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The Palestine Conflict as Reflected in Contemporary
Arabic Literature

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By Werner Ende

The present paper starts from the assumption that the study of any literature – in the sense of *belles lettres* – produced by members of any ethnic group or religious community will offer some information about the basic issues discussed within that group or community at a certain time. It is even to be expected that a close examination of this literary production may offer a deep insight into the various intellectual levels and general direction of discussion within a given group or community. Sometimes this insight may be much deeper than that which is gained from national charters, the programmes of political parties, the talk of newspapermen and radio commentators or statements made by religious leaders.

If the latter assumption is accepted at least in general, we may expect that a study of Arabic literature in the twentieth century (1) can enlighten us, to a certain extent, about what the Arabs really feel and think about one of the most crucial problems of our time, a problem which, in one way or another, concerns all Arab national states: Palestine. (2)

In the present paper I shall refrain from trying to present an account of the emergence and development of Palestinian topics in Arabic literature *ab ovo*. (3) Rather, I shall concentrate on the period since 1948. In some cases, however, it will be necessary to point to the appearance in Arabic literature of certain ideas, images and arguments prior to that date. (4)

To our premise that the study of contemporary Arabic literature concerning Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict can offer a way to get inside the “Arab mind”, several objections may be raised, beginning with that very old one: who are “the Arabs” we are talking about here? Or, to put it in a different, more direct way: is it reasonable to believe that the Moroccans and the Sudanese, for instance, or the Shi‘ites of Southern Iraq will consider Palestine an issue basic to their existence? Should literature produced in this milieu and concerning the Palestinian problem be disregarded altogether or not? And secondly: what insight can be expected from literature dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict which is produced in an atmosphere of more or less strict censorship and under the more or less firm pressure of regimes exploiting the Palestine problem for the sake of internal stability or inter-Arab hostilities? Is it not true that a large part of the literature concerning Palestine is produced and published under the influence of “ministries of guidance” aiming at the dissemination of official propaganda? Is it not true also that the production of another important part of Arabic fiction, poetry etc. and its publication is sponsored by the PLO? Would it be possible, under these circumstances, for any Arab writer to speak freely, for instance, of his resignation about Arab Palestine or of his disillusionment with the political leadership of the PLO?

Given the fact of a rather wide gap between official statements and what could be called the “real” mind of the people with regard to many other issues in the Arab World:

is it realistic to expect that all the different moods of "the Arabs" towards Zionism, Israel and the Palestinians are reflected in contemporary Arabic literature? Where, for instance, was the intense longing for peace among the Egyptian masses, their (now undoubtable) readiness for compromise, expressed in Egyptian or any other regional Arabic literature before Anwar al-Sâdât's initiative? How is it that Taufîq al-Hakîm was only then ready to talk by telephone to a representative of the Arabic programme of Kol Israel? (5)

The objections mentioned here cannot be dismissed easily. They do not reflect, however, the very complex political and cultural situation of the Arab countries in the twentieth century, nor even that since 1948. Therefore, most of these objections apply only to certain phases in the development of some parts of the Arab World. Even countries which now are not particularly known for a liberal atmosphere may have seen better times before in that respect – take, for instance, Egypt before 1952. Thus if the development of Arabic literature prior to 1948 is also taken into consideration, we may get a much more multi-colored picture of the Palestine conflict as reflected in the writings of Arab authors.

As to the treatment of the Palestine problem by authors living far from the geographical centre of the conflict, it may be true that many of their works dealing with this subject show a certain lack of insight into its complexity. The sheer quantity of works touching the problem of Palestine and produced even at the periphery of the Arab World, however, suggests that this issue has captured the mind of a great part of the literate population of countries not directly involved in the military conflict and only marginally confronted with the problem of the Palestinian refugees. (6) The fact, for instance, that a turbaned shaykh in Iraq was able to collect in a book of 384 pages what the learned men of the Shi'ite holy town of Nadjaf had to say about Palestine between 1928 and 1968 cannot be explained away by hinting at official incentives. (7)

The existence of certain forms of literary censorship cannot be denied. There was, however, for many years the relative freedom of expression in Lebanon, where not only Lebanese or Palestinian writers, but also Egyptians and others were able to publish many a dissenting view about politics, philosophy etc. including strong words of criticism and self-criticism regarding the situation of the Arabs in their confrontation with Israel. There are, finally, Arab writers in Israel, in the West Bank area and the Ghaza strip who speak out quite freely about their problems and aspirations in writings published in Israel (mainly published in organs of the Israeli left, i.e. especially using the umbrella of publishing houses close to the Israeli Communist Party). Many of their works have also appeared, of course, in Lebanon or elsewhere.

Given the situation described above, it would be wrong to believe that in Arabic literature concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict over Palestine there was nothing but shallow rhetoric, superficial propaganda, boastful war-poetry and such like. There is no doubt that all this abounds, but no fair judgment of the relevant literature can avoid mentioning that there is much more in it with regard to literary quality as well as intellectual honesty and ideological spectrum.

The fact that quite a number of works by Palestinian and other Arab authors concerning Palestine (and, for the greater part, published in Lebanon) have been forbidden in many Arab countries points to the fact that this literature is not unisono in its outlook. It must be said, however, that the reason for government action in these cases was rarely, if ever, the expression of a readiness for compromise in these writings, but on the contrary too radical a tone of self-criticism. Sometimes offence was taken at attacks on certain Arab regimes for their neglect of the problem, their incompetence, their collaboration with western powers supporting Israel etc. More often than not these

writings were considered by Arab governments – sometimes quite rightly – as partisan statements instigated by rival Arab regimes.

Before dealing in a more detailed way with some of the most important Palestinian topics in contemporary Arabic literature, I would like to say a few words about the role in modern Arabic literature of the Palestinian cause, i.e. the conflict with Zionism, prior to the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948.

