construction policy ensured Jewish spatial hegemony together with continuous living spaces, only occasionally dotted by Arab enclaves that Jews could skirt. The division between Arab and Jewish planning jurisdictions, followed by the construction of highways along the country's borders, were now and in the future to be based on fragmentation of Arab regions and the guarantee of Jewish territorial continuity.

This hierarchical perception of time was transplanted to the occupied Palestinian territories in 1967. Immediately after the war's end, the military government instituted by Israel began erecting physical barriers between territorial segments and instituting a nightly curfew that reduced the effective Palestinian "day" to a minimum. This policy was eventually mitigated in response to demands for the normalization of the lives of the region's Israeli settlers – not the Palestinians – but the regime was renewed in full force in the early 1990s. The roadblocks successfully served two fundamental purposes: first, prevention of free movement of the Arab population in the occupied territories; second, clear temporal and physical separation between the State of Israel and the Palestinian territories for the sake of reducing Palestinian participation in Israel's labor market.

The roadblock policy reflects, among other things, Israel's non-recognition of autonomous Palestinian time. Because Israel does not measure Palestinian time in terms of quality of life, the erection of roadblocks and imposition of curfews continues as part of its taken-for-granted normative order. This regime is most blatant in the curfews and border closings that Israel regularly institutes during Jewish holidays and festivities. The

policy ensures the continuous flow of normal Jewish time in space at all cost, in exchange for the stopping of abnormal Palestinian time in space. That is, the contradiction between the two time perspectives is constructed as the hegemonic formula within the system of relationships maintained by the two peoples. For the Israeli, such a formula transforms the imposition of one group's perspective onto the other as an existential necessity and therefore into morally justified.

The fundamental difference between *herrenvolk* and those ruled is also expressed in the organization of temporal space. At the roadblocks, where the crowding and the extensive waiting transform passage into an unbearable experience, further differentiation between Palestinians and Jews is implemented. These universal roadblocks are not impartial barriers but obstructions meant to classify populations on the basis of their national-racial affiliation. This objective is carried out within the differential time frame imposed by the ruler in place according to a model based on external features, complexion and accent. This process reaches its peak during emergencies: When a woman is about to give birth, or someone ill or injured has to pass through the roadblock at maximum speed, time is determined according to those same explicitly superficial criteria. Whereas the time of those who rule continues to flow serenely, the attitude toward the ruled, the detained and rudely intimidated dehumanizes as it redefines the latter's time. Moreover, the time of the sovereign power's agents – the soldiers – at the roadblocks is considered valuable, a judgment implying that the time invested in attending to passersby demonstrates their "compassion."

However, the roadblocks in the occupied territories create an ironic situation: The ruler attaches significant moral worth to the time it allocates to resolving the difficulties of the ruled; yet, those difficulties verily emerge from the obstacles to time's flow imposed by that same ruler. The policy of delay implemented at the roadblocks therefore reflects a dual relationship to Palestinian time. On the one hand, the soldiers undervalue Palestinian time due to their assumption that Palestinians are "naturally" slow, an attitude faithful to the Orientalist worldview associating non-Western peoples with culturally induced lethargy. Suspension of Palestinian time is therefore not considered a waste of crucial existential resources. On the other hand, the soldiers do value Palestinian time but only as a device for attenuating their socio-economic development or wielding politically motivated collective punishment. These two attitudes exist in parallel. If we translate the Palestinian time wasted at the roadblocks placed by Israel's military or civilian police into working hours, we discover that those same hours could have been used to support thousands if not tens of thousands of families currently living under brutal, degrading



conditions. But, as stated, the violated time of those ruled has no value in comparison to the highly valued time expended by the colonialists. Any effort exerted by the ruled to defer the flow of colonial time thus becomes a pretext to further violate and suspend Palestinian time.

The occupied territories on the West Bank are thus divided into two living spheres, distinguished by the residents' nationality. The Jewish sphere, belonging to the settlements, is connected to Israel's major cities by highways on which only Jews are permitted to travel. Time flows there; people can plan their life sphere and interpersonal communication can be maintained. In contrast, the Palestinian villages remain isolated in their enclaves, with a separate road network pierced by roadblocks and other obstructions preventing the free movement of traffic and thus of time. The two spheres, though physically proximate, enjoy parallel existence in terms of culture and planning because they exist in a colonial world that attributes "meaning" only to itself and "meaninglessness" to others. The first sphere exhibits self-awareness and a developed self-importance, traits that can be translated into an organized and dynamic, foreseeable social order, whereas the other sphere continues to be viewed as lacking in self-awareness, a condition inherently chaotic and uncertain.

The Jews' full control over the flow of time – as opposed to the Palestinians' lack of control over their time and movement in space – engenders the uncertainty that distinguishes normal from abnormal – or exceptional – states of being. In exceptional states, uncertainty becomes normal, self-confidence is disrupted, planning capacity is thwarted and communication is disrupted. Such environments, with their existential anxieties, serve the interests of the ruling regime. At the roadblocks, uncertainty derives not only from endless waiting but also from the inability to foresee its duration. For the Palestinians waiting at roadblocks, time has stopped; with time stopped, they are robbed of their individuality as subjects. Their lives are thus open to manipulation and caprice, behaviors completely beyond their control. "At these sites," writes Adi Ophir, "it is possible to ascertain who is a friend and who is foe according to whose blood is let, whose life mingles with that flowing blood and whose life is treated with impeccable legality."<sup>20</sup> Roadblocks thus express states of exception, of abnormality, where time is suspended. By suspending their time, the roadblocks negate the value of the time belonging to those ruled; hence, they also negate the value of those lives. Waiting at roadblocks lays Palestinian lives bare.

