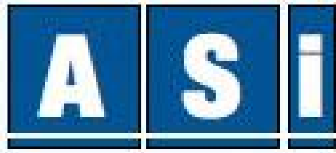

"MY STRUGGLE EMBRACES EVERY STRUGGLE": PALESTINIANS IN ISRAEL AND SOLIDARITY WITH AFRO-ASIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

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"MY STRUGGLE EMBRACES EVERY STRUGGLE": PALESTINIANS IN ISRAEL AND SOLIDARITY WITH AFRO-ASIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

By Maha Nassar

Before he was an internationally acclaimed poet, Mahmoud Darwish spent his twenties as an editor and columnist for *al-Ittihad* and *al-Jadid*, the Arabic-language publications of the Israeli Communist Party. In February 1962 he reported on the second Afro-Asian Writers Association Conference in Cairo, where writers from sixty countries gathered to discuss how they could forge a sense of solidarity based on their geographical and historical ties. Darwish articulated the impetus for the conference by noting that in the years immediately preceding it, "The East has stood on its feet and unleashed its energy, which has changed the face of humanity's history and cleansed it of imperialism's filth . . . . In this solidarity the writers of Asia and Africa have found a path towards unifying their shared forces."[1] While Darwish's account vividly conveyed his excitement about the conference, one thing was missing: Darwish himself. As a Palestinian living in Israel, Darwish could not attend the conference, due both to Israel's ban on travel to Arab countries and to the Arab boycott of Israel. Nonetheless, Darwish's enthusiasm for the conference clearly reflected a broader, yet frequently

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overlooked, aspect of Palestinian discourse in Israel. Despite their physical and geographical isolation, Palestinian activists and intellectuals repeatedly sought to affirm their solidarity with global decolonizing movements and liberation struggles. In doing so, they subtly contested elements of the Zionist narrative that portrayed Israel itself as part of the decolonizing world.

Until recently, much of the scholarship on the pre-1967 Palestinian minority in Israel has characterized it as politically quiescent and isolated, in contrast to the more robust political assertiveness of later generations of activists.[2] More recent studies have challenged this picture of quiescence, highlighting early acts of resistance despite the dominance of the Israeli military regime.[3] Additional work has also shed new light on what Ghassan Kanafani in 1966 termed the "resistance literature in occupied Palestine," showing how poetry festivals and Arabic literary journals provided important outlets for poetic expressions of nationalist sentiment and opposition to Israeli policies during the pre-1967 period.[4] These studies, however, focus primarily on state-minority interactions and tend to locate the Palestinian community squarely within the confines of the nation-state. A few scholars have noted the consumption of Arab media by Palestinians in Israel as well as Palestinian activists' pan-Arab orientation.[5] Yet there has been less attention to how Palestinian cultural producers in Israel situated themselves within the broader context of Afro-Asian decolonization movements and their concomitant global solidarity programs. As a result, the Palestinian minority has yet to be fully integrated into broader studies of Arab intellectual and cultural history, particularly during the pre-1967 period when scholars assumed they were cut off from the wider region.

This article addresses this gap by examining how Palestinian activists and intellectuals in Israel articulated their solidarity with Afro-Asian liberation struggles. Because of numerous political and ideological constraints that hindered their ability to organize sustained, large-scale and contentious collective action,[6] they relied upon cultural production to express their solidarity with these movements. Through a content analysis of two of the most popular and influential Arabic-language publications in Israel during this period—the semi-weekly newspaper *al-Ittihad* (The Union) and the monthly cultural journal *al-Jadid* (The New)—I argue that between 1960 (the Year of Africa[7]) and 1967 (the June War), Palestinian contributors to these publications utilized three overlapping solidarity discourses. These

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discourses aimed to connect Palestinians in Israel to the major anticolonial and anti-imperial struggles that animated the Afro-Asian world during this period, most notably those of Algeria, Congo, and Vietnam.

The first was a *political* solidarity discourse that circulated global discourses of anticolonial camaraderie to a local audience. Proponents of this political discourse also organized (to the extent possible) protests of support that mirrored those taking place around the world. The second was a *poetic* solidarity discourse that sought to develop what political leaders and Négritude co-founders Aimé Césaire and Leopold Senghor termed "horizontal solidarity"[8] with colonized people around the world. Poets and critics exhibited such sentiments by translating and reprinting global resistance literature and composing works that expressed their connections with those struggling for freedom. The third was an *intellectual* solidarity discourse that examined how indigenous peoples in other parts of the world—especially in Algeria—utilized cultural production to resist settler colonial regimes' attempts to erase them. These complementary discursive approaches reflected the overlapping identities of those who produced them. As was common during this period, a single individual often served in multiple capacities, including journalist, political activist, intellectual, and cultural producer. Darwish, for example, composed poems, essays, and reports, served as literary editor for *al-Ittihad* and *al-Jadid*, and also participated in demonstrations. Thus, examining these discourses together gives us a fuller picture of the intellectual trajectories of their authors.

By introducing the concept of solidarity discourses, I hope to show how Palestinian cultural producers deployed these narratives as part of a larger struggle over what Edward Said has called "competing conceptions of geography," whereby nationalist leaders and intellectuals reimagine the geographies imposed on them by outside forces.[9] In this case, solidarity discourses aimed not only to demonstrate Palestinian support for these global movements, but also to disrupt Zionist narratives of Israeli exceptionalism. As Gabriel Piterberg notes, the "uniqueness of each settler nation" is one of the "fundamentals of hegemonic settler narratives."[10] By drawing parallels between their circumstances inside Israel and those of other colonized peoples, Palestinians in Israel actively subverted Israel's own settler narrative.

Focusing on the pre-1967 period is important for two reasons. First, it helps us understand more fully why, after the sting of the June 1967 defeat, the

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Arab world so enthusiastically welcomed the "resistance poets," particularly Darwish and his colleague, Samih al-Qasim. Before that watershed event, most Arab intellectuals had ignored the Palestinians in Israel, dismissed them as collaborators, or viewed them as passive victims of Israeli policies.[11] Immediately after the war, as Arabs looked for new models of resistance, they took a renewed interest in the Palestinians in Israel, seeking them out at international conferences and festivals.[12] Through these solidarity discourses, Palestinians in Israel articulated a transnational consciousness that had parallels in the Arab world, much to the (pleasant) surprise of their Arab interlocutors. Second, focusing on this period helps us broaden our understanding of Palestinian global alliance building beyond the realm of revolutionary armed struggle. As Paul Chamberlin has recently demonstrated, in the wake of the June War, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) launched a "global offensive" in which it drew parallels between the Palestinian struggle and those of other anticolonial and anti-imperialist movements, focusing on armed struggle as the most effective means of achieving national liberation goals.[13] Examining these earlier discourses demonstrates that Palestinian expressions of global solidarity extended beyond a shared belief in armed struggle and also included active engagement on cultural and intellectual planes.

Investigating how these Palestinians utilized cultural production to establish solidarity with a larger Afro-Asian world helps us deprovincialize the Palestinians in Israel and locate them within a transnational, comparative framework of anticolonial cultural resistance. At the same time, it writes this community back into the histories of Arab and Palestinian alliance building. Thus, this study contributes to the nascent field of Palestinian cultural history. It also speaks to the newly emergent historical work on Arab-Afro-Asian relations that seeks to move beyond center-periphery paradigms in order "to locate firmly an intercontinental geography of historical agency and meaning,"[14] and to elucidate further the contours of "an Afro-Arab political imaginary."[15]

Palestinians in Israel and the Decolonizing World

For those in colonial and postcolonial societies, events of the mid–twentieth century represented the potential transformation from a world dominated

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by imperial powers to one in which the third world took its rightful place on the world stage.[16] The 1955 Asian African (Bandung) Conference symbolized this hoped-for change, though the political rivalries, divisions, and disappointments meant that the third world never unified politically as much as activists had hoped.[17] Nonetheless, as Vijay Prashad notes, there emerged a unifying "Bandung Spirit" in which participants demanded that "the darker nations not only find out about European culture but that each of the twenty-nine and beyond learn about everyone's cultural history."[18] The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), formed as a follow-up to Bandung, organized several conferences to facilitate such cultural exchanges, including the 1962 Afro-Asian Writers Association Conference in Cairo that Darwish praised in *al-Ittihad*.

