Expatriation versus Exile: Departures and Returns in Modern American Expatriate Narratives and Post-1948 Exilic Palestinian Writing

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Department of English and Creative Writing

University of Lancaster

October, 2016

Ahmad Qabaha, MA

This thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere

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Abstract

This thesis offers a sustained and nuanced examination of representations of expatriation and exile in modern American expatriate narratives and post-1948 exilic Palestinian writing. In so doing, this thesis addresses and develops an under elaborated conversation in comparative, postcolonial and diaspora studies. It accounts for the distinction between the departures and returns of the involuntary exile and the expatriate or self-imposed exile.

In Chapter One, I analyse memoirs by Fawaz Turki (1941–) and Malcolm Cowley (1898–1989) in order to illustrate that the departure of exiled Palestinian writers from their homeland is imposed by a colonial situation, while the departure of Modernist American expatriate authors to Europe is elective. In Chapter Two, I juxtapose works by Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961) and Jabra Ibrahim Jabra (1919–1994) to show that American expatriate characters are engaged in centrifugal movement that increases their sense of

freedom, while exiled Palestinian characters are involved in a centripetal mobility that expresses their desire to return home. In Chapter Three, I examine memoirs by Edward Said (1935–2003) and Gertrude Stein (1874–1946) to show that Said uses his 'voyage in' to the Palestinian context to enter into the Palestinian national narrative, while Stein performs 'a displaced and dialectical encounter' with the US to cultivate a distinctive personal identity and narrative. In Chapter Four, I explore a range of exilic Palestinian and modern American expatriate works to suggest that the differences between the representations of 'roots' and 'routes' by the authors at stake echo the various forms of departures and returns they represent.

The overarching aim of this thesis is to foreground the different modes of placelessness represented by exiled and expatriate characters and their authors. It contends that the possibility of American expatriate protagonists of reconnecting with their roots enables them to choose the routes they desire to follow afterwards, which reflects an elective exile. By contrast, the representation by their Palestinian counterparts of their inability to access their roots *and* choose their routes reflects an involuntary exile. This thesis therefore urges comparative, postcolonial and diaspora studies to stress the differences between expatriation and exile, and it opens up new possibilities for further comparative examinations of literatures of exile and expatriation. This thesis also paves the way for further research on potential connections between Palestinian and American writing.

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A Note on Transliteration

In this thesis I generally followed the system of transliteration advocated by *The International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Arabic terms that have no precise equivalents in English are fully transliterated with diacritical marks (macrons or dots). *hamza* takes a backwards apostrophe and *'ayn* takes a forwards apostrophe. Macrons are placed on long vowels and dots under emphatic consonants. Some exceptions have been made for the titles of books and articles that were (originally) published in Arabic; that is, I add the diacritics when I transliterate them. The newspapers I refer to in my footnotes have their own suggested English transcription, so I stick to it. For example, *Alquds Alarabi* remains *Alquds Alarabi*. I should also mention that conventional English spelling is used for most of the personal, place and proper names that I refer to in my thesis. For Arabic personal, place and proper names that have been encountered ready-transliterated and familiar in English, their transliterations are used. For example, Said stays Said, Nablus stays Nablus, Nakba stays Nakba.

Introduction

> '[As a critic of literature] you see different experiences in parallel lines, that is basically *counterpoint*, operating together without the necessity of being reconciled at any one moment'. (Edward Said, 'The Last Interview', 2003)[1]

Inspired by Edward Said's idea of counterpoint and postcolonial, mobility, space and place theories, this thesis examines the distinction between literary expatriation and exile and is a contribution to the fields of comparative, postcolonial and diaspora studies. This thesis specifically explores the differences between the departures and returns of the involuntary exile (in this case, the Palestinian) and the expatriate or voluntary exile (in this case, the American).[2]

This thesis shows that the American expatriate of the 1920s voluntarily departs from his or her homeland to perform a displaced relation with it and he or she can physically return, while the post-1948 Palestinian exile is forced into exile by a colonial situation and he or she is not allowed to return. This thesis further demonstrates that American expatriate protagonists of the 1920s have the ability to reconnect with their roots, which enables them to choose the routes they intend to follow afterwards. This pattern reflects that they have chosen to live in 'exile'. By contrast, the representation by their Palestinian counterparts of their inability either to access their roots or choose their routes reflects that they have been driven into exile by an external force.

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[1] Edward Said, 'Edward Said: The Last Interview', dir. by Mike Dibb (London: ICA projects, 2005).

[2] I am using the term 'America' in this thesis in reference to the United States of America since this is how it is used in the expatriate texts this thesis looks at. Also, the phrases 'Modern(ist) American expatriate authors', 'the writers of the Lost Generation', 'interwar American expatriate authors' and 'American expatriate authors of the 1920s' will be used interchangeably in this thesis as they refer to the same group of American authors this thesis studies.

Expatriation versus Exile

This is the first study, to the best of my knowledge, that substantially and in a comparative framework articulates the distinction between literary expatriation and exile. While a number of literary scholars have acknowledged the distinction between exile and expatriation, none of them has explored the distinction in a detailed comparative project, or even made it clear. In an oft-cited piece, Edward Said, the most prominent of these scholars, briefly argues:

> Exile originated in the age-old practice of banishment. Once banished, the exile lives an anomalous and miserable life, with the stigma of being an outsider. Expatriates voluntarily live in an alien country, usually for personal or social reasons. Hemingway and Fitzgerald were not forced to live in France. Expatriates may share in the solitude and estrangement of exile, but they do not suffer under its rigid proscriptions.[3]

In this passage Said sees the expatriation which American expatriate Modernists such as Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896–1940) exemplify, as opposed to exile, as a matter of choice. In Said's view, although expatriates and exiles share the terrain of solitude and estrangement, exiles, unlike expatriates, are destined to live (miserable) and discontinuous lives. Said's thought is significant, yet he reduces in this context the distinction between expatriates and exiles. Said does not tell us, for example, that expatriates, unlike exiles, intend by their expatriation to create a sense of solitude and estrangement necessary for the artist, nor does he talk about the different conditions that prompt expatriates, and enforce exiles, to leave their homeland. In the above passage Said further fails to comment on the different perceptions of homecoming by exiles and expatriates.

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[3] Edward W. Said, *Reflections on Exile: And Other Literary and Cultural Essays* (London: Granta, 2001), p.181. While I devote a whole section in this introduction to explaining why I choose Palestinian and American authors in particular for this comparison, it is worth prefacing here that Said's choice of Modernist American authors as exemplary of expatriates is telling. Mary McCarthy argues that the exile can be of any nationality but the expatriate is typically American, 'A Guide to Exiles, Expatriates, and Internal Émigrés', in *Altogether Elsewhere: Writers on Exile*, ed. by Marc Robinson (London: Faber and Faber, 1994), pp.59-58 (p.51).