Palestinians, once deprived of legal protection, become subject to the whims of the Israeli soldiers in the field, for whom roadblocks represent battlefields. There, Palestinian existence is presented with the full weight of its mortality, infinite vulnerability and impending death. The erection of roadblocks – an exceptional act that represents the

sovereign's legal power despite the law's suspension – allows soldiers to decide which cases are "deviant" and subject to forfeiture of their lives, without fear of any penalty.

In recent years, some roadblocks in the occupied territories have been upgraded to "transfer points" in the occupation's jargon. In the past, roadblocks were subject to the supervision of human rights groups; the transfer points, because they are quite isolated, are obscured from the organizations' inspection.

Like the international terminals located along the border between neighboring states, the transfer points have reinvigorated the debate over the occupation's temporariness by cloaking Israel's desire to achieve true separation between Israel and Palestine in glass and concrete. The roadblocks' replacement by transfer points is meant to create an impression that the state of exception has ended; witness the more "humane" and considerate conditions. And so, instead of the intense physical friction created between Palestinians and soldiers at the standard roadblock, sterile spaces now physically separate the soldiers from the Palestinians. After the transfer points were equipped with sophisticated electronic surveillance devices, soldiers standing in air-conditioned glass-encased booths can coolly observe the Palestinians, now forced to pass through granite conduits. The situation initially appears to be governed by ordinary rules. However, this normality is illusory. The transfer points in fact perpetuate the occupation's pseudo temporariness and the exposure of Palestinian life to its rules. They represent sterile war zones, typical of postmodern warfare during which killing occurs from a distance, without pricks of conscience. The actions taken at the transfer points are therefore not transparent; hence, what we have is a state of exception disguised as normality.

Careful observation thus indicates intensification of the respective experiences of time. The Palestinians are forced to discount a considerable portion of their time while waiting for the transfer points to open, an event that, because it is under the soldiers' control, increases their sense of time's emptiness and suspension. The timing of the openings is autonomously determined by the Israelis, in isolation from any consideration of the Palestinians' time or the conditions under which they wait.

Significantly, in the absence of any physical contact, the Palestinians are denied any possibility of informing the soldiers about the suffering inflicted. By positioning them in glass booths, the soldiers are freed from the burden of moral reflection consequent to direct physical contact with people. In phenomenological terms, we are talking about the bifurcation of a shared experience. Although colonial mechanisms rationalize this phenomenological division by spouting "security", behind their rationalizations we find supervision used to silence consciences and relieve the mental anguish to which the soldiers are subject as a

20 Adi Ophir, "Life as Sacred and Forsaken: Introduction to Gorgio Agamben's *Homo Sacer*", in: Shay Lavie, [ed.], *Technologies of Justice*, Tel Aviv: Ramot 2003): 358. In Hebrew.

result of their presence in such an inhuman place.

Yet, perhaps, it is their very isolation from Palestinian time that reinforces the control over that time. The disparity between the conditions under which the Palestinians wait – in a narrow corridor under open skies, suffering from weather's quirks and intense crowding – and those under which the soldiers "work" distances the soldiers from the meaning of the others' time and thus the meaning of the others' lives.

### **Temporariness as a Sphere for Palestinian Awareness and Protest**

The Palestinians have not, however, remained apathetic to the imposition of Zionist time. Their protest against this act is expressed, among other things, by adoption of a gradually developing alternate and non-linear time frame. In *The Presence of Absence*, the last book of prose published before his death, Mahmoud Darwish wrote the following:<sup>21</sup>

*Longing is not a memory but, rather, what is chosen from the museum of recollection. Longing is selective like a smart gardener; it is the repetition of memory after purifying it from remnants. Longing has side-effects, among them: the imagination's addiction to looking back, the embarrassment in the face of possibility's simplicity, and the exaggerations of turning the present into past, even in love. Longing is a scar in the heart and the stamp of a country on the body. But no one longs for his wound, and nobody longs for pain or nightmare; he does long for what precedes them, a time empty of pain, but only the pain of the initial joy that melts time, like a cube of sugar in a tea cup, for a time encased in a heavenly image.*

This intricate passage reflects numerous and varied feelings of collectiveness, including a sense of temporal crisis that typifies Palestinian awareness in response to the Nakba. Darwish's passage also expresses the deep distinction found between existence and memory within the Palestinian consciousness and the Palestinian discourse before and after the Nakba. In our context, we associate this distinction with an important argument developed by Walter Benjamin: "Articulating the past historically does not mean recognizing it 'the way it really was.' It means appropriating a memory as it flashes up in a moment of danger."<sup>22</sup> The Palestinian past is, like any other past, the product of current constraints. This explains memory's selectivity, expressed in the huge intellectual and awareness-provoking efforts invested by Palestinians when protesting their removal from history and from time.