Fostering a sense of connectedness was especially vital for Palestinians in Israel as they faced a form of dual isolation. In the wake of the 1948 war, in which over 750,000 Palestinians were expelled or fled from their homes, only about 160,000 Palestinians remained inside the Green Line. The vast majority of those who remained were rural villagers, and they constituted less than fourteen percent of the Israeli population.[19] Although Israel technically granted most of them citizenship in 1952,[20] their identity cards marked them as "Arab." They faced an oppressive regime of military rule that contained their very mobility and subjected them to frequent property demolitions and detention for oppositional political expression. They also had little contact with Palestinians and other Arabs beyond the Green Line. Claiming security concerns, Israeli authorities prevented them from traveling to Arab countries, restricted the importation of media from the Arab world, and limited the number of Arabic newspapers and periodicals that could be published within the state.[21]

At the same time, the Arab-led boycott of Israel also extended to its Palestinian minority, furthering their isolation. At first, many Arabs believed Israeli propaganda that described the "Arab Israelis" as a content minority in the Jewish state and regarded Palestinians who accepted Israeli citizenship as turncoats. Beginning in the early 1960s, some Arab intellectuals began to take a more sympathetic view, seeing these Palestinians as an oppressed (if passive) minority. Nonetheless, there continued to be little direct contact between Palestinians in Israel and other Arabs prior to 1967.

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Despite this dual isolation, Palestinians in Israel were highly invested in political developments beyond the Green Line and continued to identify with colonized peoples around the world. As with other Palestinians and Arabs, many supported Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser and were avid listeners of the Egyptian radio broadcasts that carried Nasser's speeches and news reports emphasizing Afro-Asian solidarity.[22] These broadcasts, along with those from Radio Moscow, Radio Damascus, and other stations, as well as magazines and journals from the Soviet Union and the few publications that were smuggled in from Arab countries, helped shape the contours of solidarity discourses among Palestinians in Israel.

In this context, the Israeli Communist Party (ICP) emerged as a crucial site for political and cultural resistance within Israel. Early leaders were enthusiastic supporters of the Soviet Union and its policies, but by the 1960s the ICP also began attracting large numbers of politically conscious Palestinians who did not necessarily toe the party's official Marxist, pro-Soviet line. As the only (legal) non-Zionist party in Israel, the ICP faced numerous obstacles, including harassment by the authorities and an inability to compete with the government's largess in garnering political support.[23] While Palestinian support for the ICP fluctuated during the 1950s, the 1960s saw a steady rise in backing from this community, as measured by election results and circulation figures for *al-Ittihad*.[24] The rise was due to a number of factors, including the slight easing of military government restrictions beginning in the late 1950s, and the increased proletarianization and migration of Palestinian youth to urban areas, where the ICP was particularly strong.[25]

The vast majority of the party's limited resources went to support its Hebrew and Arabic publications, including *al-Ittihad* and *al-Jadid*.[26] *Al-Ittihad*, which Emile Habibi co-founded and edited,[27] reprinted news items from Western wire services, the Soviet TASS news agency, and regional publications. Habibi also wrote many of the paper's lead editorials, offering his views on domestic and international events, which almost always mirrored official Soviet positions. *Al-Jadid*, founded in 1953 and edited during the 1960s by a team of ICP activists, published Arabic translations of global resistance literature as well as locally produced essays that highlighted the role of cultural resistance in anticolonial struggles. Both publications were subject to Israeli censorship, and most items in *al-Ittihad* appeared without attribution.[28]

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By the 1960s, the ICP's publications came to dominate the Arabic media landscape in Israel. *Al-Ittihad* did face competition from other party outlets, most notably the Histadrut-sponsored daily, *al-Yawm* (Today) and the leftist-Zionist MAPAM-sponsored weekly, *al-Mirsad* (The Observation Post). While exact figures are difficult to pinpoint, Mustafa Kabha and Dan Caspi estimate *al-Ittihad*'s circulation of 6,000-7,000 issues to be nearly double that of its two main rivals during this period.[29] *Al-Jadid*, too, contended with other Arabic cultural journals during the late 1950s and early 1960s, but by 1962 both the MAPAM-sponsored *al-Fajr* (The Dawn) and the Histadrut-sponsored *al-Hadaf* (The Goal) had folded. While not as popular as *al-Ittihad*, *al-Jadid*'s estimated circulation of 4,000 copies had matched or exceeded that of its competitors during their respective runs.[30] Beyond numerical superiority, *al-Ittihad* and *al-Jadid* also had a disproportionate influence on Palestinian cultural producers in Israel. Darwish credited his boyhood reading of *al-Ittihad* and *al-Jadid* with instilling in him an anticolonial consciousness and helping him appreciate the role that poetry can play in political struggles.[31]

Constraints on Solidarity

As decolonization movements and their attendant global solidarity activities emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, Israel attempted to find its place within the Afro-Asian emerging community of nations. Mainstream Zionist discourse had long presented Israel as a role model for the decolonizing world. Zionists argued that Israel had waged its own anticolonial struggle against the British, supported anticolonial movements elsewhere in the world, refused to align itself with any power bloc, developed a mixed economy with strong cooperative and collective sectors, and had a ruling socialist government with an influential labor union.[32] To shore up this reputation, Israel established a broad network of technical assistance and cultural exchange programs with several Asian and African nations and cultivated diplomatic and military ties with pro-Western African leaders.[33]

But Arab and some European critics continued to tie Israel to imperialism, citing its legacy as a settler colonial movement, its role in displacing hundreds of thousands of Palestinians in 1948, its ongoing mistreatment of Palestinians under its rule, and its growing alliances with imperialist

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powers.[34] Nasser was a leading proponent of this charge, and it had sway: by 1965, participants at the fourth AAPSO conference adopted a resolution calling Israel "the aggressive base of old and neocolonialism which menaces the progress, security, and peace of the Middle East region as well as world peace."[35]

Within this context, Palestinian activists in Israel who wished to organize acts of solidarity faced numerous challenges that limited their efficacy. Foremost were the political challenges that resulted from Israel's regime that viewed Palestinian oppositional activity as a security threat. Israel's hostility to the more "radical" African independence movements—including those in Algeria and the Congo—meant that any demonstration of solidarity with them risked the authorities' sanction.[36]

In addition, Palestinian activists affiliated with the ICP faced several ideological challenges. First, they had to contend with official party formulations that avoided making explicit comparisons between Israel and Western colonial powers. This requirement was in line with official Soviet positions, yet it stood in contrast to frank Arab condemnations. The ICP's official party platforms frequently alluded to links among colonized people around the world, but they scrupulously avoided labeling Israel itself as a colonial or imperial power. The language of these platforms was carefully formulated. While the party criticized Israeli policies that it believed were "at the service of imperialists," it refused to adopt the phrase "imperialist base," commonly found in Arab rhetoric. Although most Jewish Israelis did not see any difference between the two formulations, the Marxist underpinnings of the ICP made it clear that by condemning the latter phrase, the party was affirming its recognition of Israel as a legitimate state.[37] Doing so allowed the ICP to avoid the punitive measures meted out to more strongly oppositional parties, but it also prevented the ICP from officially adopting more full-throated language that would have aligned the party more closely with the positions of AAPSO and other Afro-Asian solidarity movements.