Not only does Said reduce the distinction between exile and expatriation, but he also blurs it. Consider, for example, the following passage from Said's 'Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals':

> While it is an actual condition, exile is also […] a metaphorical condition. By that I mean that my diagnosis of the intellectual in exile derives from the social and political history of dislocation and migration […] but is not limited to it. Even intellectuals who are lifelong members of a society can, in a manner of speaking, be divided into insiders and outsiders: those who on the one hand belong fully to the society as it is, who flourish in it without an overwhelming sense of dissonance or dissent, those who can be called yeasayers: and, on the other hand, the naysayers, the individuals at odds with their society and therefore outsiders and exiles so far as privileges, power, and honours are concerned.[4]

Said in this passage obscures the fact that *expatriation*, not *exile*, is the category that best describes intellectuals who feel 'at odds with their society'. Likewise, Said fails above to argue that 'an overwhelming sense of dissonance and dissent' inside homeland is a characteristic that primarily pertains to *expatriates*, not *exiles*. As my thesis explains, these feelings usually generate the voluntary departure or expatriation of intellectuals. Expatriate intellectuals, unlike exiled intellectuals, reflect in their departures from their homes a sense of displaced relation and disaffection with those homes. This thesis also draws a line of distinction, blurred by Said above, between *feeling like an exile* and *being an exile*. There is a big difference, I argue, between feeling like an exile inside one's homeland (or even outside one's homeland), due to the reasons Said introduces above, and being cast into exile by an external force.

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[4] Edward W. Said, 'Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals', *Grand Street*, 47 (1993), 112-124 (pp.116-7).

Some of the following chapters will comment on the inconsistency in Said's theoretical insights on exile, yet it is worth noting in this context that the fact that Said sees the intellectual as an exile is problematic. As Svetlana Boym writes in another context, in looking at the intellectual as essentially an exile we risk 'fall[ing] into the somewhat facile argument that every intellectual is always already an exile'.[5] This thesis illustrates that such generalisation (that is, every intellectual is an exile) runs the danger of blurring the differences between the circumstances of intellectuals who are forced into exile and those who see themselves as exiles but, as I argue, should be called expatriates. Ironically, Said himself worries in his other works that looking at exile aesthetically, by extension as a metaphor, will trivialise the fact that exile is 'unbearably historical: that it is produced by human beings for other human beings' and 'like death but without death's ultimate mercy, it has torn millions of people from the nourishment of tradition, family and geography'.[6]

Mary McCarthy has also referred briefly to the distinction between exile and expatriation. McCarthy rightly notes in 'A Guide to Exiles, Expatriates, and Internal Émigrés' that exile refers to involuntary exit, while expatriation describes voluntary departure from home.[7] In similar fashion to McCarthy, I use the term *exile* in this thesis to refer to its classical meaning. "Exile" is derived from the Old French word *eissil*, meaning: "banishment" or "forced removal from one's country", and before that from the Latin term *exilium*/*exisilium*, meaning: "banishment, exile": *ex* – "away" + *exsul* "banished".[8] Specifically, I use the term exile in my thesis to refer to a person who is involuntarily separated from his or her place of

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[5] Svetlana Boym, 'Estrangement as a Lifestyle: Shklovsky and Brodsky', in *Exile and Creativity: Signposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backward Glances*, ed. by Susan Rubin Suleiman (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 241-262 (p.243).

[6] Said, *Reflections on Exile*, p.174.

[7] McCarthy, 'A Guide to Exiles, Expatriates, and Internal Émigrés', p.51.

[8] *Oxford Dictionary of English* suggests that the term exile is traditionally used to refer to 'the state of being barred from one's native country, typically for political or punitive reasons', ed. by Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson (Oxford: Oxford University Press (2nd edition), 2006), p.607.

origin and whose return cannot be achieved due to the persistence of the conditions that separated him or her from it. It also refers to the act and condition of involuntary distance from home.[9] However, I contest McCarthy's claim that the expatriate's goal is 'never to go back to his native land'.[10] By contrast to McCarthy, this thesis provides numerous literary examples of expatriates who do not intend by their expatriation to abandon their places of origin, but rather to enter into and perform a displaced and dialectical relation with them.

Martin Tucker is a less cited critic who also does not show the distinction between exile and expatriation. In *Literary Exile in the Twentieth Century: An Analysis and Biographical Dictionary* (1991), Tucker argues that 'what both the exile and the expatriate feel in common is this apprehension of being cast out from their group'.[11] The critic stresses that the expatriate and the exile share the condition of estrangement. Thus, he fails to address the differences between the forms of departure and return that exiled and expatriate authors represent. I demonstrate that while the exile and the expatriate share the condition of being disconnected from their group of belonging, the exile, unlike the expatriate, is driven out of his or her realm of belonging by an external force and cannot return.

The rigorous distinction this thesis makes between expatriation and exile is crucial and timely. A few recent critics of interwar American expatriate writing, notably Susan Winnett, and critics of exilic Palestinian literature like John Barbour urge researchers to articulate the

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[9] The way in which exile is defined in this thesis resonates with how it is introduced in Paul Tabori, *The Anatomy of Exile: A Semantic and Historical Study* (London: George G. Harrap, 1972). Tabori argues 'an exile is a person compelled to leave or remain outside his country of origin on account of well-founded fear of persecution or for reasons of race, religion, nationality, or political opinion; a person who considers his exile temporary (even though it may last a lifetime), hoping to return to his fatherland when circumstances permit – but unable or unwilling to do so as long as the factors that made him an exile persist', p. 27.

[10] McCarthy, p. 51.

[11] Martin Tucker, *Literary Exile in the Twentieth Century: An Analysis and Biographical Dictionary* (London: Greenwood Press, 1991), p. xv.

distinction between exile and expatriation.[12] In the words of the latter critic, exile and expatriation 'are now often used interchangeably to refer to people displaced from their original home, even when they leave it willingly'.[13] Similarly, Winnett remarks that there is a fine line between travel and expatriation, but 'the distinction between expatriation and exile, two terms that are often used interchangeably, is both a far more important and a more difficult one to draw'.[14] Winnett further laments:

> Many discussions of expatriation − not to mention a substantial number of expatriates themselves − have overlooked this distinction [between exile and expatriation], and tended to apply the experiences and emotions associated with exile, expulsion from one's homeland, the pathos of homelessness, unquenchable nostalgia − to a phenomenon that has very different coordinates and a very different repertoire of affect.[15]

In order to provide clear guideposts and markers of distinction between exile and expatriation, this thesis takes American expatriate authors of the 1920s (to whom Winnett refers above) and post-1948 exiled Palestinian authors as exemplary of expatriate and exiled authors, respectively. This thesis shows that the mode of estrangement represented by American expatriate authors of the 1920s involves a different 'repertoire of affect' from that

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[12] See also Caren Kaplan, *Question of Travel*: *Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996) and Martin Halliwell, 'Tourists or Exiles? American Modernists in Paris in the 1920s and 1950s', *Nottingham French Studies,* 44 (2005), 54-68.

[13] John D. Barbour 'Edward Said and the Space of Exile', *Literature & Theology*, 21 (2007), 293 -301(p. 293).