Memory, yearnings, nostalgia and historical writing are the main tools employed in the Palestinian struggle against their expulsion from their historical paradise, their homeland. Palestinian unity is based on the fact

that it is impossible to separate their struggle against the Zionist historical narrative from their daily struggle over Palestinian being, reflected in the position taken by all Palestinians that they are historical beings, and realized in their daily actions as Palestinians. Formation of "plasticity" is thus a major instrument in their confrontation with exclusion from time, from history and from locality, a process that did not conclude with the fighting in 1948. That is, the Nakba is not an event that simply ended but a continuous series of awareness-arousing events.

Palestinian history, Palestinian memory and the repercussions of Zionism on Palestinian historical existence have occupied Palestinian researchers and thinkers at least since the 1980s. They have stressed – and continue to stress – how the Zionist narrative has expunged Palestinians from the history of Palestine and subordinated Palestinian identity to the needs of the Zionist agenda. Edward Said's book *The Question of Palestine*, was one of the ground-breaking works in this area.<sup>23</sup> Yet, as Zakariya Mohammad argues, Palestinian involvement in its own history is a reflection or echo of the Zionist narrative; it therefore presents and may perhaps confirm that agenda.<sup>24</sup> In addition, Palestinian historiography and the pre-occupation with Palestinian identity have focused until recently on the elites while ignoring the daily experience of those ordinary Palestinians who were and remain the majority of the Palestinian people.

The voice of ordinary Palestinians has begun to be heard only recently thanks to the emergence of Palestinian oral history, which rests on the living testimony transmitted by refugees and displaced persons. Adoption of the historiography approach to tracing a person's gradual historical awareness of time has greatly helped clarify the multidimensionality of the Palestinian struggle to return to history and time as well as Palestinian teleology and its components. This new turn is a product of the fact that Palestinian self-presencing is not captured in history books but, primarily, in Palestinian fortitude in the face of what we have termed the emptying and suspension of time by means of daily practice.

It is important to note here that contrary to the Israeli historiographic and political descriptions that characterize the Palestinian reality as of 1948 and until the end of the 1960s as a state of "quiescence",<sup>25</sup> the Palestinians have persistently attempted to return to their homeland and to protest the new reality forced upon them in 1948. These efforts are reflected in the mobility of Palestinian displaced persons and refugees, their rebuff of Israeli attempts to cement their refugee status and subvert their intentions to return to their homes or at least to areas proximate to their villages. The cases of Ikrit, Bir'am, el-Gabsiyya, Ilabun<sup>26</sup> and others, demonstrate the struggle against time and Israel's efforts to change the face of local history through political instruments based on Palestinian

21 Mahmoud Darwish, *In The Presence of Absence* (Beirut 2006), in Arabic, tr. Amal Jamal.

22 Walter Benjamin, "Reflections, Theses on the Concept of History", in: *Selected Writings*, Vol. 4 (Boston, [1940] 2003), p. 391.

23 Edward Said, *The Question of Palestine* (Vintage 1992).

24 Zakariya Mohammad, *On Palestinian Culture* (Ramallah 2002). In Arabic.

25 Yehoshafat Harkabi, *The Palestinians: From Quiescence to Awakening* (Jerusalem 1979). In Hebrew.

26 Ilabun's inhabitants were expelled but allowed to return later due to pressure from the Vatican.

displacement or dispossession and Jewish construction that apparently “replicates” the distant mythic past at the cost of the material present.

The limited framework of this article prevents me from reporting every detail of the Palestinian return to its time and locality since 1948. I therefore confine myself to describing the various layers of the Palestinian struggle from an existential perspective while focusing on the materialization of the Palestinian awareness of time and its confrontation with the challenge of Palestinian time’s temporariness or suspension.

Darwish’s remarks, as previously cited, elucidate one of the main outcomes of the imposition of Zionist reality in Israel, specifically, the transformation of Palestinian life into a temporary mode of being, sometimes in the victim’s own eyes. This sense of the transitory testifies to non-acceptance of Zionism’s outcomes on the one hand, but also of distress, helplessness and frustration on the other. Non-acceptance is part psychological, part instinctive, and part political. Distress, helplessness and frustration are expressions of the longing for the realization of the past in the future or what Koselleck calls “the horizon of expectation” that constructs the past and the present.<sup>27</sup> This longing conceals an internal contradiction flowing from the very confusion sown when constructing time and translating it into protracted temporariness.

Research on the post Nakba Palestinian reality tends to stress displacement and refugee status as existential problems. Such framing is faithful to the difficult reality created: hundreds of thousands expelled from their homes and villages and forced to settle in distant places. Many had lived under reasonable socioeconomic conditions but even they were transformed, overnight, into destitute, dispossessed people. Yet, the research literature rarely deals with the exclusion of Palestinians from history or to the relationship between exclusion and displacement from their homeland. Only in the last decades have we seen a re-evaluation of Zionist historiography and the human experience created in the Nakba’s wake, primarily following the appearance of critical historiography as well as new narrative and discursive theories. Innovative interdisciplinary approaches have motivated historiographic, literary, psychological, sociological and political writings that offer a more complete picture of the events and their outcomes. Edward Said’s theoretical contribution to the historiographical effort was crucial but now requires, in the tradition that he created, integration of the intellectual with the folk dimension in order to reflect a “truer” picture of reality. Our understanding of the Palestinian response to attempts to remove them from time and from history requires a more in-depth investigation of the evolution of Palestinian history and memory, just as it requires confrontation with hegemonic Zionist time.