As we are dealing here with belles lettres only, early commentaries in the Arabic press about Zionism (for instance in “Al-Muqtataf” of Cairo soon after the First Zionist Congress in Basle, 1897) (8) and the reaction, especially in the Arabic press of Syria and Palestine, from 1908 onwards, to Zionist activities in the area, (9) do not concern us here. As far as I can see, awareness of Zionism as a political factor is reflected in literary forms not earlier than about 1919/20, when the existence of the Balfour declaration and its content became generally known to the Arab public. Already at this time we find in literary works warnings that the plan of a national home for the Jews must infringe the national rights of the Arabs, who had just become free of Turkish dominance with the help of Britain and her allies. At that time, distrust towards both the Zionists and the British was already too deep in certain Arab circles of Palestine to allow for sweeping statements about a possible coexistence of Jews and Arabs there. This becomes evident in the case of the famous Iraqi poet Ma’rûf al-Rusâfî (1873 – 1945), who, between 1918 and 1920, was teaching Arabic at the newly established Dâr al-Mu’allimîn in Jerusalem. (10) In a qasîda addressed to Herbert Samuel, the British High Commissioner for Palestine – who was of Jewish origin – Rusâfî said:

“We are not as we have been falsely accused
Enemies of the Jews, overtly or secret.
The two peoples are but cousins,
In their language is the proof.
But we fear expulsion from the homeland
And being ruled by the force of arms.” (11)

For several reasons – not all of them directly related to this poem or this particular passage – Rusâfî’s verses caused strong protests in Palestine. Wadi‘ Bustânî, a Lebanese Maronite living in Haifa (12), published a poem as a reply to Rusâfî’s. In it, Bustânî casts doubt on the truth of Rusâfî’s statement that the (Zionist) Jews and the Arabs are cousins (a relationship of great importance in the Middle East!) by saying:

“Sure, he who crossed the River Jordan was our cousin,
But we are suspicious of him who now comes by sea.” (13)

Since 1920, when this was written, the notion of the total difference between the Jewish “cousin” the Arabs used to know in the past and who was living among them, and the Zionist settler coming in the wake of western powers, has become a major theme in Arabic literature concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict over Palestine. It is impossible, however, within the scope of the present paper, to survey the development of this and other aspects of the conflict – as reflected in literature – in chronological order. Therefore I would like to present only some of the most important ones, indicating a few writers and works in each case.

First, however, I should say a few words about the literary genres in which the topics related to Palestine are dealt with: There is, first of all, *Poetry*. This is the traditionally favoured form of expression in Arabic regarding political, social and religious subjects. While undergoing considerable formal change (i.e. more or less radically breaking

away from classical forms), poetry has maintained its important position in Arab literary life. This holds especially true for the literature from and about Palestine. (14)

However, there have appeared, under western influence, new genres in modern Arabic literature – all of them more or less suited for the treatment of subjects connected with the Palestinian problem. These new (or almost new) forms are:

1. *Historical novels* (and works of historiography coming close to this form), especially writings on the conflict of Prophet Muhammad with the Jews of Medina and on Sultan Salâh al-Dîn's (Saladin's) wars against the crusaders – both subjects offering opportunities to draw parallels to today's circumstances. (15) Also, the loss of Islamic Spain (al-Andalus) to the reconquista offers a subject which can easily be connected with the Palestinian problem.
2. *Short stories*, a favourite form of political agitation, social criticism and ideological controversy in all parts of the Arab World. (16)
3. *Drama* – from the sixties onwards, especially as far as Palestinian subjects are concerned, under a certain influence of Bertolt Brecht's theatre school. (17)
4. *Memoirs* of politicians, journalists, diplomats, poets etc. This genre is found in classical Arabic literature, but has gained much greater importance in modern times. (18)
5. *Film scenarios, radio- and TV-dramas, features* etc. (19)

Let us now turn to some of the most important themes of this literature. There is,

(I.) The refugees' yearning for the lost homeland: descriptions of the good old days before the Zionist takeover abound. Daily life in this Palestine of the Past is often presented as easy, harmonious and happy. (For many refugee authors, this is the wonderful world of childhood.) The beauty of the towns and the countryside is often praised in glowing terms.

Especially after 1967 certain Arab writers have criticized this almost romantic picture of conditions prevailing in Palestine before the arrival of the Zionist settlers or the creation of the state of Israel, respectively. Those critics called for a clear analysis of the social realities in Palestine before 1948 in order to arrive at a better understanding of the causes of the Arab defeat.

Very often combined with the description of earlier life in Palestine are visions of the return to it – visions of a return in triumph, but also in an individual act of desperation, the returning person expressing his (or her) readiness and even desire to die fighting on Palestinian soil rather than live in exile. There are also expressions of doubt: When will the day of liberation come, and: How much will the old environment have changed until the day of return? According to one Palestinian scholar (20) the mood of many poems composed by Arab Palestinians may remind us of the Jewish Psalmist. His "If I forget you, Jerusalem (. . .)", this scholar says, is echoed in poems like that by Mahmûd al-Hût (21) in which he addresses his native town, Jaffa (Yâfâ), in the following terms:

"Jaffa! My tears have dried but I still wail,
Will I ever see you again?
My memory of you is ever fresh,
Living within my innermost soul." (22)

Deep dedication to the homeland is frequently expressed in the works of Fadwâ Tûqân (born 1923), one of the most famous Arab poetesses of our time. Living in Nablus, i.e. under Israeli occupation since June 1967, she wrote in September of that year:

"Great,
 Great country,
 The millstone may turn
 And turn
 In the dim nights of agony.
 But they cannot
 And are too small
 To destroy your light.
 (.)
 O great land
 O deep wound
 And sole love." (23)

(II.) Accounts of the ways in which the Zionist settlers brought large parts of the land under their control prior to 1948: this was already a theme of literature published in the thirties and forties. As examples we may mention Muhammad 'Izzat Darwazah's "al-mal'ak wa-l-simsâr" (The Angel and the Broker), published in 1934 in Nablus, and Ishâq Mûsâ Husainî's "Mudhakkirât dadjâdjah" (The Memoirs of a Hen), published in Cairo in 1943. Darwazah (24) describes how a simple Arab farmer is ruined by a Jewish broker who incites him to spend his money for amusement in the city, to sell his land to cover his debts, to leave his family etc. Finally he becomes a beggar who dies in a lunatic asylum. (25) Husainî's (26) "Mudhakkirât dadjâdjah" describes the stages of dis-possession and pauperization as experienced by Palestinian Arabs before 1948. It is a parable told by a hen who records her life from the time when she is able to move freely on the farm of her owner to the day when fences erected by a foreign newcomer block her way, then to the day when her owner is forced by debts to sell her to a shop-keeper, where she has to live in a cage together with other hens, some of them speaking her own language, others a foreign one. She becomes aware of the fact that the foreign hens are planning to get rid of the native ones altogether and starts thinking of ways to avert this catastrophe. (27)

(III.) The war of 1948 and the causes and circumstances of the flight of hundreds of of thousands behind the Arab frontlines: (28) Zionist acts of terrorism (especially the massacre of civilians at Deir Yasin) (29) are frequently described in order to explain the mass exodus from the territories which became Israel. Even authors not uncritical about the present role of certain Palestinian organisations and their behaviour, as, for instance, the Lebanese diplomat and writer Taufîq 'Awwâd, do not hesitate to ascribe horrible crimes to Zionist fighters in the war of 1948, such as raping an Arab girl they have already killed. (30)