[14] Susan Winnett, *Writing Back: American Expatriates and Narratives of Return* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), p. 32. On the distinction between travel and expatriation, see Caren Kaplan, *Question of Travel*: *Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996). Kaplan, notes, but without doing an investigation, that 'most studies of literary displacement finesse the difference between exile and expatriation, creating a fund of metaphors of loss, distance, nostalgia, and anomie without historicising the representation and practice of authorship', p.106. For examples of these studies, see Terry Eagleton, *Exiles and Emigres: Studies in Modern Literature* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1970); Michael Seidel, *Exile and the Narrative Imagination* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1986) and Agnieszka Gutthy, *Exile and the Narrative/Poetic Imagination* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010). Halliwell also argues that 'exile' is not the term that should be applied to American expatriates in Europe in the 1920s, especially if their notion of 'exile' is compared with that of involuntary exiles, 'Tourists or Exiles? American Modernists in Paris in the 1920s and 1950s' (p. 57).

[15] Ibid

of contemporary exiled Palestinian authors. This thesis illustrates and analyses ways in which post-1948 exiled Palestinian authors differ in their representation of exile (*al-Manfa*) from the ways in which American Modernists of the 1920s represent the idea of expatriation as 'exile'. In some cases, the Palestinian authors concerned have commented very explicitly in their essays and fiction on ways in which Modernist American authors represent their expatriation and repatriation, as the next section illustrates.

American Literary Expatriation versus Palestinian Literary Exile

This section accounts for the reasons why I have chosen interwar American expatriate authors and post-1948 exiled Palestinian writers for articulating the distinction between literary exile and expatriation. Expatriation, derived from the medieval Latin verb *expatriat*: 'living in a foreign country by choice', *ex-* 'out' + *patria* 'native country'[16], is often applied to interwar American writers and artists in Paris and their lives, essays, memoirs and fiction.[17] Furthermore, expatriation is a US literary tradition celebrated by late nineteenth-century American authors who made use of the advent of large-scale transport in the 1840s to extend their expatriation in Europe.[18] American literary expatriation however became more popular in the early twentieth century when prominent American Modernist authors expatriated from the US to Europe in search of better life and stimuli for creativity.[19]

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[16] *Oxford Dictionary of English*, p.609.

[17] See, for example, Erik Cohen, *Expatriate Communities* (London: Sage Publications, 1977) and Kirk Curnutt, *Literary Topics: Ernest Hemingway and the Expatriate Modernist Movement* (Detroit: Male Group, 2000).

[18] See for example, Malcolm Bradbury, *The Expatriate Tradition in American Literature* (Staffordshire: Keele University Press, 1982). The author chronicles the expatriation of American authors from the Revolution (1775-83) to the twentieth century in Europe and he reflects on their shared interest in the cultural and literary movements in Europe across time. See also McKenna L. Britton; Jaime Karnes and Lane Elizabeth Miller, 'The American Expatriate Literary Tradition', *Undergraduate Research Symposium* (Florida: Florida State University, 2015) < http://diginole.lib.fsu.edu/islandora/object/fsu:252768/datastream/PDF/view> [accessed 15 March 2016]. This project, a university-level textbook, focuses on selected interwar authors and artists with the aim 'to widen the public's view of American expatriate culture'.

[19] See the following two books that link American expatriation to American Modernists of the 1920s: Robert McAlmon, *Being Geniuses Together 1920-1930* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968[1938]) and Humphrey Carpenter, *Geniuses Together: American Writers in Paris in the 1920s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1987).

Expatriation in the early twentieth century is not exclusively an American Modern(ist) experience, however. It instead represents a wider Modern(ist) norm.[20] Tucker, for example, writes that 'the expatriate has been seen as a representative example of the modern phenomenon of the choice of a foreign land over one's own'.[21] Furthermore, major twentieth century critics have associated the modern era with the self-imposed exile or expatriation of Modernist authors and artists. George Steiner, Edward Said and Raymond Williams, for example, see the modern age as a period of 'extra-territoriality', to use Steiner's words.[22] 'Crossing boundaries' and 'charting new territories in defiance of the classic canonic enclosures', as Said explains, has become 'a norm' in the modern era.[23] Williams adds that the writers who 'were continuously moving to Paris, Vienna and Berlin' such as Joyce and Beckett illustrate that the protagonist of the modern era is a 'restlessly mobile émigré or exile'.[24] Nevertheless, while expatriation or self-imposed exile is a feature of Modernism and a characteristic of the Modernist author and artist at large, it was particularly cherished by 1920s American authors in Europe.[25] Donald Pizer asserts that expatriation or self-imposed exile by 'American artists and intellectuals between the wars is a dramatic example of the alienation of the artist from the norms of his culture'.[26]

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[20] The term modern in this context means 'relating to recent times as opposed to the past' and specifically the time from the 1890s until World War II, while the term Modernist refers to deliberate departure from traditions. In literary contexts, the term Modernist refers to authors who use innovative forms of expression, and who are experimental and break down traditional literary forms. 'Put simply, modernism should properly be seen as a culture − a constellation of related ideas, beliefs, values, and modes of perception-that came into existence during the mid to late nineteenth century, and that has had a powerful influence on art and thought on both sides of the Atlantic since roughly 1900', Daniel Joseph Signal, 'Towards A Definition of American Modernism', *American Quarterly*, 39 (1987), 7-26 (p.7).

[21] Tucker, pp.xiv – xv.

[22] George Steiner cited in Malcolm Bradbury, 'A Nonhomemade World: European and American Modernism', *American Quarterly,* 39 (1987), 27-36 (p. 36).

[23] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), p.384.

[24] Raymond Williams, *Politics of Modernism,* ed. by Tony Pinkney (London: Verso, 1989), p. 34.

[25] Alexa Weik, *Beyond the Nation: American Expatriate Writers and the Process of Cosmopolitanism* (Michigan: ProQuest, 2008), p. 86. See also Alfred Kazin, *On Native Grounds: An Interpretation of Modern American Prose Literature* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982).

[26] Donald Pizer, *American Expatriate Writing and the Paris Moment: Modernism and Place* (United States: Louisiana state university press, 1996), (p. xiv). See also Michael Grawe, *Expatriate American Authors in Paris: Disillusionment with the American Lifestyle as Reflected in Selected Works of Ernest Hemingway and F.*

The expatriation of interwar American authors in Europe has its roots in Euro-US high Modernists' celebrations of 'exile'.[27] For example, US high Modernists such as Gertrude Stein and Ezra Pound (1885 – 1972) asserted the intellectual privileges of living in 'exile'. They presented 'exile' as a space of creativity *par excellence* and a means of resistance to social, religious, sexual and economic restrictions at home. Ezra Pound, for example, claimed that the intellectual capacity of the American author could not develop in the United States; it could thrive only in Europe. He emphasised that 'if you have any vital interest in art and letters, and happen to like talking about them, you sooner or later leave the country'.[28]

American expatriate Modernists often employ the Jew as a figure that represents their feeling of placelessness. In canonical American Modernist and expatriate texts, such as those written by Ernest Hemingway and Djuna Barnes (1892 – 1982), the figure of the Jew exemplifies the desire of American Modernists for a sense of displacement necessary for creative writing.[29] Moreover, American Modernists use the wandering Jew as a figure that symbolises their psychological disorientation, anxiety about modernisation and feeling of non-belonging.[30]

This thesis demonstrates that the conflation of Jewish exile and literary expatriation by American Modernists is problematic. American Modernist expatriates in this way blur the

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Scott Fitzgerald (Munich: Grin Verlag, 2008) and Melanie L. Simo, *Literature of Place: Dwelling on the Land Before Earth Day 1970* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005).