A second ideological challenge was Nasser's enthusiastic championing of anticolonial movements, especially those in the Congo and Algeria, which led to a dilemma among some ICP activists. On the one hand, Nasser had cracked down on the communist party in his own country beginning in 1959, leading ICP organizers to adopt a critical view of the Egyptian leader. On the other hand, most Palestinians in Israel—including some of the

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new, rank-and-file ICP members and sympathizers—believed in Nasser's message of Arab unity. Thus, when he hailed the anticolonial struggles of Algerians and others, these declarations helped fortify the ICP's own solidarity discourse and garner it a wider audience. But such popular rhetoric also made open criticism of the Egyptian leader untenable. To deal with this dilemma, Palestinian ICP activists largely ignored Nasser: while covering the numerous Afro-Asian conferences that were held in Cairo during this period, they refrained from calling attention to Nasser's prominence at these events.

In addition to ideological challenges, there were also grave political risks that came with identifying too closely with Nasser or the Zionism-as-colonialism rhetoric. The Israeli establishment routinely demonized the Egyptian leader and punished those deemed to be too supportive of him. The fate of the Arab nationalist al-Ard (Land) movement is a case in point. The group's early publications included several articles praising Nasser and Egypt's achievements, leading the authorities to brand it as a threat to the state. As al-Ard founders tried to obtain the necessary permits to open a formal newspaper, they faced a torrent of verbal attacks from Israeli officials and media outlets. When they tried to form a political party, their petition was denied on grounds that their criticisms of Zionism posed a threat to the state. Ultimately, the Israeli High Court declared the group illegal in 1964, delineating the boundaries of acceptable political discourse.[38]

Palestinian ICP leaders and activists were well aware of these constraints. In response, they developed ways to calibrate their expressions of solidarity that pushed the boundaries of acceptable political discourse in Israel without crossing them. One of these ways was to develop modes of cultural production that utilized the discourses of political, poetic and intellectual solidarity.

Political Solidarity Discourse

Since most Palestinians in Israel had not traveled abroad, the local Arabic press played a crucial role in promoting a sense of solidarity with independence movements around the world. *Al-Ittihad* played an especially important role in this regard, not only through its news coverage, but also through its clear editorial support for anticolonial protesters. This coverage, coupled

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with local solidarity protests that adopted chants and slogans identical to those of protests elsewhere, helped familiarize Palestinians in Israel with the major themes of anticolonial movements around the world. As a result, the paper contributed to the local circulation of global discourses of political solidarity that were popular throughout the third world, including in the Arab region.

These global discourses were inextricably linked to Cold War rivalries. As early as the 1920s, the Soviet Union's highly centralized press machine promoted a narrative of liberation and social justice through working-class revolution that resonated with many in the colonized world. By the time the United States sought to contain the spread of communism in Asia and Africa after World War II, support for anticolonial and nationalist movements was already linked in the minds of many to the Soviet Union. Moreover, America's interventions during the 1950s in such places as Korea, Indonesia, Iran, and Lebanon, coupled with its support of British and French colonial interests, led many in the Afro-Asian world to view themselves as linked by their common opposition to Western domination.[39]

Al-Ittihad played a role in this ideological contestation by focusing on anticolonial "hotspots" around the world, especially those where the course of events showed Western powers in a poor light. Such was the case in the Congo, which had achieved formal independence in June 1960, and whose leader, Patrice Lumumba, had expressed strong anticolonial and socialist views. The paper covered events in the Congo extensively, especially during the weeks following Lumumba's assassination, with several editorials blaming Lumumba's death, at least in part, on imperialist forces.[40] A February 1961 article, for example, asserted, "The villainous traitors [Moïse] Tshombe, [Joseph] Kasavubu, and [Joseph] Mobutu did not kill him on their own; indeed, those who hide out in Brussels, Washington, London and Paris killed him as well."[41] While official Israeli press coverage of these events painted Lumumba's assassination as a largely internal affair,[42] *al-Ittihad*'s interpretation reflected more closely that found in other parts of the third world.[43]

In addition to analyzing developments in the Congo itself, Habibi and his colleagues also sought to guide their readers toward a belief that in condemning Lumumba's assassination, they were standing with the rest of the world in support of the Congolese people. Thus, *al-Ittihad* ran front-page banner headlines trumpeting the large demonstrations that had

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taken place in Moscow, Accra, Cairo, Pyongyang, Warsaw, Paris, Havana, Belgrade, London, Jakarta, and Lagos decrying Lumumba's assassination and calling for the resignation of UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld for his failure to prevent the killings. The ICP also helped organize similar, if smaller, protests in front of the Belgian embassy in Tel Aviv as well as in Nazareth. In Tel Aviv, several dozen protesters yelled chants that were nearly identical to those heard around the world, including: "Down with Lumumba's killers," "Down with Hammarskjöld," "Africa for Africans," and "Oh imperialists, lift your hands off Congo."[44] *Al-Ittihad* gave front-page coverage to these protests, highlighting the parallels between local and international campaigns. In doing so, the paper sought to locate the Palestinians in Israel within a broader imagined geography that they shared with people from around the world who were standing against imperialist powers and in support of the slain Congolese leader.

The Israeli authorities' reaction to the Tel Aviv protests unwittingly reinforced a second prong of this ICP narrative of solidarity: that Israel was standing with imperialist forces rather than with the people.[45] According to *al-Ittihad,* as participants marched toward Dizengoff Square, police officers cordoned off the square, violently broke up the demonstration, and arrested seven participants.[46] In criticizing the authorities' reaction to the protest, the paper's lead editorial (likely written by Habibi) stressed that the Israeli government was acting against the demands of its people who wished to express solidarity with the Congolese:

> Here in our country—in Israel, whose rulers have enmeshed her with imperialists and entangled her with their conspiracies and aggressive schemes, whose officials have welcomed their fellow traitor Tshombe and recently conducted talks with him, whose Prime Minister Ben Gurion went to Belgium to offer his services with regard to the Congo—here in our country has arisen a wave of horror at the assassination of Lumumba and a demand that the direct and indirect perpetrators be punished and that Hammarskjöld be removed.[47]

The author's invocation of a "wave of horror" illustrates his wish to locate the Israeli people—both Palestinian and Jewish Zionist—within the global network of solidarity while positioning Israeli rulers outside it. It is unclear how widespread such sentiments actually were in Israel. But the

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state's breakup of the protest buttressed the ICP narrative among Palestinians that they were standing with the world in support of the Congolese people and that the Israeli authorities were siding with imperialist powers and their proxies. Moreover, given Lumumba's popularity, in large part a result of Nasser's strong championing through official Egyptian media outlets,[48] this narrative of solidarity resonated throughout the Arab world.

Al-Ittihad's coverage of independence movements extended far beyond Congo. The Algerian war of independence frequently dominated the paper's front-page headlines.[49] Additional articles called attention to African decolonization movements in Cameroon, South Africa, Rwanda and Burundi, Zambia, Nigeria, and Angola.[50] Although the paper devoted less attention to Latin American and Asian struggles for independence than to their African counterparts during the early 1960s, by 1964 it had increasingly turned its attention to developments in Vietnam, especially as the ranks of the Viet Cong swelled and the American troop presence increased.[51] Most of these items highlighted the international condemnation of the United States and its policies in Southeast Asia, as well as the growing domestic opposition to the war in the United States.