Another aspect of the same event, i.e. the war of 1948, is the description of the exodus itself, and in this connection, of the process of disillusionment of those refugees who left their homes convinced of an early return in the wake of the victorious Arab armies. Ghassân Kanafânî's semi-autobiographical story "Ard al-burtuqâl al-hazîn" (The Land of the Sad Oranges) is an excellent example for the literary treatment of this experience. (31)

The impotence of the Arab League's armies is openly ridiculed by certain Palestinian writers, some of whom praise, at the same time, the resistance of the local Palestinian Arab population up to 1948:

"Palestine would never have fallen,
 Never would its lions have been dispersed,
 Had not seven mighty states tried to rescue her –
 Truly astounding was the outcome." (32)

(IV.) The life of the refugees, their miserable existence in the camps or outside, the breaking up of families, discrimination in the host countries etc.: (33) Ghassân Kanafâni's story "Ridjâl fî l-shams" (Men in the Sun), the description of three men's desperate (and in the end fatal) attempt to shake off the misery of the camp, seems to be one of the best literary treatments of this problem. (34) (A film called "Al-Makhdû'ûn" (The Deceived Ones) based on the story was made in 1972 by the Egyptian Taufiq Sâlih. It received a high award at the film festival of Carthage (Tunisia), but its presentation was forbidden in most Arab countries.)

Later, with the emergence of the armed resistance of Al-Fath etc., the uprootedness and misery of the refugee is described as the background for his decision to take up arms and join the commandos. (35)

(V.) The situation of the Arabs remaining in Israel: (36) in the fifties, some of the Israeli Arab writers expressed the idea that this community could become a bridge between Jews and Arabs in general. (37) From the end of the fifties onwards, however, members of the younger generations took the lead. In their writings the feeling of alienation and dispossession in their native land became more and more dominant. (38) Mahmûd Darwîsh (born 1941) (39) has described this situation in his "Yaumiyât muwâtin bi-lâ watan" (Diary of a Citizen without a Homeland, 1971). In one passage the author reveals that this feeling of alienation is not simply the result of becoming a minority in the native country, but is the very outcome of a clash of cultures, the Israelis representing the new age of all-pervasive technology. The author tries to demonstrate this by inventing a frivolous exchange of words between a young Israeli and his girlfriend about their preference for making love either in a tank or in the open air on the banks of the Suez Canal. To this the author adds the following comment:

"What an immense gulf between the imagination soaring unhindered in the desert and the imagination structured by modern technology and victory! Words of love are now interwoven with current affairs and the latest inventions of new weapons. Pleasure no longer comes from nature, and the Arab in Israel finds himself backward even in love-making. It has taken him a long time to learn how to address his love with roses. How many aeons will this creature require to be trained in this new approach? . . . What are you thinking of? How they manage to have children in tanks? How they manage to have fun in tanks? This is the secure Israeli home. This is the love-nest. And this is the future." (40)

Mahmûd Darwîsh left Israel in 1971. He is now director of the Palestine Research Centre in Beirut. Other prominent writers have remained in Israel. One of them, the communist poet Taufiq Ziyâd (or: Zayyâd), became mayor of Nazareth in 1976. In one of his poems, he articulates (what he thinks should be or really is) the attitude towards Israel of the Israeli Arabs, i.e. a strong determination to hold out against the Jews on the native soil and to defend the Arab identity, causing the Israelis as much trouble as possible:

"Here we shall stay,
A wall upon your breast,
And in your throat we shall stay
A piece of glass.
A cactus thorn,
And in your eye
A blazing fire . . ." (41)

(VI.) *The Israeli Jew*: The presentation of the Israeli is marked by a number of obvious clichés and prejudices. (42) In general his foreign origin, i.e. mainly his European or American background is stressed. In most cases he is not able (and not willing, for that matter) to understand the Arabs. (43) He despises them and consciously or unconsciously hurts their national and/or religious feelings. The Sabra, if he (or she) appears at all, in many cases is even more evil and chauvinist than the immigrant. (44) The sufferings of the Jews in Europe are not ignored altogether, (45) but are never accepted as an excuse for making the Arabs of Palestine — who are not responsible for the holocaust — suffer at the hands of the Zionists.

Most Israeli characters are presented as soldiers. Descriptions of discipline, sexual morale and social relations within the Israeli army seem to be far off the mark in many cases, at least in works published up to 1967. Israeli women-soldiers are portrayed as perfidious (seducing, inter alia, fedayin in order to get military information from them), frivolous and cynical. They are prone to incite their male comrades to commit vandal acts against innocent Arabs, desecrate Islamic and Christian holy places etc. (46)

The distinction between Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews is recognized and sometimes stressed. The image of the Sephardic Jew seems to be a little less uniform than that of the Ashkenazi: Mahmūd Darwīsh (in: *Yaumīyât muwâtin bi-lâ watan*, see above) presents a taxi driver of Moroccan origin who wants all Arabs in Israel to be wiped out, while the Iraqi communist writer Dhû l-Nûn Ayyûb (living in exile in Vienna) in one of his stories confronts us with an Israeli soldier of Iraqi origin (and with communist leanings) who, having been forced by the Hashimite monarchy to leave his homeland, went to Israel, but still considers himself an Arab. He has even declined to learn Hebrew and shows sympathy with the fedayin. (47)

In a few cases an (Israeli?) Jew is addressed by an Arab author as a personal friend. However, the basic conflict threatening this relationship remains visible. Such a precarious friendship seems to be reflected in verses written in 1971 "To a Jewish Friend" by Fauzî al-Asmar, an Israeli Arab writer:

"Don't ask me
 The impossible
 (.)
 Don't ask me
 To abandon my eyes,
 My love,
 The memory of my childhood
 (.)
 My friend
 You cannot ask me
 To leave my own country." (48)

(VII.) *Arab self-criticism*: inner-Arab rivalries and lack of organisation in the face of the Zionist scheme was criticized already in the literature of the Mandate period (Darwazah and others). The neglect of the problem by Arab governments was also blamed quite early. 'Abd al-Rahîm Mahmūd (d. 1948) (49), for instance, addressed a member of the Sa'ûdî dynasty in a poem when the latter visited Palestine in 1935:

"Have you come to visit the Aqsâ Mosque
 Or bid it farewell before it is lost?
 Tomorrow, and how near is it, nothing
 Will be left for us save tears and remorse." (50)

After the débâcle of 1948, a whole literature of self-criticism appeared, mainly in the form of essays on historical and cultural topics. (51) This was echoed, to a certain extent, in works of poetry and fiction. The early successes of Djamâl 'Abd al-Nâsir, however, worked in favour of a considerable wave of optimism, as reflected in Arabic literature, with regard to the outcome of the final struggle with Israel. The disaster of 1967 changed that almost completely. (52) In the field of the novel (53), Halîm Barakât's "Audat al-tâ'ir ilâ l-bahr" (The Return of the Flying (Dutchman) to the Sea, Beirut 1969), seems to be the most mature and intellectually honest stock-taking, on a high artistic level, of the Arab's miserable social and cultural situation vis-à-vis Israel. (54)

Many authors fell silent for some time, others erupted in expressions of shame, self-hate, guilt and wrath against those Arab leaders and military men they held responsible for the defeat. Djamâl 'Abd al-Nâsir, to be sure, was carefully spared any open criticism (55) at that time – with the exception, perhaps, of Muslim right-wing writers who considered the defeat a result of Nâsir's socialist experiments, and a number of anti-Nasserist left-wing authors.