[27] I am using the word 'exile' in this context as it is used by Modernists themselves in reference to expatriation.

[28] Ezra Pound, *Selected Prose, 1909-1965* (New York: New Directions, 1973), p. 122. This reminds me of Henry James's short story 'The Madonna of the Future'. In this story, Henry James's artist cries: '"we're the disinherited of Art" … We're condemned to be superficial! We're excluded from the magic circle! The soil of American perception is a poor little barren artificial deposit'. For this reason, Theobald, as James's artist is called, feels the need to remain in Europe. Henry James, 'The Madonna of the Future' (Auckland: The Floating Press, 2014 [1873]), p.7.

[29] On this front, see Mia Spiro, 'Seeing Jewish or Seeing 'the Jew'? The Spectral Jewish Other', in *Anti-Nazi Modernism: The Challenges of Resistance in 1930s Fiction* (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2013), pp. 139-199.

[30] For further discussion on employment of the figure of the Jew in the ways described above and the representation of anti-Semitism in Modernist literature, see Phyllis Lassner, 'The Necessary Jew: Modernist Women Writers and Contemporary Women Critics', in *Varieties of Antisemitism: History, Ideology, Discourse*, ed. by Murray Baumgarten, Peter Kenez, and Bruce Thompson (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2009), 292-311.

distinction between exile as a tragedy and the expatriate's idea of expatriation as 'exile'; they turn 'tragedy' into 'romance', in Thomas Pavel's terms, which he uses in another context.[31] Michael Gluzman has already argued that modern Jewish Israeli authors oppose the view of exile by American expatriate Modernists as romance or as an aesthetic and literary gain. Gluzman maintains that modern Jewish Israeli authors instead stress that exile refers to involuntary displacement and traumatic experience. In their view, exile embodies all the disasters, calamities, persecution and suffering of the Jewish people, especially after the rise of Nazism in Germany and the persecution, banishment and murder of around six million Jews during the Holocaust *Shoah* (the Hebrew term).[32] Gluzman refers in particular to the dispersion of the Jews in Europe, the US and Russia between the wars. He asserts that Jewish Israeli authors use the term exile to refer to the dispersion of the Jews around the world and stress their ambition to establish a homeland in Palestine by which they end their tragedy of exile. The critic refers in this context to the plan of the Zionist movement, founded by Theodor Herzl in 1897, to establish a Jewish nation in Palestine which it achieved in 1948.

In 1948 Zionism created in Palestine the State of Israel that accommodated European Jews at the expense of expelling its native inhabitants, around 750,000 Palestinian Arabs, from their homes. Hence, as Emily Apter argues, 'Palestinians […] inherit[ed] the dubious mantel [*sic*] of statelessness from the Jews'.[33] This significant historical irony is a dominant theme in works written on the Palestinian experience of exile. Palestinian authors, like Jabra and Said, and some Jewish scholars, such as Hannah Arendt, argue, in Said's words, that 'Palestinians

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[31] Thomas Pavel, 'Exile as Romance and as Tragedy' in *Exile and Creativity: Signposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backward Glance* ed. by Susan Rubin Suleiman (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. 26-38.

[32] Gluzman, however, fails to stress that American expatriate Modernists, unlike (Jewish) involuntary exiles, represent 'exile' as expatriation, the latter being a US literary tradition that has a long history in American literature as noted above, Michael Gluzman, *The Politics of Canonicity: Lines of Resistance in Modernist Hebrew Literature* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 36-51.

[33] Emily Apter, 'Terrestrial Humanism: Edward W. Said and the Politics of World Literature', in *A Companion to Comparative Literature*, ed. by Ali Behdad and Dominic R. D. Thomas (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 439–453 (p. 444).

feel that they have been turned into exile by the proverbial people of exiles, the Jews'.[34] Said continues: 'perhaps this is the most extraordinary of exile's fates: to have been exiled by exiles – to relieve the actual process of up-rooting at the hands of exiles'.[35] The above authors make a link between, yet do not equate, Jewish and Palestinian exilic histories, emphasise the political inseparability between these two diasporic peoples, and importantly, invoke the contemporariness of the Palestinian exile.[36] Arendt highlights that:

> After the war [World War II] it turned out that the Jewish question, which was considered the only insoluble one, was indeed solved – namely by means of a colonized and then conquered territory – but this solved neither the problem of the minorities nor the stateless. On the contrary, like virtually all other events of our century, the solution of the Jewish question merely produced a new category of refugees, the Arabs, thereby increasing the number of the stateless and rightless by another 700,000 to 800,000.[37]

It is clear that Arendt refuses to see the problem of statelessness as exclusively Jewish and she makes a connection between Palestinian and Jewish historical exiles. Arendt argues that seeing statelessness as merely a Jewish question proves to be dangerous; its solution, that is the establishment of the state of Israel, caused the statelessness of Palestinian people – this is perhaps why Jabra asserts that 'the wandering Palestinian has replaced the wandering Jew'.[38] Arendt, like Jabra, refers to the Palestinian Nakba (catastrophe) of the 1948 – the year of the establishment of the state of Israel – which marks the birth of Palestinian exile. During the Nakba, around 750,000 Palestinian people were expelled from their land by Jewish Zionists, the event that triggered the further and ongoing expulsions and suffering of

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[34] Said, *Reflections on Exile*, p.187.

[35] Ibid.

[36] For further discussion on the ongoing Palestinian exile invoked by Jewish Israelis, see Joseph Massad, 'Affiliating with Edward Said', in *Edward Said: The Legacy of Emancipation and Representation*, ed. by Adel Iskandar and Hakem Ruston (California: University of California Press2010), pp. 23-49.

[37] Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (London: George Allen & Unwin LTD, 1967), p.290.

[38] Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, 'The Palestinian Exile as Writer', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 8 (1979), 77-87 (p. 77).