Palestinian historiography has made great gains in

recent years, especially after the new historical discourse in Israel<sup>28</sup> uncovered new information on the birth and maturation of the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel. It has revealed the internal contradictions in the Zionist historical narrative and suggested an alternative narrative that questions the original’s justification. The same approach bases the existence of Palestinian life in Palestine on an historical continuum covering hundreds if not thousands of years. Although these studies have been unsuccessful in providing foundations for a modernized Palestinian nationalism, they have undoubtedly succeeded in demonstrating the implausibility of the “land without a people for a people without a land” theory that has become a cornerstone of Zionist ideology, mythology and propaganda.

With the help of research conducted by Western critical archaeologists and historians, Palestinian history and historiography have worked toward demolishing those basic assumptions found in the Zionist narrative that create a trans-historical link between the State of Israel and the Bible, all for the purpose of rationalizing the State’s establishment in terms of return to the homeland after a coerced exile.

Although the majority of Palestinian and Arabic historical and historiographical studies are basically mirror images of their Zionist parallels, to the point of sometimes corroborating a portion of the underlying assumptions, they have succeeded in arousing an intense debate over the exclusion of Palestinians from history, their silencing and the suspension of their time. The main force of the new Palestinian historiography rests on its investigation of the degree to which the formation of Palestinian identity was indeed dependent on Jewish immigration and the emergence of the Zionist Movement. Findings from this avenue of research refute the dependency argument with new sources that demonstrate the existence of intense Palestinian self-awareness as early as the Muhammad Ali regime, before the Zionist “stimulus”.<sup>29</sup> The research bears witness to the entrenched, deep desire to return Palestinians and Palestine to history within the intellectual, academic discourse.

Together with historiography, the increasing involvement with oral history, based on testimonies submitted by Palestinians who were either expelled or voluntarily left their homes until the guns ceased, has borne fruit.<sup>30</sup> This research has provide living evidence of the pattern of actions initiated by the Palestinian defense forces during the Nakba, but especially of the spiritual crises in which numerous Palestinians have remained immersed since their loss of locality and of home. It has therefore become clear that the 1948 Nakba surprised the Palestinians.<sup>31</sup> Many viewed the demographic upheaval and the loss of their homes as an unanticipated catastrophe. In it’s midst, many lost their emotional balance as a result of

27 Reinhardt Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (Cambridge, MA, 1985), pp. 255-275.

28 Tom Segev, *The New Zionists* (Jerusalem 2001), in Hebrew; Uri Ram, *The Time of “Post” Nationalism and the Politics of Knowledge in Israel* (Tel Aviv 2006), in Hebrew.

29 Mahmud Yazbak, *Haifa in the Late Ottoman Period, 1864-1914: A Muslim City in Transition* (Leiden 1998).

30 See also: Rosemary Sayigh, “Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon: Implantation, Transfer or Return?” *Middle East Policy* 8:1 (2001): 95-105.

31 Rosemary Sayigh, *Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries* (London 1979).

the fatal blow to the fundamental being of the Palestinian people who, in a relatively short period of time had lost the basic conditions for a humane and normal existence.

The depth of the trauma is demonstrated in studies such as those performed by Helena Schultz-Lindholm on the Palestinian Diaspora, Julie Peteet and Laleh Khalili on Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, Ilana Feldman on refugees in Gaza and by the author on displaced persons in Israel.<sup>32</sup> These and other studies point to the centrality of displacement as well as loss of home and locality in the awareness of refugees in general and of Palestinians in particular. They also confirm the findings of numerous psychological studies on locality and displacement.<sup>33</sup>

Analysis of thousands of interviews conducted with Palestinian refugees reveals persistent themes of nostalgia and yearnings for the lost past, the return to which is doubtful. This finding is in keeping with Peter Fritzsche's insight that nostalgia, when associated with a culture of victimhood, offers an alternative version of history as catastrophe.<sup>34</sup> Nostalgia and the pain of loss with respect to the presence of Palestinity in history have also found expression since the Nakba in the literature, art and poetry produced by the major Palestinian artists active in their homeland and abroad.<sup>35</sup> Poetry and prose reconstruct the past in sublime images that have been purified by time and memory as well as arouse the pain that echoes in the awareness of Palestinians who, expelled from their homes in the dead of night, continue to dream of reconnecting with their imagined past.

In his autobiography *Out of Place*,<sup>36</sup> Edward Said expresses the depth of the displacement crisis that continues to resonate even after decades of life elsewhere, even after all the financial predicaments accompanying displacement are no more. Said expresses the spiritual rent as going beyond the initial displacement; the pain also results from the changes the original home has witnessed, and from the inability to return or connect with this home after his return. Other well-known Palestinian authors, such as Murid Barghuthi and Fawaz Turki<sup>37</sup> have also documented their return following the Oslo Agreements, together with the emotional crisis they experienced after renewing contact with their homeland, which had changed radically since their departure. Others have shared their sense of alienation. These include exiled authors and poets such as Ihsan Abbas and Zakariya Mohammad, or authors who remained to live as internal refugees, such as Taha Muhammad Ali and Raja Shahada, and still others who lived as strangers in their homeland, such as Emile Habiby.