For the tendency to clear Nâsir from any responsibility for the disaster, putting the blame on the shoulders of corrupt functionaries etc., Lutfi al-Khûlî's film (cast by Yûsuf Shâhîn) "Al-'Usfûr" (The Sparrow) is a case in point. (It is, nevertheless, a piece of courageous criticism.)

One poet, the former Syrian diplomat Nizâr Qabbânî (56), who had been famous until then mainly for his erotic poetry, suddenly started writing verses directed in an extremely radical way against traditional Arab-Islamic values and Middle Eastern mentalities, at the same time rebuking Arab politicians and intellectuals as responsible for the catastrophe of 1967 (Hawâmish 'alâ daftar al-naksa, i.e. Marginal Notes on the Copy-book of Defeat, 1967). The death of Djamâl 'Abd al-Nâsir plunged him (and many other writers) into even deeper abysses of despair and self-accusation:

"We have killed you, o last of the prophets!
We have killed you . . . !" (57)

For Qabbânî and many other Arab authors, the relative success of the Egyptian and Syrian armies in October 1973 came as a miracle causing elation and new self-confidence. For Qabbânî, the events of the October war are equivalent to a rebirth:

"Today, on October 6, 1973 . . .
I was born under the patrol boats
and pontoon bridges . . .
I came forth from the teeth
of Syrian caterpillar tracks . . .
On the Golan heights . . ." (58)

Especially in Egypt the crossing ('ubûr) of the Canal became a metaphor in many literary works for a total change of mood, for leaving behind a shameful past, a rebirth etc. (59)

(VIII.) The Civil War in Lebanon: The events of 1975 ff. in Lebanon caused many Palestinian, Lebanese and other Arab writers to express their feelings about what they consider the roots and results of the conflict. In the writings of pro-Palestinian and left-wing authors, the siege and fall of Tall Za'tar is, of course, one of the main topics.

Given a certain support by Israel for the Christian militias, it would be interesting to see whether this has resulted, in the recent writings of extremist Christian Lebanese authors like Sa'îd 'Aql, in expressions of solidarity and gratefulness towards Israel. At the moment, however, I have no information about that. (60)

The situation in Lebanon before the outbreak of large-scale fighting has been aptly described by Taufiq 'Awwād (see above). In his novel "Tawāhīn Bairūt" the Palestinian movements operating in Lebanon and their Lebanese comrades and fellow-travellers are not spared a certain criticism. (61) On the background of the country's deep and dangerous socio-cultural crisis, which the author wanted to describe at the time, the guerilla organisations appear, however, as a final refuge not only for Palestinians living in alienation from Lebanese society, but also (as is shown in the case of the heroine, a Shi'ite girl from a village in South Lebanon stranded in Bairut) for Lebanese who feel dispossessed and humiliated by a system of narrow confessionalism and moral hypocrisy. (62)

(IX.) Religious themes and allusions: (63) The Palestinian Arab resistance against the Zionist settlers prior to 1948 and the subsequent wars as well as the guerilla actions are frequently described as Holy War (djihād). (64) The sanctity, for both Muslims (65) and Christians (66), of Jerusalem and other places in Palestine is evoked in many works. (67) Sometimes the plight of the Palestinian Arabs is compared, in a more or less symbolic way, with the suffering of Jesus Christ caused by the Jews, or with the tragedy of Kerbela, i.e. the resistance, death and final historic triumph of the Prophet's grandson Husain ibn 'Alī who heroically took up arms against the usurpers of power, the Umayyads (680 A.D.). The latter comparison is, of course, especially favoured by Lebanese and Iraqi Shi'ite sympathizers of the Palestinian cause. (68)

Halīm Barakāt's "Audat al-tā'ir ilā l-bahr" (see above) is full of religious allusions especially taken from the Old Testament.

Anti-Jewish arguments, themes and motives are borrowed freely from western literature. (69) As an example we may mention the Egyptian author (of Indonesian-Arab origin) 'Alī Ahmad Bā Kathīr (1910 – 1969) in his play "Shaylūk al-djadīd" (The New Shylock, 1945). His three-act play "Ilāh Isrā'īl" (Israel's God, 1962) is a total condemnation of the role played by Jewry in the whole of human history. (70)

It should be noted here that western anti-Jewish (anti-semitic) polemics (as, for instance, the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion") have been translated into Arabic. (71) One of Martin Luther's anti-Jewish treatises (most probably his "Von den Juden und ihren Lügen" of 1544) was published in an Arabic translation (from an English version) by the Palestinian 'Adjādī Nuwaihīd as late as 1974 in Beirut (Nifāq al-yahūd; with a foreword by Shafīq al-Hūt, at the time chief editor of the radical pro-Palestinian paper "Al-Muharrir"). (72)

As already mentioned above, Prophet Muhammad's conflict with the Jews of Medina offers material for parallels with today's Arab-Israeli conflict. (73) This view can be corroborated by quotations from the Quran, from Quran-commentaries and the Hadīth. This approach is especially favoured by writers from the milieu of the Muslim Brotherhood and the Wahhābiya.

On the other hand, the relatively safe position of the Jews in medieval Islamic society is often cited as proof for the latter's tolerance as compared to Jewish attitudes towards others in the past and present.

(X.) Visions of Arab-Jewish coexistence in a future "liberated" Palestine, i.e. after the destruction of the state of Israel: as we have seen from the fate of Rusāfī's poem of 1920 (see above), conciliatory words in Arabic literary writings are likely to be received with distrust and criticism in the Arab milieu. Nevertheless, statements of this kind may be found here and there in contemporary Arabic literature at almost every stage of the conflict. The Palestinian poet Mu'īn Basīṣū (74), for instance, whose works are

banned in many Arab countries because of their radical tone, already in 1948 tried to look forward to the days of peaceful coexistence:

“And my child will be raised
In Jerusalem and Ghaza
With Rachel and Sarah.” (75)

It is clear, however, that the coexistence which Basîsû (born 1926) seems to have had in mind already in 1948 is more or less similar to the one now officially propagated by the PLO: Arabs and Jews living together in one secular non-Jewish (potentially Arab-dominated) state in Palestine.