Palestinians. Salma Khadra Jayyusi argues that 'modern Palestinian experience is harsh, unrelenting, and all-penetrating; no Palestinian is free from its grip and no writer can evade it'.[39] The modern exilic Palestinian experience is best represented by 'Palestinian writers [who] have become permanent exiles, the prototype of strangers of all times', Jayyusi asserts.[40]

In critical constructions of exile, Palestinian intellectuals, mainly Said, often occupy a pivotal position. As the Israeli historian Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, quoted in Elias Khoury's letter to Said, posits: 'Palestinian intellectuals have become the pioneers of the exilic discourse replacing Jewish intellectuals after the Israeli institution has liberated itself from the life of estrangement (*Galut*) that dominated their cultural and exilic discourses'.[41] Many studies on exile (and expatriation) cited in this thesis have been influenced by Said's writings on exile.[42] Also, as Anna Bernard shows in 'The Last Jewish Intellectual: Borrowing from Edward Said', Said has inspired, 'to an intriguing extent', key contemporary authors interested in both Palestinian and Israeli exilic histories, such as Jacqueline Rose and Judith Butler. Conversely, Bernard also illustrates in the same article that Said's inspiration came from the exilic Jewish authors Theodor Adorno and Erich Auerbach. [43]

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[39] Salma Khadra Jayyusi, 'Introduction: Palestinian Literature in Modern Times', in *Anthology of Modern Palestinian Literature*, ed. by Salma Khadra Jayyusi (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1-80. (pp.2-3). The term modern is used by Jayyusi in reference to the present or recent times as opposed to a remote past.

[40] Ibid. It is worth noting in this context that although modern/contemporary Palestinian literature is an essential part of modern/contemporary Arabic literature, I agree with Jayyusi's argument that Palestinian literature since the fifties 'has shown marked differences in certain respects, especially in the treatment of place and time, of tone and attitude, and in its particular involvement with the pervasive political issue', p.2.

[41] Quoted in Elias Khoury, 'A Letter to Edward Said', *Al-Quds Al-Arabi*, 14 October 2013, para. 8. My translation. Galut is the Hebrew equivalent of the term estrangement.

[42] See for example studies done by Gluzman and Halliwell cited in this introduction; they discuss themes of exile and expatriation.

[43] Anna Bernard, 'The Last Jewish Intellectual: Borrowing from Edward Said', *Jewish Quarterly*, 60 (2013), 80-83 (p.80). See also Martin McQuillan, '"The last Jewish intellectual" Edward W. Said 1935-2003', *The Year's Work in Critical and Cultural Theory*, 13 (2005), 1-26 and Jacqueline Rose, 'The Question of Zionism: Continuing the Dialogue', in *Edward Said: The Legacy of Emancipation and Representation*, ed. by Adel Iskandar and Hakem Ruston (California: University of California Press, 2010), pp. 314-20.

Palestinian writers, like Mahmoud Shukair (1941–), Turki, Said and Jabra, show an awareness of how self-imposed exile or expatriation is viewed by Hemingway and other Modernist American expatriate authors. Shukair, for example, states that: 'Ernest Hemingway was a significant influence on my own work. My colleagues and I would sit in coffee shops and imagine ourselves in the Paris and Madrid of the 1920s, etching terse descriptive sentences in our notebooks'.[44] Palestinian authors such as Jabra and Ghassan Kanafani (1936–1972) were also influenced by American Modernists like William Faulkner. There is a growing body of literature on potential comparisons between Palestinian authors and American Modernists, and a few comparative studies have recently emerged on the influence of Faulkner on Palestinian authors.[45]

This thesis will similarly illustrate that exiled Palestinian authors reflect in their works on the expatriation and repatriation of interwar American authors. However, as the next section suggests, they also clearly differentiate their departures and returns from those of their counterparts. In addition, the similarities of the titles of the books written by Turki and Cowley, the authors chosen for my comparison in my first chapter, was a departure point for this comparative project.

Being myself a Palestinian who has experienced in the West Bank an 'internal exile' associated with war trauma is another reason why I have chosen the Palestinian experience of exile for this comparison. As I have argued with Lindsey Moore, 'trauma persists in the

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[44] 'Jerusalem: My First City, my Last City: An Album of Memories', *Michigan Quarterly Review*, 46: 3 (2007), 1-14 (p.3). Mahmoud Shukair was born in 1941 in Jerusalem. He studied at Damascus University and has an M.A. in Philosophy and Sociology. He has published nineteen books—six short story collections, twelve books for children, and one biography. He has written six series for TV, three plays, and countless newspaper and magazine articles.

[45] See, for example, John T. Matthews, *William Faulkner in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Faten Yacoub, '*The Sound and the Fury* and *Ma Tabaqqa La-Kum*: Disclaiming Authorial Intent' (Beirut: Lebanese American University, 2011) and Aida Azouqa, 'Ghassan Kanafani and William Faulkner: Kanafani's Achievement in "All That's Left to You"', *Journal of Arabic literature*, 2 (2002), 147-170.

consciousness of the Palestinian people' as 'trauma [is] an ever present reality of Palestinian life'.[46] Although this thesis focuses on Palestinian exiles living outside Palestine, and broadly speaking invokes different forms of trauma associated with their exile, every Palestinian inside the West Bank, including myself, has experienced an 'internal exile' triggered by ongoing political trauma. We in the West Bank are forced by Israeli forces and under the threat of their guns to continuously move from one place to another, especially after the construction of the Separation Wall (*al-Jidār al-Fāṣil*) in 2002. The Separation Wall has disconnected the Palestinian territories and people from each other; it has restricted our mobility and deprived us of living in a certain place in the West Bank with a sense of permanence. Our stay in a certain place in the West Bank is suspended and is subject to Israeli plans and the political situation. I personally have no chance to visit the Palestinian places which turned into Israeli cities like Haifa and Jaffa, where I have many family members and friends.

Critical Methodology

The distinction this thesis makes between literary Palestinian exile and American expatriation is mainly informed and driven by a comparative and postcolonial critical methodology. More precisely, this thesis adopts a contrapuntal critical methodology introduced by Edward Said to serve as an underlying structure of comparative and postcolonial studies, a methodology that 'emphasise[s] and highlight[s] the disjunctions, not overlook or play them down'.[47]

It is worth referring in this context to *A Companion to Comparative Literature* (2011) that was edited by Ali Behdad and Dominic Thomas. The editors interestingly note that 'that Said

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[46] Lindsey Moore and Ahmad Qabaha, 'Chronic Trauma, (Post) Colonial Chronotopes and Palestinian Lives: Omar Robert Hamilton's *Though I Know the River is Dry/Maʻa Anni Aʻrif Anna al-Nahr Qad Jafʼ*, in *Postcolonial Traumas: Memory, Narratives, Resistance*, ed. by Abigail Ward (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 14-29 (p.15, p.19).
[47] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994), p. 176.

was first and foremost a comparatist speaks to the affinity between comparative literature and postcolonialism'.[48] Moreover, the contributors to this edited collection explore new directions and address some of the possibilities of intellectual inquiry for current and future students of comparative and postcolonial literature. They argue that comparative approaches should further broaden the contexts under investigation so as to engage and bring into dialogue works produced by diasporic authors and by transnational authors who circulate between different locations around the world.