The experience of displacement is, undoubtedly, an intense, common Palestinian phenomenon; it motivates much of the deep-seated protest against Israel's fragmentation policy. Ever since 1948, Israel has attempted to devise various and sundry methods to detach

Palestinian communities from one another, primarily in their current localities, and thereby institutionalize internal differences. It is therefore important to note the similarities in the experience of loss and estrangement shared by Palestinians wherever they are, including Israel. This experience is reflected in the shared Palestinian collective imagination that crosses the borders created as a result of the Nakba as well as the creation of continuous imagined community that functions at least on the level of cultural awareness and political solidarity.

A prominent feature of recent interest in the Palestinian experience of displacement is the almost exclusive emphasis on locality (or space) as a core dimension of the Palestinian existential crisis. Most of the work on displacement demands – justifiably – some connection to locality, to home, and to the ensuing spiritual, social, economic and political crisis.

This brings us to the role of language. The concept "home" in Arabic is etymologically derived from the root *bata*, which has numerous meanings, such as "becoming", "being", "dozing", "sleeping" and more. The home, or in its collective sense the homeland, provides the most basic evidence for human existence and being, inherent in the very reiteration of the awareness of domesticity and the reconnection with the same physical environment that incessantly penetrates our awareness and consciousness. A home is more than shelter or a roof over one's head; a home is primarily a milieu, surroundings with which we are acquainted by force of habit, whose loss is expressed in the loss of being, the disruption of awareness and the pervasiveness of existential anxiety.

In like manner, the Arabic synonym for home, *al-maskan*, is derived from the root *sakana*, which means stillness or death, denoting the importance of home as a place providing comfort after the day's travails. The Arab home is therefore a place where a person comes to rest, a safe and peaceful environment; its loss invites painful anxiety and existential neuroses that can be alleviated only upon the return or at least the attempt to return to home.

Nonetheless, the stress on locality tends to overshadow other dimensions of displacement that arouse the feelings of crisis and incongruity characterizing the Palestinian experience. Also overlooked is the distinction between the refugees' sense of loss and the feelings of displacement felt by Palestinians who remained in their homes after the Nakba but also after the 1967 war. The differences in the experiences of these two groups are crucial but do not justify ignoring the other aspects of Palestinian existence that bridge these differences by transforming the homeland into the locus of exile and, in consequence, exclude all Palestinians from history and from time.

Palestinians living in their homeland also experience daily a sense of exile and estrangement from time and locality. This issue refers to the quality of the experience

32 Helena Schultz-Lindholm, *The Palestinian Diaspora: Formation of Identities and Politics of Homeland* (London and New York 2003); Julie Peteet, *Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps* (Philadelphia 2005); Khalili, Laleh and n/a, "Places of Mourning and Memory: Palestinian Commemoration in the Refugee Camps of Lebanon," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 25:1 (2005): 30-45; Ilana Feldman, "Home as a Refrain: Remembering and Living Displacement in Gaza," *History & Memory* 18:2 (Fall/Winter 2006): 10-47.

33 See for example Mindy Thompson Fullilove, "Psychiatric Implications of Displacement: Contributions from the Psychology of Place," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 153:12 (December 1996): 1516-1523.

34 Peter Fritzsche, "Spectres of History: On Nostalgia, Exile, and Modernity," *American Historical Review* (December 2001): 1592.

35 See: Kamal Boullata, *The Evocation of Place: A Study in Contemporary Palestinian Plastic Art* (Tunisia 2000); in Arabic; Ismail Shammout, *Art in Palestine* (Kuwait 1989); Gannit Ankori, *Palestinian Art* (London 2006).

36 Edward Said, *Out of Place* (Knopf 1999).

37 Murid Barghuthi, *I Saw Ramallah* (New York 2003); Fawaz Turki, *Exile's Return: The Making of a Palestinian American* (New York 1994). English editions.

common to all Palestinians in the wake of the Nakba: suspended time, an attenuated existence over which there is no control, and the lack of normal continuity. All Palestinian communities, wherever located and irrespective of the quality of their lives, confront the same crisis. They share a festering sense of temporariness, the suspension and emptying of time, of waiting, feelings also reflected in the works of Palestinian writers and artists intently dealing with the experience of loss, return, alienation and the challenge of suspended time.

Palestinian communities everywhere are divided between the desire to normalize their own lives and those of future generations and the desire not to accept the current situation because doing so would mean renouncing the return to their original condition of affiliation. Suspension in time is therefore a crisis-ridden experience, intimating powerlessness over time as well as over the possibility of self-expression within time, whereas its normalization implies departure from one's original normal existence.

My argument is therefore based on the view that human beings not only live in time, they also live time. Time is the essence of existence; hence, the inability to express oneself as time creates a predicament expressed in the sense of suspension from time or exclusion from the flow of normalcy. The growing gap between the reality in which Palestinians formerly lived and their lives in borrowed time, uncontrolled and unrelated to their existence, has become a universal experience for Palestinians, even among those who remained in their homes.

In the eyes of the majority of Palestinians, destruction of the Palestinian reality existing prior to 1948 created new, temporary existential conditions that deprived them of the ability to live time. Palestinian existence since the Nakba has therefore been rooted in repeated efforts to return to a "normal", "authentic" existence, to surmount its loss of the different time dimensions for the purpose of returning to uniform, simultaneous time. The parallel existence of different time dimensions, in tandem with the temporariness common to all, has given birth to complex phenomena expressed in actions or the sense of urgency associated with finding a solution for the Palestinian problem or the meaning of a normal life. This unease is reflected in positions stressing the urgency of arriving at a solution to the Palestinian problem in light of the continued crumbling of the existential foundations of locality and time. This view contrasts sharply with that upheld by those assuming that time is working to the benefit of the Palestinians while it sabotages realization of Zionism's main objective – establishment of a Jewish political entity devoid of Palestinians. According to the latter, the continued Palestinian presence negates Zionism's foundations and requires suspension of all agreements reached on this issue.