It is not surprising, then, that Basîsû, together with Mahmûd Darwîsh, vigorously attacked those Israeli Arab writers who, in June 1974, signed a joint declaration of Jewish and Arab authors calling on both the Arab states and Israel to stop fighting and recognize the rights of both Palestinian Arabs and Israeli to live in a state of their own. (76)

With the possibility of a separate Palestinian Arab national state coming into the focus of international discussion, it may be that visions of peaceful coexistence may emerge more frequently in contemporary Arabic thought and be expressed also in literary writings.

(XI.) Third World solidarity: A development typical of Arabic literature concerning Palestine from the sixties onwards – especially in the writings of left-wing authors – is a certain trend toward putting the Palestinians’ struggle in the wider perspective of liberation-movements in the Third World. Some kind of solidarity with Asian and African peoples fighting against western powers was already expressed in Arabic literature at the beginning of this century, as in the case of the Boers’ war against the British in Southern Africa and Japan’s victory over the Russians in 1905. (77) In the sixties, expressions of solidarity with the struggle of the Viet Cong (78) – and comparisons of the Palestinians’ own situation with that of the Viet Cong – became popular in left-wing circles. Very often this comparison was used in literary writings as a base for strong self-criticism, attacks on Arab governments etc.

So far, the impact of this “internationalist” trend on the wider Arab reading public may be only superficial.

Footnotes:

- AF = Ya’qûb al-’Ûdât (pseud. al-Badawî al-Mulaththam): *Min a’lâm al-fikr wa-l-adab fi Filastîn* (Amman 1976)
JAL = *Journal of Arabic Literature* (Leiden)
JPS = *Journal of Palestine Studies* (Beirut)
MEJ = *Middle East Journal* (Washington, D. C.)
MW = *Muslim World* (Hartford, Conn.)
OM = *Oriente Moderno* (Rome)

- 1 For general introductions into the history and development of Arabic literature in the twentieth century see my survey-article in *Der Islam* (Berlin) 50/1973/325-30. To the titles mentioned there, the following titles of books and articles published since 1973 should be added: S. Moreh: *Modern Arabic Poetry 1800–1970* (Leiden 1976); idem: *An Outline of the Development of Modern Arabic Literature*, in: OM 55/1975 8-28; Salma Khadra Jayyusi: *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry*, 2 vols. (Leiden 1977); R. C. Ostle (ed.): *Studies in*

- Modern Arabic Literature (Warminster 1975); see also the bibliographical surveys by S. J. Altoma: *Modern Arabic Literature. A bibliography* . . (Bloomington/Ind., 1975), and A. Borruso/A. De Simeone: *Sul repertorio bibliografico letterario del mondo arabo contemporaneo*, in: OM 55/1975/503-508. – For a survey of translations of modern Arabic literature into English see M. B. Alwan in MEJ 26/1972/195-200. For studies on (and translations of) modern Arabic literature published in Russian since 1973 see the bibliographies by S. Shuiski in JAL 6/1975/146-50 and 8/1977/177-187.
- 2 The bulk of modern Arab writings concerning Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict, including literature in the sense of belles lettres, is mentioned in the following bibliographies: Naim Shahrabani: *The Arab Israeli Conflict. A Bibliography of Arabic Books and Publications* (Jerusalem 1973); Ahmad Yūnus Ismā'īl al-Khârūf: *Filastīn baina 'amay 1948–1972, qā'ima bibliyūghrāfiya bi-l-kutub* (.) *al-sādira fī l-Mamlaka al-Urdunnīya* (Beirut 1973); and idem: *Filastīn baina 'amay 1948–1972, qā'ima* (etc.) *fī Misr* (Beirut 1973). For the treatment of Palestinian topics in Arab journals between 1948 and 1970 see Qā'ima bibl. li-l-qadiya al-filastīniya fī l-madjallāt al-'arabiya wa-l-thaqāfiya, 1948–1970 (Beirut 1970). The three bibliographies last mentioned are publications of the PLO Research Center.
 - 3 For general information see S. J. Altoma: *The Treatment of the Palestinian Conflict in Modern Arabic Literature, 1917–1970*, in: Middle East Forum (Beirut), 48/1972/1/7-25, and idem: *Palestinian Themes in Modern Arabic Literature, 1917–1970* (Cairo 1972 – not available to me); Adnan Abu-Ghazaleh: *Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine* (Beirut 1973), esp. 58-69.
 - 4 The unpublished Ph. D. thesis (U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1971) by H. D. Rowland: *The Arab-Israeli Conflict as Represented in Arabic Fictional Literature* is not available to me (see review of the typescript version by 'Isā al-Nā'ūrī in *Al-Adīb* (Beirut), May 1973, pp. 22-24). – There are, of course, several useful surveys in Arabic, as, e.g., 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Yāghhī: *Hayāt al-adab al-filastīnī al-hadīth, min awal al-nahda hattā l-nakba* (Beirut 1968).
 - 5 An extremely venomous comment on this event was published in the semi-official Baghdad daily *Al-Jumhūriya* of November 25, 1977, last page.
 - 6 For Algeria and Tunisia, e.g., see the relevant papers presented to the tenth Congress of Arab Writers at Algiers (1975) and published in Vol. IX, no. 6 of *Al-Kitāb* (Baghdad, 1975), pp. 11-46 and 132-55, respectively. For Morocco see 'Abbās al-Jarārī: *Qadiyat Filastīn fī l-shi'r al-maghribī hattā harb Ramadān* (Rabat 1975). For examples from the Gulf region of poetry concerning the Palestine conflict see 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Basīr in *Al-Kitāb* (Baghdad), IX/6 (1975), 156-64. These and other relevant papers and books presented to the above-mentioned Congress may be the result of the fact that a committee on "Literature and the Palestine Problem" had been formed at the 9th Congress of Arab Writers at Tunis (1973), see OM 55/1975/51.
 - 7 Muhammad Husain al-Saghīr: *Filastīn fī l-shi'r al-nadja'fī al-mu'āsir, 1928–1968* (Baghdad, 1968); for the treatment of the Palestine conflict in Saudi literature see Bakrī Shaikh Amīn: *al-haraka al-adabiya fī l-Mamlaka al-'Arabiya al-Su'ūdīya* (Beirut 1972 (1973)), 337-52.
 - 8 *Al-Muqtataf* (journal published in Cairo by the Christian Lebanese immigrants Ya'qūb Sarrūf and Fāris Nimr), 22/April 1898/310-11; see also *Al-Manār* (Cairo), a journal published by the Muslim Lebanese immigrant Rashīd Ridā, 4/21 (Jan. 1902), 801-09.
 - 9 *Khairīya Qāsimīya: al-nashāt al-sahyūnī fī l-sharq al-'arabī wa-sadāhu, 1908–1918* (Beirut 1973).
 - 10 Safa Khulusi: *Ma'ruf Ar-Rusafi in Jerusalem*, in: *Arabic and Islamic Garland. Historical, Educational and Literary Studies* presented to Abdul-Latif Tibawi (.), London 1977, pp. 147-52; see also 'Abd al-Rahmān Yāghhī: *Hayāt* (note 4 above), 182-85, and Kāmil al-Sawāfirī: *Al-Rusāfī fī Filastīn*, in: *Al-Kitāb* (Baghdad), 9/1975/4/91-97, with comment by Hilāl Nāji *ibid.*, 97-99.
 - 11 From English translation as given by Khulusi (see note 10), 150, see Arabic text in Yāghhī, *op. cit.*, 182-83.
 - 12 For biographical data about him see AF, 44-48. Bustānī has published his poetry concerning Palestine in a separate book: *Filastīnīyāt* (Beirut 1946).
 - 13 Khulusi, 150; Yāghhī, 184-85.
 - 14 Kāmil al-Sawāfirī: *al-shi'r al-'arabī al-hadīth fī ma'sāt Filastīn min 1917 ilā 1955* (Cairo 1963), and idem: *al-ittijāhāt al-fanniya fī l-shi'r al-filastīnī al-mu'āsir, 1926–1960* (Cairo 1973); Nazhīh Abū Nidāl: *al-shi'r al-filastīnī al-muqātil* (Beirut 1974); 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Kayyālī: *al-shi'r al-filastīnī fī nakbat Filastīn* (Beirut 1975); see also G. Canova: *La poesia della resistenza palestinese*, in: OM 51/1971/583-630. – Translations into western languages are to be found, *inter alia*, in: Abdul Wahab al-Messiri (ed.): *A Lover from Palestine and other Poems* (.), Washington, D.C., 1970; A. K. Germanus: *The New Palestinian Poetry from beneath the Cross-*