I therefore hope that this thesis by looking at exilic Palestinian and expatriate American literatures pursues the line of inquiry proposed by these authors. Similarly, in using a contrapuntal methodology to examine the distinction between exile and expatriation in the literatures at stake, this thesis complements Said's project of making students of comparative literature aware of how certain historical and cultural issues are represented by Western (Anglo-American and European) and non-Western literatures. Aamir R. Mufti (who is an ex-student of Said) argues that Said was 'concerned chiefly, if not entirely with the canonical literatures of the modern West [and] bringing to them […] literatures produced in non-Western origin […] especially of course Arabic'. Mufti elaborates that Said believes that students of comparative literature should use the metaphor of counterpoint to broaden their horizons and expose themselves to different marginalised representations of historical and cultural issues, instead of being confined to Anglo-American and European perspectives.[49]

For Mufti, the significance of the concept of contrapuntality and the range and depth of comparative possibilities it contains has not yet been explored. Mufti therefore proposes that scholars of comparative literature should realise that the application of Said's concept of

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[48] Ali Behdad and Dominic R. D. Thomas, 'Introduction', in *A Companion to Comparative Literature*, ed. by Ali Behdad and Dominic R. D. Thomas (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 1-13 (p. 8).
[49] Aamir R. Mufti, 'Global Comparativism', *Critical Inquiry*, 31: 2 (2005), 472 – 489 (pp. 472 – 478).

counterpoint to a comparative study of Western and non-Western literatures opens up different literary traditions to interaction with each other, and thus makes a huge transformation in the ways in which we understand certain notions represented by Western and non-Western authors across time. Mufti further emphasises that traditions and cultures across the globe cannot be understood probably without being viewed alongside each other.[50]

Said borrows the term contrapuntal from music.[51] As he explains, 'in the counterpoint of Western classical music':

> Various themes play off one another, with only a provisional privilege being given to any particular one; yet in the resulting polyphony there is concert and order, an organised interplay that derives from the themes, not from a rigorous melodic or formal principle outside the work.[52]

May Telmissany and Stephanie Tara Schwartz note that Said explores the musical dimension of the counterpoint in order to show that the counterpoint informs his comparative criticism.[53] That is, for Said, 'counterpoint is a structure that assists his perception' and analysis of multiple experiences.[54] Said emphasises that 'polyphony, the organisation of more than one voice, is what really interests me' and 'I'm interested in the possibilities for the interpreter to bring out voices, which to the author or the composer may not have been apparent'.[55] In this sense, Said emphasises that the musical concept of counterpoint can be used as a useful

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Said, *Reflections on Exile*, p.186.

[52] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, pp.59-60.

[53] May Telmissany and Stephanie Tara Schwartz, 'Introduction: Contrapuntal Perspectives' in *Counterpoints: Edward Said's Legacy*, ed. by May Telmissany and Stephanie Tara Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. xvii – xxix (p.xix).

[54] Cameron Fae Bushnell, 'Reading between the Lines: Resituating Said's Contrapuntalism in Music', in *Counterpoints: Edward Said's Legacy*, ed. by May Telmissany and Stephanie Tara Schwartz (Camrdige: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. 23 – 41 (p.23).

[55] Quoted in May Telmissany and Stephanie Tara Schwartz, 'Introduction: Contrapuntal Perspectives', pp. xix-xx.

framework for comparing, interpreting and understanding multiple experiences or voices that coexist and interact with each other.

Said introduces the musical concept of the counterpoint as a structure that should underlie comparative literature. He observes that 'comparative literature [is] a field whose origin and purpose is to move beyond insularity and provincialism and to see several cultures and literatures together, *contrapuntally*'.[56] For Said, a contrapuntal reading of cross-national literatures enables 'an awareness of simultaneous dimensions' of diverse themes, cultures, environments and settings. This plural awareness, Said contends, enables us 'to think through and interpret together experiences that are discrepant' and yet 'belong to comparable fields of human experience'.[57] As such, the critic or the interpreter, in Said's view, gains a 'double perspective' in which '[an] experience is always counterposed with another, therefore making both appear in a sometimes new and unpredictable light'.[58] Thus, Said's idea of counterpoint calls for an inclusive view of (literary) experiences, like the experiences of exile and expatriation.[59]

Indeed, Said links the literary experiences of exile and expatriation to the concept of counterpoint, and he highlights the critical potential that results from the counterpoint of the experience of exile to the experience of expatriation. For example, in *Reflections on Exile: And Other Literary and Cultural Essays* (2001) Said distinguishes the experience of exile as represented by twentieth-century exiled authors, like the Palestinian poet Rashid Hussein (1936 – 1977), from that of (American) expatriate Modernists, like Hemingway.[60] Said in that context cogently insists on the historical and traumatic character of the Palestinian exile. He

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[56] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 49. My emphasis
[57] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p.36
[58] Ibid, p.44.
[59] Ibid, p.59.
[60] *Reflections on Exile*, p. 174.

contends that (American) expatriate Modernists' experience of 'exile' as 'a literary, entirely bourgeois state' should always be counterposed by (Palestinian) involuntarily displaced authors' experience of exile as a 'mass expulsion' from their homeland.[61]

Said further demands in *Reflections on Exile* that the experience of exile as implicated in the lives of impoverished people living in refugee camps, like the Palestinians, be given priority over the experience of 'exile' by (American) expatriate Modernists in any estimation of exile. To understand what exile is, Said argues, you should 'think […] of the uncountable masses for whom UN agencies have been created. You must think of the refugee-peasants with no prospect of ever returning home, armed only with a ration card and an agency number'.[62] Said wants to emphasise that exile, in contrast to ways in which American expatriate Modernists represent it, describes the condition of people who are expelled from their homeland by force and unable to return, like the Palestinians.[63] Said continues this line of argument in his other works. For example, in *After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives* (1986) Said highlights that Palestinian intellectuals who are educated and have lived in the 'West' (like the Palestinian authors this thesis focuses on), have been exposed to an education and culture that 'regard exile as a literary, entirely bourgeois state'.[64] They nevertheless assert that 'it is the mass of Palestinians dispersed throughout the Near East who really […] set the conditions for life in exile, and these are almost by definition silent, incredible, utterly poignant'.[65]

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[61] Ibid, p.174.
[62] Ibid, p.175.
[63] Ibid, p. 181. I am emphasising Said's references to Palestinians in particular because this thesis studies works written by Palestinian authors, however Said also refers in his article to other peoples expelled from their land like Armenians and Jews. I will suggest later in this introduction that the distinction I make between the literatures at stake can perhaps be applied to other world literatures.
[64] Edward W. Said, *After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives* (London: Faber and Faber, 1986), p.120-121.
[65] Ibid

This discussion suggests that Said in his contrapuntal reading of (Palestinian) literary exile and (American) Modernist expatriation highlights the perspective of colonized people on exile and brings that perspective from the critical margins to the centre. Influenced by Said's postcolonial thought, I suggest that the perspective of Palestinian people on exile challenges the view of 'exile' by American expatriate Modernists as a 'literary' and 'happy' state, to quote Cowley's words.[66] By bringing Palestinian works on exile from the periphery to the heart of the discourse of displacement, this thesis stresses exile as a political catastrophe. I elaborate, through a sustained comparison, Said's brief distinction between literary American expatriation and Palestinian exile. I illustrate the argument made by exiled Palestinian authors that exile cannot be seen merely as a trope, but rather, it is a condition of banishment from one's native country by a colonial force.