As with the Congo, the paper gave prominence to the global protests of solidarity with the people of Vietnam.[52] Unlike the case of the Congo, however, parallel protests in Israel held in solidarity with the people of Vietnam received greater sanction from the authorities. Polls at the time showed that nearly half of Israeli respondents viewed the war as a US attempt to establish a more pliant government, and many in the country's socialist elite opposed aligning Israel with the United States in Vietnam.[53] While international opposition to the American escalation in Vietnam continued to rise, ICP activists also stepped up their politicking at home. In late March 1966, the ICP helped organize a large Arab-Jewish antiwar rally in Haifa. Nearly a thousand protesters held signs and chanted slogans in Hebrew and Arabic, including: "Oh Americans, lift your hands off Vietnam," "The American aggression against Vietnam is a danger to world peace," and "The people of Israel stand with the people of Vietnam."[54] That July, hundreds more descended on Dizengoff Square in Tel Aviv with signs in Hebrew, Arabic, and English calling for "freedom and peace for the Vietnamese people" and chanting "Yankee hands off Vietnam."[55] Unlike the protests in support of Lumumba five years earlier, officials allowed these protests

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to take place without interruption. But the parallels in the language of the protests once again illustrate how ICP organizers continued to circulate global narratives of opposition and solidarity within Israel. The organizers did not conceive of this solidarity as being exclusively for Palestinians in Israel: Jewish Israelis who stood in solidarity with anticolonial movements were welcomed into the movement as well, highlighting their ideological (rather than ethnic) opposition to the state's policies.

Such protests—and their coverage in *al-Ittihad*—reveal how Palestinian activists in Israel used political solidarity discourses to align themselves with global campaigns in support of decolonization movements in Asia and Africa. They did so through news reports and editorials that interpreted the rapidly unfolding events and clearly distinguished the protagonists (the people) from the antagonists (colonial and imperial powers). Within this context, Palestinian activists placed the Israeli establishment on the side of the antagonists and tried to push the government to change its policies. In addition, to the extent possible, they organized protests and demonstrations of solidarity that invoked anticolonial chants and slogans identical to those heard around the world. While the protests against the war in Vietnam illustrate the possibilities of solidarity when political space is opened up, they proved to be an exceptional case given the widespread international condemnation of the US escalation in that country and the discomfort with American policies among the Israeli elite. More commonly, Palestinians in Israel did not have much political space for sustained acts of solidarity. Despite these constraints, they articulated a transnational vision of solidarity that was simultaneously burgeoning in leftist Arab circles. This shared vision, which was further reinforced through poetic discourses, would help facilitate the development of Arab interest in the Palestinian minority in the wake of the 1967 defeat.

Poetic Solidarity Discourse

In her groundbreaking study, Barbara Harlow demonstrates the importance of resistance literature in the articulation and promotion of anticolonial national liberation movements.[56] But resistance literature can also help promote transnational discourses of solidarity across geographic divides and foster a sense of shared connectedness among those who experienced colonial or colonial-like conditions—what Césaire and Senghor described

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as horizontal solidarity. In countries where authoritarian regimes sought to limit acts of solidarity, access to this type of literature was even more vital. Describing his coming-of-age under Pahlavi rule in Iran, Hamid Dabashi writes, "In what we read we thought ourselves connected, emancipated, admitted to a world beyond our material limitations, into what we dreamed possible, in the company of humanity at large. Literature for us was the material metaphor on which we based our historical agency."[57]

The deployment of literature as a vehicle for decolonization and transnational solidarity also had strong resonance in the Arab world. In the early 1950s, leftist intellectuals began calling for literary production to exhibit a commitment (*iltizam*) to national liberation and progressive socialism.[58] By the early 1960s, they combined their interest in *iltizam* with an emphasis on third world solidarity in order to "articulate the Arab experience of decolonization in global terms."[59] Echoing these views, the editors of *al-Jadid* and *al-Ittihad* strongly believed in the importance of bringing "committed literature" (*adab multazim*) from around the world to their readers. Poetry was a popular medium in this regard, because of both its immediate impact and its rich historical legacy in the Arab world. In almost every issue, both publications ran Arabic translations of poets of the early- to mid-twentieth century who were popular in "commitment" circles, including Pablo Neruda, Federico García Lorca, Langston Hughes, Nazim Hikmet, and Nicolás Guillén. They also published selections from contemporary Arab poets who pioneered the "free verse" movement and whose works exhibited a dedication to *ilitzam*, such as Muhammad Mahdi al-Jawahiri, Badr Shakir al-Sayyab, and Maʿruf al-Rusafi from Iraq; Shawqi Baghdadi and Hasib Kayyali from Syria; and Muhammad al-Fayturi and Gely Abdel Rahman from Sudan, among others. Featuring these works not only introduced readers to poems of high artistic merit, but also drew their attention to how activists around the world utilized poetry to further their liberation goals.

The resistance poets, too, played an active role in this regard. In spring 1967, Qasim (who had recently become a columnist for *al-Jadid*) translated the prison poetry of Viet Cong leader Ho Chi Minh for his readers. Qasim began his column by noting that "a critic...once said, 'The poet and the [revolutionary] hero are twins: many are the poets who have been blessed with heroism, and many are the heroes who have been blessed with poetic

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talent.'" Citing Ho Chi Minh as one such example, Qasim explained that he had obtained the English translation of Ho's *Prison Diary*, and that while he had hoped to translate the entire collection into Arabic, he only had time to translate half a dozen quatrains, which he then presented to the reader.[60] Qasim's interest in Ho's poetry reiterated a common theme found in ICP publications during this period: the symbiotic relationship between literature and revolutionary struggle, wherever it may be. Moreover, given the prominence of prison poetry in the Palestinian context,[61] Qasim's translation of these vivid and at times heart-wrenching poems further drew attention to the parallel fates of political prisoners both at home and around the world.

But Palestinian cultural producers in Israel did not just translate and reprint the works of others. They also formulated their own expressions of solidarity with those beyond the Green Line. Poetry was again the most important medium in this regard, in part because of the popularity of Arabic poetry festivals in Israel. Given the constraints on overtly political demonstrations, poetry festivals that featured defiant poems championing local and global struggles for freedom were especially popular. As Khaled Furani demonstrates, the oral power of this poetry reflected a belief common during this period that poetry could have a real-world political impact.[62] Selections of these poems were subsequently published in *al-Ittihad* and *al-Jadid*, gaining an even wider circulation among Palestinians in Israel.[63]

Many Palestinian resistance poets began establishing their national reputations by having their poems appear in these two publications. While the artistic merits of these early poems varied (Darwish would later dismiss his first collection as "not worth stopping at"[64]), their clear and passionate political messages nonetheless shed light on how these figures utilized poetry to express their views of solidarity. Darwish and Qasim were the most prolific poets during the period under review, followed by Salim Jubran, Hanna Abu Hanna, and Tawfiq Zayyad.[65] Much of their poetry commented on issues specific to the Palestinians, such as the Kafr Qasim massacre and the refugees' longing to return. But they also wrote poems with clear anticolonial and global solidarity messages. Darwish and Qasim were again the primary contributors to this body of work, though Abu Hanna and Jubran contributed as well.[66]

These poems sought to connect their audience to anticolonial and anti-imperial struggles abroad in multiple ways. Some poems had a wistful tone,

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acknowledging the geographic barriers that existed between Palestinians in Israel and those with whom they sought solidarity. This tone can be seen in a Darwish poem, written for Algerian fighters in 1960:

> My friends! / My relatives! / Your news, my relatives / is joy in the hearts of my country's workers / elation in the lives of my country's children. / If only I were a bird's wing / if only! / To sing, to call out to the morning / among the ranks of the mighty revolutionaries / in the fields of oil and olives.[67]

Darwish's invocation of solidarity is clear, but his plaintive longing to be a "bird's wing" that could fly to the revolutionaries in Algeria and sing their praises reflects too his recognition that geographic realities prevented him from joining the fighters.