- fire, in: *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad/Deccan), 47/1973/127-58 (translations not reliable); see also the following anthologies: Mounah A. Khouri and H. Algar (eds.): *Anthology of Modern Arabic Poetry* (London 1974); *Anthologie de la littérature arabe contemporaine, III: La poésie*, ed. L. Norin and E. Tarabay (Paris 1967); A. Schimmel: *Zeitgenössische arabische Lyrik* (Tübingen and Basel 1975).
- 15 See notes 67, 69 and 70 below.
- 16 For the development of this genre in Palestine and Jordan see Hāshim Yāghī: *al-qissa al-qaṣīra fī Filastīn wa-l-Urdunn, 1850 – 1965* (Cairo 1966).
- 17 For authors and titles see Shahrabani (note 2 above), Index p. 288 s.v. "Drama"; A. Abū Shanab in *Al-Ma'rifa* (Damascus) no. 159/1975/92-103; for the reception of Brecht in modern Arabic literature see the dissertations mentioned in *Der Islam* 55/1978/146-47.
- 18 There are, e.g. several volumes of memoirs by the ex-chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, Ahmad Shuqairī (see biography in AF, 320-30), some of which have been reviewed in *JPS*, 2/1973/2/131-35 and 3/1973-74/2/142-46; see also E. Kedourie in: *Arabic Political Memoirs and Other Studies* (London 1974), 188-92. Excerpts, concerning the events of 1948, from the memoirs of Fauzī al-Qāwuqjī (*Mudhakkirāt Fauzī al-Q.*, 2 vols., Beirut 1975) have been published in English translation in *JPS* 1/1972/4/27-58 and 2/1972/1/3-33. For the same period see also the memoirs of Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāsir, published in English translation *ibid.*, 2/1973/2/3-32. Not available to me are the memoirs of a certain Mahmoud Issa, alias Selim: *Je suis un fedayin* (Paris 1976), see *Le Monde* (Paris), July 13, 1976, p. 5.
- 19 See G. Hennebelle and Kh. Khayati: *La Palestine et le cinema* (Paris 1977; reviewed by S. Antonius in *JPS* 7/1978/2/120-25); regarding Palestinian topics in Arab film scripts: F. Ghāli in *Shu'ūn Filastīniya* (Beirut), 45/1975/97-113.
- 20 A(bd al-)L(atif) Tibawi: *Visions of the Return. The Palestine Arab Refugees in Arabic Poetry and Art*, in: *MEJ* 17/1963/507-26 (reprinted in *idem: Arabic and Islamic Themes*, London 1976, pp. 341-54). The quotations below are from *MEJ*. — About Tibawi see the *Festschrift* mentioned above note 10, and AF, 390-94.
- 21 About this author see AF, 143-45.
- 22 Arabic text *ibid.*, 145, English translation by Tibawi in: *Visions* (see note 20), 508.
- 23 From English translation published in *Free Palestine* (London), May 1978, p. 11 (see also *ibid.*, March 1974, p. 6). About Fadwā Tuqān and another prominent Palestinian female writer, i.e. Salmā Khadrā al-Jayyūsī (see also note 1 above), see G. Canova in *OM* 53/1973/876-93.
- 24 Biographical data about him in AF, 212-16, and Abu Ghazaleh (note 3 above), 20-23.
- 25 Abu Ghazaleh, 63.
- 26 About this author see AF, 116-18.
- 27 Abu Ghazaleh, 63-64.
- 28 For a general survey see A. M. Abu-Ghazaleh: *The Impact of 1948 on Palestinian Arab Writers. The First Decade*, in: *Middle East Forum* (Beirut) 46/1970/2-3/81-92.
- 29 One of the most recent literary treatments of this event is the four-act play by the Syrian writer 'Adnān Mardam: *Dair Yāsīn. Masrahīya shi'rīya* (Beirut 1977 or 1978, according to *Al-Adīb* (Beirut), March 1978, pp. 58 and 64).
- 30 *Tawāhīn Bairūt* (Beirut 1972), English translation London 1976: *Death in Beirut*, p. 69.
- 31 German translation in: *Die Taube der Moschee und andere syrische und libanesishe Erzählungen*, ed. by Sam Kabbani (Herrenalb 1966), 102-7.
- 32 Mahmūd al-Hūt (see note 21): *Al-mahzala al-'arabiya* (Baghdad 1951), 1-2, English translation by Tibawi: *Visions*, 513.
- 33 The situation of the Palestinian refugee is described in a non-fictional way by Fawaz Turki: *The Disinherited. Journal of a Palestinian Exile* (New York and London 1972); see the same author's essays in *JPS* 3/1974/3/3-7; 5/1975-76/1-2/82-96 and 6/1977/3/66-76.
- 34 German translation by Harald Funk: *Männer in der Sonnenglut*, in: *Erkundungen. 17 arabische Erzähler*, ed. R. Simon, (East-)Berlin 1971, pp. 191-244. This German translation was reprinted in Beirut as a separate booklet in 1973. — About Kanafānī (d.1972) see S. Wild: *Der Palästinaenser im literarischen Werk G. K.'s*, in: *Akten des VII. Kongresses (. . .)*, ed. A. Dietrich (Göttingen 1976), 395-400, and *idem: Ghassan Kanafani. The Life of a Palestinian* (Wiesbaden 1975) and the literature mentioned there; also: H. Kilpatrick: *Tradition and Innovation in the Fiction of Gh. K.*, in: *JAL* 7/1976/3-64, and R. 'Ashūr: *al-tariq ilā l-khaima al-ukhrā, dirāsa fī adab Gh. K.* (Beirut 1977).
- 35 As, e.g., in Kanafānī's *Umm Sa'd. Qisas filastīniya* (Beirut 1969).
- 36 For an analysis based on sociological research see Mark A. Tessler: *Israel's Arabs and the Palestinian Problem*, in: *MEJ* 31/1977/313-29.
- 37 It should be mentioned here that a number of Jewish immigrants to Israel coming from Arab