The most prominent feature of the development of

Palestinian national awareness consequent to the Nakba but especially after 1967 is the renewed aspiration for standardization of Palestinian time and synchronization of Palestinian existence despite the divisive demographic-geographic reality. Control over time's flow, its frequency, consistency, synchronization and division has become a key attribute of the Palestinian national struggle and been merged with defiance to Zionist/Israeli control over Palestinian time. This complex process developed with the awareness of loss that evolved immediately after the Nakba; its foundations in this awareness became a core element of the Palestinian existential experience and of Palestinian being, aimed at presenting itself within historical, human and national time. Presentation, as an objective, reveals the centrality of the Palestinian perception of time as an existential dimension questioning Zionist time while simultaneously aspiring to be freed of dependence on Zionism.

Being in time is impossible without preserving existential temporariness as a primary component in the struggle for the return to history and to national time within the lost homeland. In this way, the Palestinian present – as a prisoner of the Palestinian past and the events of 1948 – sustains the Nakba: To confront the Nakba, the Palestinian present remains temporary. Temporariness thus becomes a characteristic of the awareness that developed in relation to the connection between the conditions of Palestinian physical existence on one hand, and the continuation if not intensification of the experience of displacement on the other. It thus appears that the Palestinian sense of temporariness developed as a neurotic outcome of the existential experience, but also as a source of revolutionary energy that stimulates mass recruitment and collective readiness for self-sacrifice.

### **Temporary Temporariness**

Palestinian perceptions of the Nakba did not immediately take this form. At first, many displaced Palestinians believed that displacement would end with the violence. Perception of this situation as temporary eased the experience of displacement for hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. It likewise permitted them to cope with the cognitive dissonance induced by the expanding gap between their sense of home and their refugee status. Refugees living in Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza, internal refugees living in the proximity of their original homes as well as Palestinians who never left their homes have all confirmed this syndrome.

Temporariness acts as a mechanism for bridging the gap between natural hopes to remain home and the shock of displacement and pain. Within this context, the sense of temporariness, even if it means loss of control over the temporal order, can become a "constructive" factor in the awareness of refugees and displaced persons who,

unable to accept the loss of home, are left hanging onto the anticipation of return inherent in their temporary status. Particularly noticeable in such contexts are expectations, components essential for the human perception of time, as well as aspirations that the gap between the "horizon of expectation" and "the space of experience," in Koselleck's terms, will be bridged.<sup>38</sup>

Although expectations were replaced by yearnings for the past, they continue to exist at the heart of the Palestinian experience, especially among those who still live in the unbearable conditions characterizing the refugee camps, where temporariness and divergence from the "natural" order of human existence continue to be their main characteristics. Nostalgia has come to function as a link between time, coping and loss, an instrument for presenting the past in the present in order to deal with the pain of loss at the basis of the still-subconscious recognition that the past can never return.

Temporariness therefore permeated Palestinians' actions in their new, post Nakba residences and localities. Because temporariness was a central aspect of their existential awareness, the search for solutions to the crisis of displacement was likewise considered temporary. Numerous refugees, together with Palestinians who remained in the State of Israel, explored temporary solutions. They sought temporary shelter without entertaining any thought of those lodgings as permanent; they have likewise viewed themselves as temporary guests of other Palestinians; they have constructed temporary residences in distance places. Even their "hosts" in villages in the Galilee, the West Bank or Gaza saw those measures as interim solutions. Temporariness was incapable, however, of generating solutions to the existential crisis although, based on testimonies delivered by numerous internal and external refugees, the perception of the new situation as temporary did help people continue their lives in the hope of eventual change.

Awareness of temporariness has thus taken on the attributes of a powerful psychological defense mechanism, sustaining the continuity of the Palestinians' chosen state of awareness. Without such a mechanism, it is doubtful that the Palestinians who lost their homes overnight would have been able to confront the agonizing situation. Even so, for many, the defeat, humiliation, displacement and helplessness are unbearable physical and spiritual burdens. At this stage, temporariness offered them a constructive mechanism for overcoming the existential shock that shattered the fundamental properties of their being. Kanafani, Habiby, Jabra, Khalifa, Ali, Ismail Shammout, Salman Mansour, Taiseer Barakat, Nabil Anani, Abed Abdi, Ibrahim Nubani, Osama Said, Asad Azi, Asim Abu-Shakra, like other authors and artists, were to give voice to the Palestinian sense of temporariness.

### **Protracted Temporariness**

As it became clear that the displacement's end was far from imminent, a sense of protracted temporariness began to filter into Palestinian awareness. At this second stage, the existential crisis intensified, but in new dress. Because temporariness could ease the existential dissonance, "non-temporary" temporariness, together with waiting and expectation, eventually became enduring characteristics of Palestinian awareness. Findings from research on the roadblocks have shed light on the meaning of waiting under the inhuman economic and physical conditions caused by relentless political pressure and repression. In these circumstances, waiting becomes a permanent companion, inducing aberrant action patterns that express the deviant reality, with the hope of returning to the past – as the impending future – the only factor ensuring normality.