Darwish's desire to transcend geographic boundaries was echoed by other poets as well. On the first anniversary of Lumumba's assassination, *al-Jadid* ran an elegy by ICP activist and poet Hanna Abu Hanna, who wrote:

> In Stanleyville, I witnessed armies marching forth / the path to their freedom is my path / … / My struggle embraces every struggle / and encompasses the world from pole to pole / … / 'Lumumba!' A chant that echoes wide / and reverberates across a raging Africa.[68]

Abu Hanna imagines Lumumba's stronghold as the center of an expansive geographic entity with wide-ranging reverberations, while he himself embraces struggles from around the world. By invoking "Stanleyville" in the poem's opening line, Abu Hanna also assumes his audience understood the political associations of this geographic marker, highlighting the mutual reinforcement of poetic and political discourse of solidarity. Most intriguingly, Abu Hanna's declaration that "my struggle embraces every struggle" suggests that the Palestinian quest for greater rights in Israel paralleled other anticolonial struggles. The logical extension of drawing such a parallel is that Israel is itself a colonial power, at least with regard to its rule over the Palestinian minority. As discussed above, such accusations were outside the bounds of acceptable political discourse both within the ICP and in the broader Israeli context. Thus Abu Hanna's poem of solidarity simultaneously pushed the limits of the acceptable in Israel.

These themes can also be seen in the following lines of Samih al-Qasim's 1964 poem, "From a Revolutionary in the East." Here, the narrator

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declares, "From a revolutionary in the East / to revolutionaries lighting up the darkness / to fellow revolutionaries, wherever they are / in the Nile, in the Congo, in Vietnam. / … / My brothers! With blood you write / your history—and headlines!"[69] Qasim's poetic reference to revolutionaries making "headlines" once again highlights a nexus of political and poetic discourses in generating solidarity across national and geographic divides. As in Abu Hanna's poem, the narrator firmly locates himself in the context of third world liberationist movements and draws parallels between himself as a "revolutionary" and other revolutionaries around the world struggling against colonial rule.

In sum, solidarity poetry published in *al-Ittihad* and *al-Jadid* worked to locate Palestinians in Israel in the decolonizing world in two ways. First, the overt political themes and references to the major news items of the day allowed poets to draw parallels between the conditions of the Palestinians in Israel and those in the decolonizing world, helping to create cultural bridges of solidarity. Second, highlighting how poets from around the world deployed "commitment" literature to support liberation movements allowed Palestinians in Israel to connect to intellectual trajectories that were prevalent in leftist Arab circles. The intellectual solidarity discourse further reinforced this connection.

Intellectual Solidarity Discourse

While the political and poetic solidarity discourses employed somewhat generalized anticolonial and anti-imperialist rhetoric, the intellectual solidarity discourse that Palestinian cultural producers utilized served as a kind of comparative settler colonial critique. Recent studies have pointed to how the Zionist settler colonial project—like other settler colonial projects around the world—sought to efface (physically and symbolically) the indigenous Palestinian presence from the land.[70] After 1948, this project extended further into the cultural realm, where the Israeli elite promoted Ashkenazi Jewish cultural dominance at the expense of Palestinian, Mizrahi, and Sephardic Jewish cultural expressions.[71] Palestinian activists and intellectuals of all political orientations struggled against this attempted erasure and sought to preserve and advance Arab cultural production in Israel. Those affiliated with the ICP in particular located this struggle in the context of a larger

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struggle of indigenous peoples around the world seeking to honor their cultural legacies and enhance their cultural output in the face of colonial and imperialist powers. By understanding how other indigenous groups utilized cultural productions in their respective struggles for cultural authenticity, Palestinians in Israel hoped to learn strategies they could use in their own struggles against the Israeli state and its dominant Ashkenazi Jewish elite. The case of Algerian cultural figures' attempts to maintain their cultural identity in the wake of prolonged French colonial rule piqued particular interest among the Palestinians. This interest reflected a local concern with maintaining an Arab cultural identity in the face of Hebrew dominance. It also tapped into a regional intellectual tendency to view Algeria as a universal symbol of third world cultural liberation.

Since the founding of the state, Israeli educational and cultural institutions stressed the rich legacy of Jewish civilization while downplaying the contributions of Arab civilization. Darwish recalled a program of "cultural brainwashing" during the early years of the state with which he and his fellow students had to contend:

> We discovered that in school, they teach us more about Theodore Herzl than [the Prophet] Muhammad. Examples of poetry by Hayim Nahman Bialik are far more numerous than examples of al-Mutanabbi's poetry. Study of the Torah is mandatory, while study of the Qur'an is non-existent. We felt that a Hebrew cultural attack was sneaking up on us, like a snake, and we had no choice but to immunize ourselves. So we drew closer to leftist circles and began reading about Marxist principles that instilled in us zeal and hope.[72]

Expressions of Palestinian disdain for the Israeli educational system appeared frequently on the pages of *al-Jadid*, where contributors referred sarcastically to the Ministry of Education (Dar al-Maʿarif) as the Ministry of Stultification (Dar al-Tajhil). Countering the Zionist narrative of Palestinian cultural inferiority became a priority for Palestinian activists and intellectuals in Israel. Without equal access to state institutions, however, they needed an alternative venue in which to promote Palestinian, Arab, and other non-Western cultures. The editors of *al-Jadid* and *al-Ittihad* were happy to accommodate.

Since *al-Jadid*'s founding, the editors saw their project as one in which cultural and political struggles intertwined. Echoing the popularity of *iltizam*

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in the Arab world at this time, *al-Jadid* sponsored a conference in 1954 on the role of literature in society in which Habibi declared: "We do not want literature that is floating in the clouds, but rather literature that is one of the weapons of the people's struggle; [a struggle that is] against colonialism and its local cronies and in favor of national liberation, independence, and peace."[73] Throughout the 1950s the journal frequently carried articles discussing the relationship between "culture and revolution" and affirming the need to produce politically committed literature.[74]

During the 1960s, essays examining the relationship between literature and anticolonial struggles around the world were a regular feature in both *al-Jadid* and *al-Ittihad*. Editors of both publications were particularly interested in works by political leaders who also contributed to the cultural realm. In 1964 *al-Jadid* ran an Arabic translation and analysis of Kenyan leader Jomo Kenyatta's well-known anticolonial parable, "The Gentlemen of the Jungle."[75] In 1966, the journal ran a review of Kwame Nkrumah's latest book on the African revolution, highlighting the Ghanaian president's criticism of bourgeois writers who believe that African history began with the arrival of the Europeans. According to the anonymous reviewer, Nkrumah argued that the history of Africa "must be written as the history of our society, not as the story of European adventures."[76] While the reviewers did not draw explicit parallels between these African societies and their own, the topic of cultural subjectivity clearly had salience for them. Examining how other societies grappled with issues of cultural authenticity and the role of literature in political struggles helped Palestinian cultural producers in Israel think through how to deal with these challenges in their own society.