- countries continued to write in Arabic at least for some time, see S. Moreh (ed.): *Arabic Works by Jewish Writers, 1863 – 1973* (Jerusalem 1973).
- 38 S. Moreh: *Arabic Literature in Israel*, in: *Middle Eastern Studies* (London), 3/1967/283-94. See further Sulafa Hijjawi (trsl.): *Poetry of Resistance in Occupied Palestine*, 2nd ed. Baghdad 1968; Emile A. Nakhleh: *Wells of Bitterness: A Survey of Israeli-Arab Political Poetry*, in: *Arab World* (New York), 16/1970/30-37; Hanan Mikhail Ashrawi: *The Contemporary Palestinian Poetry of Occupation*, in: *JPS* 7/1978/3/77-101. – In Arabic: Ghassân Kanafânî: *al-adab al-filastînî al-muqâwim tahta l-ihtilâl*, 1948 – 1968 (Beirut 1968); ‘Abd al-Rahmân al-Yâghî: *Dirâsât fî shî’r al-ard al-muhtalla. Muhâdarât ..* (Cairo 1969); Hârûn Hâshim Rashîd: *al-kalima al-muqâtîla fî Filastîn* (Cairo 1973). About the author last mentioned, himself a poet of note, see AF, 219-21.
 - 39 Titles of his earlier works are given in Shahrabani, op.cit., 96; see Rajâ’ al-Naqqâsh: M. D., *shâ’ir al-ard al-muhtalla* (Cairo 1969). English translations of selected poems by M. D. have been published, inter alia, by I. Wedde and F. Tuqan: *Selected Poems (of M. D.)*, Cheadle Hulme (U.K.), 1973, and B. M. Bennani: *Splinters of Bone. Poems by M. D.* (New York 1974); see also JAL 5/1974/127-33 and 6/1975/101-6, and the anthologies mentioned above, note 14.
 - 40 From English translation in Mahmoud Darwish: *The Palestinian Chalk Circle*, ed. Fifth of June Society, Arab Women’s Information Committee (Beirut s.d.), p. 4.
 - 41 From English translation in: *Palestine (PLO Information Bulletin, Beirut)*, 2/1976/8/55; see the same author’s article *The Fate of the Arabs in Israel*, in: *JPS* 6/1976/1/92-103.
 - 42 For a comprehensive survey of the main topics of Arab polemic literature about Zionism see Y. Harkabi: *Arab Attitudes to Israel* (Jerusalem 1972).
 - 43 Shimon Ballas: *The (Ugly) Israeli in Arab Literature*, in: *New Outlook (Tel Aviv)*, 17/1974/9/78-86. Arab authors, in their turn, detect a number of clichés of – and prejudices toward – the Arabs in modern Hebrew literature. As an example see Ghassân Kanafânî’s article about racial arrogance as reflected in Israeli novels: *al-ghatrasa al-unsuriyya fî l-riwâya al-sahyûniyya*, in: *Al-Adâb* (Beirut), 14/June 1967/3-5. – According to MEJ 32/1978/2/250, the image of the Arab in modern Hebrew literature has been analysed in three articles (by R. Alter, I. Barzilay and J. Kabakoff) published in *Hebrew Studies*, 18/1977.
 - 44 A collection of essays about the young generation of Israelis by the Egyptian writer and journalist Anîs Mansûr is not available to me, i.e.: *al-sabrâ, al-jîl al-jadîd fî Isrâ’îl* (Cairo 1974).
 - 45 See, e.g., the life story of the Israeli woman Maryam in Kanafânî’s ‘A’id ilâ Haifâ (Beirut 1969).
 - 46 Ballas, op.cit., 81-83.
 - 47 Ibid., 86.
 - 48 From English translation in *Free Palestine* (London), March 1974, p. 6. A selection of al-Asmar’s poems in English translation has been published under the title *Dreams on a Mattress of Thorns and Poems from an Israeli Prison* (London 1976). The author describes his personal experiences in: *To be an Arab in Israel* (London 1975); see also his article *Israel Revisited*, in: *JPS* 6/1977/3/47-65.
 - 49 Biographical data in AF, 571-74.
 - 50 From English translation in S. J. Altoma: *The Treatment* (see note 3 above), 11.
 - 51 See Harkabi, op.cit., esp. 370-83.
 - 52 Bassam Tibi: *Von der Selbstverherrlichung zur Selbstkritik*, in: *Die Dritte Welt (Meisenheim)*, 1/1972/158-84 and 234-36, and S. Wild: *Gott und Mensch im Libanon (. . .)*, in: *Der Islam* 48/1972/206-53, esp. 211-14.
 - 53 For the development of the novel after 1967, especially regarding the conclusions which were drawn from the defeat, see Ilyâs Khûrî: *Tajribat al-baht ‘an ufuq; muqaddima lidirâsat al-riwâya al-‘arabiyya ba’da l-hazîma* (Beirut 1974).
 - 54 Trevor LeGassick: *Some War-Related Arabic Fiction*, in: MEJ 25/1971/491-505, esp. 494-97; S. J. Altoma: *The Treatment*, 21-24. There is an English translation of Barakât’s novel: *Days of Dust*, trsl. by T. LeGassick (Wilmette, Ill., 1974), see reviews in *JPS* 4/1975/3/108-9 and MEJ 29/1975/107-8.
 - 55 There are a few literary works referring allegorically to the reasons behind Egypt’s defeat under Nâsir’s leadership, see, e.g. Menahem Milson: *An Allegory on the Social and Cultural Crisis in Egypt: “Walîd al-‘Anâ”* by Najîb Mahfûz, in: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 3/1972/324-47.
 - 56 Arieh Loya: *Poetry as a Social Document: The Social Position of the Arab Woman as Reflected in the Poetry of Nizâr Qabbânî*, in: *MW* 63/1973/39-52.
 - 57 The Arabic text of this elegy was first published on page 1 of the Beirut daily *Al-Anwâr*, Oct. 8, 1970; see S. Moreh: *Modern Arabic Poetry* (note 1 above), 277.