In 'Post-Colonial Literatures and Counter-Discourse', Helen Tiffin argues that postcolonial literatures are 'constituted in counter-discursive rather than homologous practices', and they offer 'counter-discursive strategies to the dominant discourse'.[67] Post-1948 exilic Palestinian literature, as I will explore in a moment, is taken to be an example of the postcolonial literatures defined by the counter-discursive strategies that Tiffin describes. As already established, exilic Palestinian literature is one of the postcolonial literatures that investigate the ways in which the dominant discourses of 'exile' impose their own definition of exile and it enters into a dialectical relation with these dominant or hegemonic discourses. I show that exiled Palestinian authors, like Turki in *Exile's Return* (1994), offer counter narratives to the

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[66] Malcolm Cowley, *A Second Flowering: Works and Days of the Lost Generation* (New York: The Viking Press,1973[1956]), p.58.
[67] Helen Tiffin, 'Post-Colonial Literatures and Counter-Discourse', in *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*, ed. by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (Hove: Psychology Press, 1995), pp. 95-98 (p.96). It is also worth noting that contrapuntal reading is widely understood as 'a technique of theme and variation by which a counterpoint is established between the imperial narrative and the post-colonial perspective, a "counter-narrative" that keeps penetrating beneath the surface of individual texts to elaborate the ubiquitous presence of imperialism in canonical culture', Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia, *Edward Said: The Paradox of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 93.

narratives of 'exile' introduced by Modernist American expatriate authors. I demonstrate that Turki in *Exile's Return*, by contrast to Cowley in *Exile's Return*, stresses the idea that exile, unlike expatriation, is a tragic condition mirrored in the lives of 'the Palestinians who have lived in exile'.[68] That said, I concur with the other part of Tiffin's argument that 'the operation of post-colonial counter-discourse […] is dynamic, not static' as it does not seek to negate a notion or a view 'with a view to taking its place'.[69] That is to say, this thesis's contrapuntal reading of literary Palestinian exile and American expatriation does not seek to negate the representation of expatriation as 'exile' by Modernist American expatriate authors. It rather seeks to bring colonialism to the forefront of the discourse of exile and to open up new perspectives on literatures of exile and expatriation.

The above discussion makes it necessary to recall the epigraph to this introduction as it further reflects the contrapuntal methodology this thesis adopts. 'As a critic of literature', Said says:

> You see different experiences in parallel lines, that is basically counterpoint, operating together without the necessity of being reconciled at any one moment. They play off each other and could be quite antagonistic to each other, or in terrible dissonance. You need to rationalize them, for example, you see how this relates to that and how this differs from that.[70]

I see the Palestinian experience of exile and modern American experience of expatriation operating along parallel lines. I tease out the correspondence and divergence between these two experiences and I show how they relate to and differ from each other. Primarily, however, I am concerned with emphasising and rationalising the disjunctions between them.

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[68] Fawaz Turki, *Exile's Return: The Making of a Palestinian-American* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), p. v.
[69] Helen Tiffin, 'Post-Colonial Literatures and Counter-Discourse', p.96.
[70] Said, 'Edward Said: The Last Interview'.

Said continues:

> There is no way which I know in which you can reconcile them [these different
> experiences]. You just let them operate and my capacity or one's capacity is to
> find not necessarily enclosure but a common space, which is for me the
> common space of experience. I mean that the main category is human
> experience […]. You can say that they are all there but your role as a mind, as
> an intellectual, as an interpreter in the end is creative to the extent you allow
> them to continue. Your role is also to see them operating together and allowing
> them to play off each other and you record that in some way so that canons of
> understanding apply different instances of literature.[71]

I do not seek to reconcile these two experiences; neither do I negate any of them. I instead see literary American expatriation and Palestinian exile as categories that share the common space of human placelessness, but in a different, and sometimes quite antagonistic, manner.

In so doing, I challenge studies which claim that postcolonial authors and American Modernist expatriate writers represent similar and universal forms of departures and returns, or tend to equate them. Cases in point are Rita Barnard and Sana Hussein. Barnard assumes that the stories of return written by Modernist American expatriate writers and exiled postcolonial intellectuals are 'similar'. And Hussein equates the departures of Modernist American expatriate authors and post-1948 exiled postcolonial intellectuals.[72]

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[71] Ibid.

[72] Sana Hussain, 'Belonging and Identity through Literature: The Writer's Struggle', *The Missing Slate*, 7 (2013), (para. 5 of 12). Rita Barnard, 'Modern American Fiction', in *The Cambridge Companion to American Modernism*, ed. by Walter Kalaidjian (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 39-67 (p. 47). The last chapter of this thesis, in particular, "writes back" to Rita Bernard's discussion on the representations of homecoming by postcolonial and modern American expatriate authors.

The following issues perhaps made Barnard and Hussain establish the above assumptions: Modernist American expatriate authors show in their narratives concerns with the issues of national identity, language, 'exile', place, mobility, belonging and homecoming, which are crucial leitmotifs in the literary outputs of postcolonial authors, including Palestinian authors. Modernist American expatriate writers also express anxieties about their relationship with Europe and consider the possibility of refining an American identity and an America that is economically, politically, literary and culturally independent of Europe.

However, by discussing the above issues in detail and in a comparative framework, my thesis suggests that the move of Barnard and Hussain is both underdeveloped and problematic. On the one hand, this thesis contends that similarity or universality of themes cannot serve as a conclusion of comparative studies. I agree with Haun Saussy who stresses that comparative literature is primarily concerned with difference:

> Although thematics, or subject matter, is the starting point of many an investigation, it is never enough simply to discover the same themes appearing in different places: an account of how the works make their subject matter manifest is the only thing that can save a comparison of nature poetry in Wordsworth and Xie Lingyun, for example, from platitude. An enabling hypothesis at best, the universality of selected themes cannot serve as a conclusion.[73]

Additionally, equating the departures and returns of postcolonial and Modernist American expatriate authors might risk the perception of US Modern(ist) literature as distinctly postcolonial. This perception of US modern literature is something that has already been suggested by the authors of *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial*

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[73] Haun Saussy, 'Exquisite Cadavers Stitched from Fresh Nightmares: Of Memes, Hives, and Selfish Genes', in *Comparative Literature in an Age of Globalization*, ed. by Haun Saussy (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), pp.3-43 (p. 28, pp.13-14).