But it was the Algerians' struggle for cultural sovereignty, especially in the aftermath of one hundred and thirty years of French settler colonial rule and its attendant political and cultural repression, which was the main source of inspiration for Palestinian cultural producers in Israel. *Al-Ittihad* covered Algeria's post-independence Arabization program with interest. It reprinted, for example, statements from Algerian intellectual Bashir Elhadj Ali and the FLN's head of the Arabization Council on Arabic's reintroduction into Algeria while recognizing the role that French would continue to play.[77] *Al-Jadid* reprinted an essay on the history of Algerian literature, emphasizing how these works of literature and historical studies were "part of a larger struggle for independence."[78] Once again, these discourses had

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parallels among Arab intellectuals, especially as they came to view Algeria as the preeminent symbol of third world decolonization and a focus of global solidarity.[79]

As with poetic solidarity discourses, Palestinian cultural producers in Israel did more than transmit these narratives. They also wrote their own essays analyzing how cultural resistance could counteract colonial attempts at erasure. Darwish was again the most prolific writer in this regard. By 1961 he had his own column in *al-Ittihad* where he covered literary and cultural developments at home and abroad. The following year he joined the editorial board of *al-Jadid* while continuing to write essays on culture and politics that appeared in both publications.[80] Most of his essays were concerned with the state of Arabic cultural production in Israel, but he also took an interest in bringing to his readers salient issues regarding cultural production around the world.[81]

Darwish devoted several columns to the Algerian struggle for cultural sovereignty and independence. He was especially interested in how, despite French efforts to erase Arabic cultural traditions, Algerians utilized various media to fight against the French, using whatever language—classical Arabic, colloquial Arab, or French—was available to them. In Algeria, Darwish explained, "literature stood side by side with the pistol [and] the rifle" to liberate the country from colonial rule. He also predicted that future developments of cultural expression in Algeria would have a great impact on the rest of the Arab world.[82] Given Darwish's own sense that Arabic was under assault in Israel, his admiration of the Algerians' deployment of literature was also subtly pointing to parallels that he and other Palestinians in Israel faced.

Over the next few years, however, resistance poets began recognizing that combative poetry no longer had the power it once had. In 1965 a vibrant debate emerged on the pages of *al-Jadid* between veteran ICP activist Emile Tuma and resistance poet Salim Jubran over the role of poetry in liberationist struggles. Jubran maintained that a shift in the political and cultural climate among the Palestinian minority had taken place, and that the public was no longer satisfied with empty rhetoric. "It is not hard to see that the oratorical, celebratory poetry that shook villages and towns on the day of their publication has died," Jubran wrote. "What are left are poems that treat our issues with steadfastness and depth, without clamor."[83] Jubran

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recognized a shift in the cultural climate among Palestinians in Israel, one in which a sophisticated public was more receptive to nuanced poems that minimized combative tones.

This debate about the role of literary production in the service of social movements helps explain Jubran's appreciation for some of the more nuanced aspects of Algerian cultural resistance. In 1966 he wrote a penetrating review of Algerian poet Malek Haddad's latest collection, in which he praised Haddad's deft use of imagery:

> Even with these moving images of the tragedy and immense suffering of the Algerian people, and as he wrestles against imperialism in that most hallowed of human battles, we feel the poet's belief in victory, far away from the cacophony of chants and bombastic slogans. We feel his certainty whispering softly . . . where it makes its way into the heart. And as it remains there, it makes the reader believe along with the poet."[84]

Jubran's praise for Haddad was more than just an appreciation of the poet's artistic merit. He also sought to call attention to the unique position that well-crafted poetry can have in moving people toward a deep-seated belief in victory against imperialist forces, without resorting to simplistic slogans. Here Algerian cultural productions emerge as a different type of example—one that was deeper and more thoughtful.

Thus, in addition to political and poetic solidarity discourses, Palestinian cultural producers in Israel developed an intellectual solidarity discourse that was aimed at exploring how culture and resistance played a key role in anticolonial struggles around the world. Their strategies included translating and circulating Afro-Asian liberationist discourses to a local audience and celebrating in particular the Algerian struggle against cultural usurpation by the French settler colonial regime. In doing so, these intellectual discourses allowed Palestinian intellectuals to draw subtle parallels with those in other colonial and postcolonial contexts. Examining these writings in conjunction with those discussed in earlier sections allows us to more fully contextualize how multiple types of discourses reinforced a broader overarching message of solidarity with the Afro-Asian world. In particular it allows us to see how Palestinian intellectuals in Israel, like their counterparts in other parts of the third world, looked to Algeria as a role model, not only for armed

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resistance against colonial rule, but for the larger and more challenging project of cultural emancipation. Although the PLO would later view the FLN's successful use of armed struggle as the primary lens through which to see their own struggle, Palestinian intellectuals in Israel looked to the Algerians' program of cultural decolonization for lessons.

Conclusion

Recently, critically engaged scholars have called for studies of Zionism and Israeli state apparatuses to be grounded more firmly in an analytical framework of comparative settler colonialism. They have shed light on how Palestinian are building solidarity networks with other indigenous groups around the world.[85] Global solidarity with the Palestinian people goes at least as far back as Bandung, where "the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine."[86] There has been little attention, however, to Palestinians' articulations of solidarity with other liberation movements and how they placed their own struggle within a comparative, transnational anticolonial framework.

This article begins to fill this lacuna by examining how one group of Palestinians—those living under Israeli military rule prior to 1967—utilized the Arabic publications of the Israeli Communist Party to articulate three solidarity discourses with Afro-Asian liberation struggles in the face of numerous political and ideological constraints. The first was a political solidarity discourse, in which party activists and leaders circulated global discourses of anticolonial solidarity and organized (to the extent possible) solidarity protests that mirrored those taking place around the world. The second was a poetic solidarity discourse, in which Palestinian cultural producers in Israel sought to develop horizontal solidarity with colonized people around the world by circulating global resistance literature and composing works that expressed their sense of connection with those struggling for freedom. The third was an intellectual solidarity discourse that examined in depth the ways in which indigenous peoples around the world, particularly in Algeria, resisted their attempted erasure by settler colonial regimes through literary and cultural means.

By utilizing these overlapping solidarity discourses, Palestinian activists and intellectuals sought to reimagine their geographical loca-

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tion as one positioned firmly within the bonds of third world solidarity, despite their physical and political isolation during the pre-1967 period. In addition, the circulation of these discourses, which also had parallels in the Arab world, reveals the shared, transnational vision of decolonization that existed among Palestinians in Israel and their fellow Palestinians and Arabs outside the Green Line. This shared vision helps us account for the positive reception that Palestinian resistance poets from Israel received in the Arab world when they were reunited with them following the June War, after years in which they were either dismissed as collaborators or viewed as passive victims of circumstance. Moreover, while the PLO formulated a program of global solidarity after 1967 that focused primarily on the idea of armed resistance, the discourses elucidated above show that Palestinian articulations of global solidarity extended beyond revolutionary struggle into the cultural and intellectual realms.

Investigating how local Palestinian discourses of solidarity were connected to global narratives of resistance challenges common analytical frameworks that center on their positionality in Israel and locates them instead within broader Palestinian, Arab, and global comparative frameworks. Deprovincializing the Palestinian minority in this manner also sheds light on the historical context in which more recent modes of Palestinian cultural resistance and solidarity can be understood.

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ENDNOTES

Author's Note: I wish to thank Aomar Boum, James Gelvin, Scott Lucas, Yaseen Noorani, Shira Robinson, and the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this article. All translations from the Arabic are mine unless otherwise noted.

1 *Al-Ittihad*, 27 February 1962.

2 Ian Lustick, *Arabs in a Jewish State: Israel's Control of a National Minority* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980); As'ad Ghanem, *The Palestinian-Arab Minority in Israel, 1948-2000: A Political Study* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001); Khawla Abou-Baker and Dan Rabinowitz, *Coffins on Our Shoulders: The Experience of the Palestinians Citizens of Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

3 Ahmed Sa'di, "Minority Resistance to State Control: Towards a Re-analysis of Palestinian Political Activity in Israel," *Social Identities* 2, no. 3 (1996), 395-503; Hillel Cohen, *Good Arabs: The Israeli Security Agencies and the Israeli Arabs, 1948-1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); and Shira Robinson, *Citizen Strangers: Palestinians and the Birth of Israel's Liberal Settler State* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

4 Ghassan Kanafani, *Adab al-Muqawama fi Filastin al-Muhtalla, 1948-1966* (Beirut: Dar al-Adab, 1966); Adina Hoffman, *My Happiness Bears No Relationship to Happiness: A Poet's Life in the Palestinian Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Khaled Furani, *Silencing the Sea: Secular Rhythms in Palestinian Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

5 Nadim Rouhana, *Palestinian Citizens in an Ethnic Jewish State: Identities in Conflict* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Leena Dallasheh, "Political Mobilization of Palestinians in Israel: The al-Ard Movement," in *Displaced at Home: Ethnicity and Gender Among Palestinians in Israel*, eds. Rhoda Ann Kanaaneh and Isis Nusair (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010), 21-38.