- 58 Quoted from Donohue (see following footnote), 23; for a comment on Qabbānī's more optimistic outlook since 1973 see Sukaina al-Shihābī in *Al-Adīb* (Beirut), January 1978, pp. 16-19.
- 59 John J. Donohue, S. J.: *Resurrection and Rebirth. The October War and the New Arab Man*, in: *CEMAM Reports* (Beirut), 2/1973/23-36; Husnī Sayyid Labīb: *Harb uktūbar wa-in'ikāsuhā 'alā l-adab*, in: *Al-Adīb* (Beirut), February 1974, pp. 31-33; Edward Hannā Sa'īd (et al.): *al-'ubūr ilā l-mustaqbal: qasā'id min wahy uktūbar* (Cairo 1975).
- 60 For a study of the attitude of Lebanese Christian intellectuals toward the Palestine problem up to the early fifties see W. W. Haddad: *The Christian Arab Press and the Palestine Question: A Case Study of Michel Chiha of Bayrut's Le Jour*, in: *MW* 65/1975/119 ff. (See also note 66 below.)
- 61 *Death in Beirut*, pp. 160, 175-78.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 183-84. For a scholarly description and analysis of the milieu which forms the background of 'Awwād's novel see the recent book by the author of 'Audaṭ al-tā'ir (see above, note 54), Halīm Barakāt, a professor of sociology: *Lebanon in Strife. Student Preludes to the Civil War* (Austin and London, 1977).
- 63 For authors and titles see Shahrabani, *op.cit.*, Index p. 289.
- 64 One of the numerous examples is quoted by Tibawi: *Visions*, p. 512.
- 65 See H. Busse: *Der Islam und die biblischen Kultstätten*, in: *Der Islam* 42/1966/113-47, and Harkabi, *op.cit.*, 132-37.
- 66 For the anti-Zionist attitude of many Christian Arab leaders and intellectuals see Paul Löffler: *Arabische Christen im Nahost-Konflikt* (Frankfurt/M. 1976). The historical background of this attitude is described by Elie Kedourie: *The Chatham House Version* (London 1970), 317-42, and W. W. Haddad: *Christian Arab Attitudes toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, in: *MW* 67/1977/2/127-45.
- 67 For works of modern Arab historiography concerning Palestine see W. Ende: *Arabische Nation und islamische Geschichte* (Beirut and Wiesbaden, 1977), 110-12, and E. Sivan: *Modern Arab Historiography of the Crusades*, in: *Asian and African Studies* (Jerusalem), 8/1972/2/109-149.
- 68 The comparison is used, e.g., in ta'ziya-speeches and sermons commemorating the death of Imam Husain; see Waddah Chrra: *Transformations d'une manifestation religieuse dans un village du Liban-Sud* (Ashura), Beirut 1968, p. 100 f., and F. Maatouk: *La représentation de la mort de l'Imam Hussein à Nabatieh* (Liban-Sud), Beirut 1974, pp. 92-93.
- 69 Sylvia G. Haim: *Arabic Antisemitic Literature. Some preliminary Notes*, in: *Jewish Social Studies* 17/1955/4/307-12 (and comment by Moshe Perlmann *ibid.*, 313-14); Harkabi, *op.cit.*, 223-37 and *passim*; B. Lewis: *Semites and Anti-Semites in: Islam in History. Ideas, Men and Events in the Middle East* (London 1973), 138-57.
- 70 U. Rizzitano: *Reactions to Western Political Influences in 'Alī Ahmad Bākathīr's Drama*, in: B. Lewis and P. Holt (eds.): *Historians of the Middle East* (London 1962), 442-48; P. Cachia: *Themes Related to Christianity and Judaism in Modern Egyptian Drama and Fiction*, in: *JAL* 2/1971/178-94. The final lines of a poem by Bākathīr concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict are quoted (and translated into English) by A. K. J. Germanus in *Orientalia Hispanica*, ed. J. M. Barral, I/1 (Leiden 1974), 315 f.
- 71 Harkabi, *op.cit.*, 229-37 and 518.
- 72 *Al-Adīb* (Beirut), August 1974, p. 44 (article by Ja'far al-Khalīlī) and *ibid.*, September 1974, p. 47.
- 73 As examples we may mention 'Abdallāh al-Tall: *Khatar al-yahūdīya al-'ālamīya 'alā l-Islām wa-l-Masīhīya* (Cairo 1964); Sābir 'Abd al-Rahmān Tu'aīma: *al-yahūd fī maukib al-ta'rīkh* (Cairo 1969); Bashīr al-'Auf: *al-siyāsa al-marhalīya fī da'wat al-rasūl al-'arabī* (etc.), 2nd ed. Beirut 1974; Ahmad Sūsa (an Iraqi irrigation engineer and historian of Jewish origin who was converted to Islam, see his book *Fī tariqī ilā l-Islām*, 2 vols., Cairo 1936): *al-'arab wa-l-yahūd fī l-ta'rīkh* (2nd ed. Damascus 1973).
- 74 Biographical data in AF, 52-52; a selection of his poems in English translation was published in London in 1977, i.e. Mouin Beseisso: *Poems on the Glass of Windows*; see also *JAL* 5/1964/129.
- 75 *From Events* (London), 10/3/78, p. 53.
- 76 Especially Samīh al-Qāsim (born 1939), a left-wing Israeli Arab poet of Druze origin and for a long time considered a supporter of the resistance movement, was taken to task for his signing the declaration. For the ensuing controversy between him and his critics see *CEMAM Reports* (Beirut) 2/1974/179-80 and the article by H. M. Ashrawi mentioned above note 38.
- 77 As an example we may mention the Egyptian poet Hāfiz Ibrāhīm (1871 – 1932), see C. Brockelmann: *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Suppl. III (Leiden 1942), 62.
- 78 See, e.g., Samīh al-Qāsim's poem "To the Revolutionaries of the Vietcong" in Ghassān Kanāfānī's book *al-adab al-filastīnī al-muqāwim* (see note 38), 117-18.