Endless waiting is known to have two important effects on the Palestinian reality: (a) Arousal of an intense experience of crisis, illustrated, for example, in Kanafani's "Men in the Sun". Such a feeling allegedly represents one type of acceptance of reality and the existential state created by loss. Significant differences related to locality also become mechanisms for differentiating between Palestinians, especially with respect to the reason for waiting. Refugees residing abroad are prevented from taking violent measures to overcome the crisis of waiting; yet, Palestinians living in the homeland are also subject to the repression that prohibits any possibility for open rebellion, including expression of their spiritual and existential frustration. (b) Materialization of a common Palestinian awareness despite – or perhaps because of – differences in locality. Any connections to new locations established following the Nakba are set aside, to be replaced by the experience of displacement, loss and refugee status and, together with connectedness to Palestine, the major sources of consciousness. This process the transition of the homeland as a site reflects to one rooted in space. This space, after its "purification," expresses the struggle to "rescue" time from the rule of contemporaneity, prior to transforming the homeland into a common "myth," capable of transcending the boundaries of current time. The ceremonies commemorating Land Day, celebrated annually on 30 March in all Palestinian communities throughout the world, bear witness to the unity of suspended Palestinian time and how temporariness negates the normalization of protracted time.

Lengthy waiting and expectations that something will occur have become universal Palestinian characteristics. However, the protracted temporariness has stimulated formation of a new awareness incorporating temporariness and normality, not as stability-shattering contradictions but as features to be implemented by means of a unique type of integration. I call this lengthy process *the creation of temporary normality*. In other words, temporariness

38 Koselleck, p. 22.

as an abnormal state is replaced by the awareness of normality as something temporary, to disappear upon return to the homeland. Temporary normality thus transforms the homeland into a fantasy or “lost paradise,” justifying every sacrifice, especially that of life itself. In the words of Mahmoud Darwish: “The homeland was born in exile. Heaven was born out of the hell of absence.”<sup>39</sup>

The awareness of temporary normality is best expressed in Palestinian practice. Here as well, we can speak of spatial variation: Location of residence and living conditions. That is, every Palestinian community, irrespective of its location, aspires to the normalization of the temporariness marking its life. This type of normality has two aspects: One involves the restoration of what was normal life in the period prior to Nakba through its reconstruction within the refugee camps of lost villages and neighborhoods, bearing their original names. In other words, replication has become the main pattern of action among the various Palestinian communities. Alternatively, stipulation of life’s normality as temporary avoids the termination of normality’s origins. The deep longing for normality as experienced in village life or selected neighborhoods, together with the neighbors themselves, inspires the Palestinians’ conduct. Refugees dispersed in various places express strong desires to recreate original patterns of existence in new locations but without exchanging the original for the replica. That is, after the Palestinian crisis of temporariness was revealed to be protracted, they began to express their protest by replicating their original homes as demonstrations of temporary normality. This is not meant to say that they were able to do so everywhere or at identical levels of success. However, the yearning for the normal, as subjects in control of their time, undoubtedly characterizes Palestinian communities, unifies them and sustains their capacity to see themselves as a group sharing not only the same past but also the present and future. These efforts are expressed, among other things, in the processions to the villages that had been emptied and destroyed by the Israeli authorities, held on the Nakba’s anniversary.

### Normal Temporariness

The third stage in the development of Palestinian awareness of time and the struggle against its suspension belongs to the normalization of temporariness. Temporariness is not only an integral part of being, it is primarily a condition for the sustained existence as an historical subject. Palestinians, but primarily refugees and displaced persons, do exist as subjects – so long as they exist in time. Normalization of their existence in their present residential locations poses a threat because it destroys the existential basis of their arguments as products of the Nakba and as autonomous, historical subjects possessing historical rights demanding realization. Nevertheless,

there remains a sense of everything being temporary and remaining so until the past recapitulates itself in the future. As a result, the fluidity of the temporal order and the disappearance of rigid time frames built on clear distinctions between past, present and future undergo transformation into salient attributes for numerous Palestinians. In describing this fluidity and temporariness within the search for existential solutions, Murid Barghuthi has stated that permanent temporariness is one of the dimensions characterizing Palestinian life.<sup>40</sup> Protracted temporariness, however problematic, therefore contains the revolutionary potential for the return of the past to the future and for overcoming the obstacles of the Palestinian return to history.

The revolutionary potential of temporariness is also reflected in Edward Said’s ground-breaking description of exile as a source of great power and “normal” existence in space. The experience of exile, once fixed as a feature of being in Palestinian self-awareness, should not be considered a detriment. Exile creates opportunities to acknowledge the homeland’s value and beauty. In an era of globalization, in which time–space relations undergo extensive transformation, in an era where human migration is commonplace, in an era in which the homeland can be experienced as exile, Said views temporariness as a source of inspiration and strength; in this he follows the father of Palestinian being, Mahmoud Darwish.<sup>41</sup> Darwish argued that the obsession with “permanent” time can become a delusion because such time is incapable of realization not only because of the temporariness of the temporary, but also because of its routinization. Darwish described this stage of Palestinian awareness most incisively in his book *The Presence of Absence*, when raising the question of the danger reflected in the past’s invasion by the present and the danger to the past posed by delusions regarding the present. He mulls over the relationship of self-identify to memory and time, phrased as: “Are you what you were or what you are now?”<sup>42</sup> His observation collapses an entire system of binary concepts: temporariness–permanence, homeland–exile, continuity–truncation, rapidity–sluggishness, dynamics–statics, and so forth.