6 Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, second ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 2-3.

7 US diplomat Ralph Bunche is generally credited with coining this term after he correctly predicted in February 1960 that a wave of anticolonial movements would succeed in Africa that year. See the *New York Times*, 17 February 1960. By the end of the year, seventeen African nations had gained independence.

8 Aimé Césaire, "Culture and Colonization," *Social Text* 28, no. 2 (2010), 129-30; Leopold Senghor, "Some Thoughts on Africa: A Continent in Development," *International Affairs* 38, no. 2 (1962), 189-90.

9 Gauri Viswanathan, ed., *Power, Politics and Culture: Interviews with Edward Said* (New York: Vintage, 2001), 252.

10 Gabriel Piterberg, *The Returns of Zionism: Myths, Politics and Scholarship in Israel* (London: Verso, 2008), 55.

11 Hoffman, *My Happiness*, 314.

12 Perhaps the most important of these was the 1968 World Festival of Youth and Students, held in Sofia, Bulgaria. Darwish and Qasim attended as part of the Israeli delegation, and several prominent Arab figures recalled meeting them for the first time at that festival.

13 Paul Chamberlin, *The Global Offensive: The United States, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

14 Christopher J. Lee, "Introduction," in *Making a World After Empire: The Bandung Moment and its Political Afterlives*, ed. Christopher J. Lee (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), 22.

15 Alex Lubin, *Geographies of Liberation: The Making of an Afro-Arab Political Imaginary*

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(Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

16 French demographer Alfred Sauvy is usually credited with coining the term *tiers monde (third world) in* 1952 to refer to countries that were not aligned with either the United States or the Soviet Union. Following the Bandung Conference intellectuals from the nonaligned countries also began using the term, in part to signal their shared colonial history. Samantha Christiansen and Zachary A. Scarlett, eds. *The Third World in the Global 1960s* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 3.

17 Robert Vitalis, "The Midnight Rise of Kwame Nkrumah and Other Fables of Bandung (Ban-doong)," *Humanity 4,* no. 2 (2013), 261-288; Christopher J. Lee, "At the Rendezvous of Decolonization," *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 11, no. 1 (2009), 81-93.

18 Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A Biography of the Short-Lived Third World (*New York: The New Press, 2007), 45-6.

19 Charles Kamen, "After the Catastrophe I: The Arabs in Israel, 1948-51," *Middle Eastern Studies* 23, no. 4 (1987), 455-7.

20 Israel passed its Citizenship Law in 1952, which conferred Israeli citizenship (but not Israeli "nationality") on the majority of Palestinians who were deemed to be continual residents of Israel. But thousands of Palestinians in Israel were not adequately accounted for and were therefore denied citizenship status. Robinson, *Citizen Strangers,* esp. 105-9.

21 Charles Kamen, "After the Catastrophe II: The Arabs in Israel, 1948-51," *Middle East Studies* 24, no. 1 (1988), 101-103.

22 While polling data is not available from this period, anecdotal evidence suggests Palestinians in Israel listened enthusiastically to Nasser's speeches. Walter Schwartz, *The Arabs in Israel* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959), 37.

23 Joel Beinin, *Was the Red Flag Flying There? Marxist Politics and the Arab-Israeli Conflict in Egypt and Israel, 1948-1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 76, 141; Cohen, *Good Arabs*, 64.

24 For electoral results during this period, see Jacob Landau, *The Arabs in Israel: A Political Study* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 152. Membership levels are hard to gauge since the ICP kept its membership numbers a secret, but estimates are that by the 1960s the party had between 1,000 and 3,000 members, of whom about 400 were Palestinian. Ilana Kaufman, *Arab National Communism in the Jewish State* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1997), 50.

25 Beinin, *Red Flag,* 243; Haim Hanegbi, Moshe Machover, and Akiva Orr, "The Class Nature of Israeli Society," in *Israelis and Palestinians: Conflict and Resolution,* ed. Moshe Machover (Chicago: Haymarket, 2012), 92-93.

26 According to a 1957 central committee report, the ICP devoted eighty percent of its funds to publications. Although party leaders would not disclose funding levels or sources beyond membership dues and subscriptions, some sources point to revenue that was the byproduct of trade relations between Israel and Communist bloc countries. Kaufman, *Arab National Communism,* 144-145 no. 9, 147, n. 34.

27 *Al-Ittihad* was founded in 1944 as the party organ of the National Liberation League (NLL), the Arab offshoot of the ICP's precursor, the Palestine Communist Party. The British suspended its publication in January 1948. When the NLL was folded into the ICP in October 1948, *al-Ittihad* resumed publication as the ICP's Arabic newspaper.

28 Pnina Lahav, "Israel's Press Law," in *Press Law in Modern Democracies: A Comparative Study*, ed. Pnina Lahav (New York: Longman, 1985), 265-313.

29 Mustafa Kabha and Dan Caspi, *The Palestinian Arab In/Outsiders: Media and Conflict in Israel* (London: Valentine Mitchell, 2012), 113.

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30 Ibid.

31 Mahmoud Darwish, "Hayati, Qadiyati, Shi'ri," *al-Tariq 27*, nos. 10-11 (1968), 54.

32 Netanel Lorch, "An Israeli View of the Third World," in *Israel in the Third World*, ed. Michael Curtis and Susan Auerlia Gitelson (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1976), 29.

33 D.V. Segre, "The Philosophy and Practice of Israel's International Cooperation," in *Israel in the Third World*, 10-11; Zach Levey, "Israel's Strategy in Africa, 1961-1967," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36, no. 1 (2004), 71-87.

34 Maxime Rodinson, *Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?* trans. David Thorstad (New York: Monad, 1973); Yehoshafat Harkabi, *Arab Attitudes to Israel*, trans. Misha Louvish (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1974).

35 Cited in Levey, "Israel's Strategy in Africa," 72.

36 See, for example, coverage of a 1958 ICP-sponsored event in solidarity with Algeria and the military government's crackdown. *Al-Ittihad*, 4 March 1958.

37 Beinin, *Red Flag*, 217.

38 Dallasheh, "Political Mobilization," 21-38. Matzpen, a more radical offshoot of the ICP, did emerge in the mid-1960s and explicitly placed Israel's colonial practices in a broader comparative framework, but it remained on the margins of Israeli political discourse until after the 1967 War. See Machover, *Israelis and Palestinians*, 249-50.

39 Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 110-157; Greg Barnhisel and Catherine Turner, eds., *Pressing the Fight: Print, Propaganda, and the Cold War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010).

40 Between June 1960 and November 1965 (when Joseph Mobutu seized control of the country) *al-Ittihad* carried over forty articles and editorials on the Congo. In the nine issues between 24 January 1961 (when rumors first broke of Lumumba's assassination) and 21 February 1961 (by which time news of his killing had been confirmed), the paper ran fourteen pieces on the assassination and global reactions to it. Over the next several years, it also ran several pieces commemorating the anniversary of his death. See *al-Ittihad*, 20 February 1962, 17 January 1964, and 6 March 1964.

41 *Al-Ittihad*, 14 February 1961.

42 *Al-Yawm*, 14 and 15 February 1961.

43 Ludo De Witte, *The Assassination of Lumumba*, trans. Ann Wright and Renée Fenby (London: Verso, 2001).

44 *Al-Ittihad*, 17 and 21 February 1961.

45 Shortly after Congolese independence, the official Israeli position switched from one of supporting all Congolese parties to one of supporting Lumumba's rivals. See Zach Levey, "Israel's Involvement in the Congo, 1958-1968: Civilian and Military Dimensions," *Civil Wars* 6, no. 4 (2003), 14-36.

46 *Al-Ittihad*, 17 February 1961.

47 *Al-Ittihad*, 21 February 1961.

48 Tareq Y. Ismael, *The U.A.R. in Africa: Egypt's Policy Under Nasser* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971).

49 During the last two years of the Algerian war alone (1960-1962), the paper carried thirty-nine articles and editorials in support of that country's struggle for freedom. About half of these were front-page news items, while the other half consisted of editorials in support of the Algerian people and condemning the French authorities.

50 See, respectively, *al-Ittihad*, 8 January 1960, 1 April 1960, 13 July 1962, 30 October 1964, 25 January 1966, and 2 September 1966.

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51 Between 1964 and 1967, *al-Ittihad* devoted fifty-one articles and editorials to the conflict in Vietnam.

52 See *al-Ittihad*, 5 July, 26 August, and 18 November 1966.

53 Judith Klinghoffer, *Vietnam, Jews, and the Middle East: Unintended Consequences* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 69-71.

54 *Al-Ittihad*, 29 March 1966.

55 *Al-Ittihad*, 22 July 1966.

56 Barbara Harlow, *Resistance Literature* (New York: Methuen, 1987).

57 Hamid Dabashi, *Iran: A People Interrupted* (New York: The New Press, 2008), 108.

58 The term *iltizam* was first coined by Egyptian literary critic Taha Husayn in 1947 to describe Jean-Paul Sartre's concept of *littérature engagée*. It became used more widely beginning in the early 1950s with the advent of the Beirut-based literary journal *al-Adab*. Verena Klemm, "Different Notions of Commitment (*Iltizam*) and Committed Literature (*al-Adab al-Multazim*) in the Literary Circles of the Mashriq," *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literature* 3, no. 1 (2000), 51-55.

59 Yoav Di-Capua, "Arab Existentialism: An Invisible Chapter in the Intellectual History of Decolonization," *American Historical Review* 117, no. 4 (2012), 1078.

60 Samih al-Qasim, "Burj Babil," *al-Jadid 14*, no. 5 (1967), 26-27. For the English translation on which Qasim based his work, see Ho Chi Minh, *Prison Diary* (Hanoi: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1967).

61 Maha Nassar, "Affirmation and Resistance: Press Poetry and the Formation of National Identity Among Palestinian Citizens of Israel, 1948-1967" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2006), 146-8, 284-8.

62 Furani, *Silencing the Sea*, 91-108.

63 Nassar, "Affirmation and Resistance," 140-157.

64 Mahmoud Darwish, *Shay' 'an al-Watan* (Beirut: Dar al-'Awda, 1971), 252.

65 Most of their respective works were not included in their collections and therefore have received little scholarly attention. During this period, Darwish published forty-eight poems in *al-Ittihad* and *al-Jadid* (sixteen of which also appeared in his collections from this period). Samih al-Qasim published thirty-eight poems (seventeen of which appeared in his collections), while Salim Jubran published thirty poems and Hanna Abu Hanna published seven poems (none of which appeared in their collections). None of Tawfiq Zayyad's solidarity poetry appeared in *al-Ittihad* or *al-Jadid* during this period and therefore lies outside the scope of this study.

66 A quarter of Darwish's poems from this period (twelve of forty-eight) had clear anticolonial or solidarity themes, while almost a third (twelve of thirty-eight) of Qasim's poems had such themes. In addition, over a quarter (eight of thirty) of Jubran's poems featured solidarity or anticolonial themes, while four of Abu Hanna's seven poems exhibited such themes.

67 Mahmoud Darwish, "'Anaqid al-Diya'," *al-Ittihad*, 11 October 1960.

68 Hanna Abu Hanna, "Anashid Ifriqiyya," *al-Jadid* 9, no. 2 (1962), 43-47. See also Salim Jubran, "Fi dhikra Lumumba," *al-Jadid 9*, no. 2 (1962), 31.

69 Samih al-Qasim, "Min al-Tha'ir fi al-Sharq," *al-Ittihad*, 18 December 1964.

70 Piterberg, *Returns of Zionism*, 51-92; Peter Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006), 387-409.

71 Nur Masalha, *The Palestine Nakba: Decolonising History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory* (London, Verso, 2012); Gil Eyal, *The Disenchantment of the Orient: Expertise in Arab Affairs and the Israeli State* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

72 Darwish, *Shay'*, 251.

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73 Emile Habibi, "Al-Insan Hadaf al-Adab wa Mawdu'iihi," *al-Jadid* 1, no. 3 (January 1954), 41.
74 Nassar, "Affirmation and Resistance," 50-91.
75 Jomo Kenyatta, "Sada al-Ghaba," *al-Jadid*, 11, no. 6 (1964), 32-3. This parable tells the story of a man who was pushed out of his hut by an elephant and subjected to adjudication in the jungle's courtroom where the other animals (the "gentlemen of the jungle") unfairly ruled against him. Ultimately, the man outwitted the animals, emerging victorious.
76 "Al-Qadaya al-Rahina li al-Thawra al-Ifriqiyya," *al-Jadid* 13, no. 2 (1966), 5-6, 22. The book to which the essay refers appears to be Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stages of Imperialism* (London: Nelson, 1965).
77 "Mustaqbal al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya fi al-Jaza'ir," *al-Ittihad*, 19 June 1964; "Hamlat al-Ta'rib wa Ihya' al-Thaqafa al-'Arabiyya fi al-Jaza'ir," *al-Ittihad*, 31 July 1964.
78 Michel Salman, "Tarikh al-Adab fi al-Jaza'ir," *al-Jadid*, 9, no. 3 (1962), 49-52.
79 Di-Capua, "Arab Existentialism," 1078-1079.
80 Between 1961 and 1967, Darwish penned seventy-eight essays between the two publications. Qasim, Jubran, Abu Hanna and Zayyad also wrote essays on the nexus of culture and politics, though not as regularly as Darwish.
81 Twenty of Darwish's seventy-eight essays dealt with broader regional or international issues.
82 Mahmoud Darwish, "Sawt al-Jaza'ir fi Mu'tamar al-Kuttab," *al-Jadid* 9, nos. 4-5 (1962), 22-5. See also Darwish, "Zawiyat al-Adab: al-Thaqafa fi al-Jaza'ir," *al-Ittihad*, 17 November 1961.
83 Salim Jubran, "Al-Shi'r al-'Arabi al-Thawri fi Isra'il," *al-Jadid* 12, no. 2 (1965), 15-17. See also Nassar, "Affirmation and Resistance," 258-60.
84 Salim Jubran, "Hawl Diwan al-Sha'ir al-Jaza'iri Malik Haddad: al-Shaqa' fi Khatar," *al-Jadid* 13, nos. 8-9 (1966), 17. The collection was originally published in French as *Le Malheur en danger.*
85 Omar Jabary Salamanca, Mezna Qato, Kareem Rabie, and Sobhi Samour, "Introduction: Past is Present: Settler Colonialism in Palestine," *Settler Colonial Studies* 2, no. 1 (2012), 1-4; Mike Krebs and Dana Olwan, "'From Jerusalem to the Grand River, Our Struggles are One': Challenging Israeli and Canadian Settler Colonialism," *Settler Colonial Studies* 2, no. 2 (2012), 138-164.
86 "Final Communiqué of the Asian-African Conference Held at Bandung from 18-24 April 1955," reprinted in *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 11, no. 1 (2009), 99.

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