Said proposes a temporal horizon that contradicts the closed time frame of “Men in the Sun”. He suggests crossing the rigid and closed boundaries of national identity while aiming toward a fluid space of awareness that supports the recognition of otherness, making reconciliation possible. This acknowledgment of time’s fluidity as a source of strength and inspiration puts an end to exclusion from history as well as the emptying and suspension of time. According to Said, the sense of loss, exclusion and rejection serves the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel; only release from these feelings will allow the transformation of weakness into strength

39 Darwish, [2006], p. 141.

40 Barghuthi, [2003] p. 92.

41 Said, [2001]; Darwish, [2006].

42 Darwish, [2006], p. 154.

while facilitating the transition from slavery to freedom. Free peoples are capable of overcoming loss, anger and vengefulness, of passing through the gates of nostalgia to once again board time as free and legitimate passengers. To those holding fast onto the reins of time, Said proposes a new world of concepts built on shared existential spheres that recognize difference as the mark of reality. To him, global displacement and refugee status have assigned new meanings to protracted Palestinian temporariness and opened the doors to reconciliation. This, he suggests, can be accomplished not only on the strength of a new self-identity, but also by involving those responsible for the loss of normality together with the Palestinians' exclusion from history, the homeland and time.

Many Palestinians, primarily those displaced within Israel, have internalized the traps of waiting to find a solution to the crisis of displacement and exile that were set in place by the Zionist Movement and the State. Many have normalized their time by traversing the Nakba's boundaries and limitations, but without renouncing their demands for repatriation. In this respect, we can argue that the concept "temporariness" is undergoing a transformation, from an awareness derived from the inhuman conditions in the realms of displacement to an awareness derived from the revitalization of memory and its tokens as a mechanism of awareness that permits retaliation. Normal temporariness thus allows reconciliation with the immediate needs of daily life without renouncing former rights and claims. The past loses neither its value nor its force from the renunciation of its continued existence in physical space. It presents itself consistently in Palestinian collective imagination, possibly strengthened by its very conversion into nostalgia. It follows that longing for the past can become a factor within Palestinian awareness capable of motivating the future without persisting in exacting payment for the past.

This stage in the development of the Palestinian awareness of time has yet to be fully legitimated; it requires rephrasing in formats other than Darwish's poetry or the visual arts, both of which have successfully freed themselves from the chains of the tangible and immediate pain of displacement and exile. It requires the metaphysical contemplation of exile, of human existence, but especially of Palestinian existence. Palestinian literature and art do not reflect normal temporariness; rather, they confine themselves to wording that temporariness and constructing an awareness that is deeply rooted in the pain of displacement. They have, nonetheless, succeeded in hovering above its physical being to critically observe the twists and turns entailed with crossing boundaries.

### Summary

Kanafani's "Men in the Sun", first published in 1963, captures the despair felt by Palestinians trapped in appalling conditions, dependent on external forces to restore them to their "lost paradise". The story has been interpreted as signifying the tragedy of losing direction in exile from locality while reflecting the concrete historical awareness sustained by the Palestinian majority. According to this reading, the book's message is revealed to be a revolutionary call to alter the Palestinian and Arab status quo; "Men in the Sun" has therefore retained its avant-garde stature among Palestinians and Arabs to this very day. The novel, however, remains encased within former conceptions of reality; as such, it presents a mirror image of what the Zionist state hopes to create among the Palestinians. The story describes the futility produced by the Palestinian reality and advocates change without indicating any specific direction for that change. Kanafani's later stories, such as "All That's Left to You" or "Returning to Haifa,"<sup>43</sup> do sketch such a direction; they describe the symbiosis between the Jewish and Palestinian people as well as the tragedies that exile has caused each to attempt to achieve normality by displacing the other. Kanafani successfully crosses boundaries to indicate the calamity inherent in national linear perceptions of time and lays the foundations of an identity-crossing discourse.

This is also the route taken by Darwish, Said and other Palestinian artists who have confronted the Palestinians' exclusion from history together with the emptying and suspension of their time. Their approach does not mimic the Zionist historical or identity-focused narrative but breaks through temporal and national space as well as modern temporal conceptual frameworks to reach higher spheres. They speak to Palestinians and Jews alike, explaining that from a contemporary perspective, the insistence on returning to history implies continuation of the common tragedy. Without ignoring past injustices or current injuries, they propose overcoming the national temporal narcissism that reaches for eternity by emptying or suspending the other's time. They show that to achieve the infinite, we must renounce exclusivity, closure and repression and replace it with a plea for a more thorough self-observation, designed to release the autonomous self from the unconscious chains that bind being. They perceive temporariness as a source of power rather than a repressive tool for suspending the other and his self-presencing. They also advocate acceptance of time's temporariness as a guide to reconciliation, one that would allow mutual, non-exclusive existence according to a vital formula relating history, time and homeland.

43 Kanafani, "Men in the Sun", op cit.; "All That's Left to You" in *All That's Left to You*, trs. May Jayyusi and Jeremy Reed (University of Texas Press 1990); "Returning to Haifa" in *Palestine's Children*, trs. Barbara Harlow and Karen E. Riley (Boulder, Co: Rienner, CO2000).