Literatures (1989). Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin open *The Empire Writes Back* with naming a number of regions whose modern literatures can be designated as "distinctly post-colonial", one of which is the United States of America.[74] I agree with Anna Bernard who argues that 'this is a problematic move' as 'the term "post-colonial," in this sense, masks the white settlers' colonialist-racist policies toward indigenous peoples' and equates settler nationalism and indigenous national struggle for liberation from colonialism.[75] My response to Rita Barnard and Hussein will be further sustained in this study by taking exiled Palestinian authors as exemplary of exiled postcolonial authors who differ in their representation of departure and return, and national identity, language, place, mobility and belonging from Modernist American expatriate authors. A number of contemporary postcolonial scholars like Anna Ball, Anna Bernard, Lindsey Moore, Ziad Elmarsafy and Patrick Williams have recently highlighted the compatibility of Palestine studies and postcolonial studies and the 'connections between the Palestinian narrative and the ethos of postcolonial studies', to quote Ball.[76]

Ball, for example, persuasively argues in her introduction to her *Palestinian Literature and Film in Postcolonial Feminist Perspective* that Zionism can be seen as a 'new form of

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[74] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures* (London: Routledge, 1989; second edition, 2002), p.24.

[75] Bernard further notes that '*The Empire Writes Back* is no longer as influential as it once was – and almost nobody has followed its authors in reading canonical American literature as distinctly "post-colonial"'. Bernard continues that 'we need look no further than the Modern Languages Association, the premier literary studies organization in the United States, where a separate division for "Postcolonial Studies" was created only in 2007; until then, much of the work in the field came under the heading "English Literature Other than British and American"', Anna Bernard, 'Palestine and Postcolonial Studies', (2010) <http://events.sas. ac.uk/fileadmin/documents/postgraduate/Papers_London_Debates_2010/Bernard_Palestine_and_postcolonial_ studies.pdf> [accessed 31 January 2016], p.5. The last quoted words in the main body are taken from Ella Shohat, 'Notes on the Post-Colonial', *Social Text* (1992), 31/32, 99-113 (p.102).

[76] Anna Ball, *Palestinian Literature and Film in Postcolonial Feminist Perspective*, (London: Routledge, 2012), p.4. See also Patrick Williams, 'Gaps, Silences and Absences: Palestine and Postcolonial Studies', in *What Postcolonial Theory Doesn't Say*, ed. by Anna Bernard, Ziad Elmarsafy & Stuart Murray (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 87-105; Patrick Williams & Anna Ball, 'Where is Palestine?', *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 50 (2014), 127-133; Lindsey Moore, 'Ruins, Rifts and the Remainder: Palestinian Memoirs by Edward Said and Raja Shehadah', *Postcolonial Studies*, 16 (2013), 28-45 and Bernard, 'Palestine and Postcolonial Studies'.

colonialism'.[77] Ball refers to the fact that the aims of Zionism resemble those of the 'settler colonies' established in various regions in the world like North and South America and South Africa.[78] Therefore, 'Palestinian scholars', Ball notes, 'have long advocated the colonial paradigm as a means' to understand the Israeli rule of the Palestinian territories. However, Ball laments that with the exception of some scholars, ''Palestine remains largely 'off-limits' in the realm of the postcolonial''.[79] Ball attributes this gap partly to 'the contested nature of the terms 'colonial' and 'postcolonial' when it comes to speaking of Palestine'.[80] Joseph Massad and Ella Shohat, for example, claim that describing Palestine as postcolonial might blur the fact that Palestine is still under colonial rule.[81] Nevertheless, 'dismissing a "postcolonial" approach to Israel-Palestine outright', to quote Bernard, might lead to 'overlook[ing] the value of a *literary* study that seeks to demonstrate the collective and cross-cultural impact of the various modern forms of colonialism and imperialism on artistic production across the globe'.[82] That is, using a postcolonial approach to examine works written by Palestinian authors is useful as it allows us to understand the effects of the colonial situation on Palestinian authors themselves, their works and the ways in which they are received all over the world.[83]

While the points made by Ball and Bernard are convincing, I think it is also worth stressing that Palestinian writers are postcolonial in a disciplinary sense. Reduced to its fundamental

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[77] Ball, p.4.

[78] Ibid. See also Said's argument in *The Question of Palestine* that 'the early Jewish settlers in Palestine ignored the Arabs in exactly the same way that white Europeans in Africa, Asia, and the Americas believed the natives of these places to be nonexistent and their lands uninhabited, "neglected," and barren' (London: Routledge, 1980), p.150.

[79] Ball names Edward Said, Ella Shohat, Joseph Massad, Smadar Lavie, Patrick Williams and Anna Bernard.

[80] Ibid.

[81] This point and the example have been borrowed from Bernard's 'Palestine and Postcolonial Studies'.

[82] Bernard, 'Palestinian and Postcolonial Studies', pp.3-4.

[83] Anna Bernard has recently published a significant book - *Rhetorics of Belonging: Nation, Narration and Israel/Palestine* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013) - in which she compares ways in which Palestinian and Israeli world authors reflect on the figure of the nation and the political and artistic values of the national narration. In this thesis, I will in particular refer to Bernard's arguments on the Palestinian writers Edward Said and Mourid Barghouti.

level, postcolonialism is a field of study that reflects on the outputs of authors who belong to (de)colonized and decolonizing peoples. Postcolonial studies accommodates the national concerns of Palestinian writers and intellectuals and reflects on the effects of colonialization on Palestinians and their struggle to achieve "post-coloniality". Postcolonialism discloses the oppression, inequity and injustices that Palestinians as a colonized people are subjected to, and it exhibits their resistance and struggle for self-determination. Therefore, although Palestine has not historically been decolonized yet, classifying Palestinian writing as postcolonial is apt. As such, I agree with the definition of Patrick Williams of postcoloniality as 'not in any sense an achieved condition, but […] an "anticipatory" discourse, looking forward to a better and as yet unrealized world'.[84]

Because the scope of my study is wide and it discusses various themes and issues, I will also draw on other critical theories that help me sustain my arguments, strengthen the structures of my chapters and yield insights. In Chapter One, I engage theoretical contributions made by prominent scholars on exile studies including Thomas Pavel and Edward Said. These theories will help me contextualise and discuss the circumstances that triggered the departures of, respectively, Malcolm Cowley in the 1920s and Fawaz Turki post-1948, as well as some of their contemporaries as represented in their memoirs. I argue that the departure of exiled Palestinian writers from their homeland is imposed by a colonial situation and it consists of a search for refuge from war catastrophes, while the departure of Modernist American expatriate authors to Europe is elective, and it represents Modernists' experiences of crossing boundaries in defiance of national enclosure.

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[84] Patrick Williams, '"Outlines of a Better World": Rerouting Postcolonialism", in *Rerouting the Postcolonial: New Directions for the New Millennium*, ed. by Janet Wilson, Cristina Sandru and Sarah Lawson Welsh (London: Routledge, 2010), pp.86-97 (p.93).

In Chapter Two, I will make use of various mobility, space and place theories provided by authors such as Tim Cresswell, Edward. C. Relph and Yi- Fu Tuan, as well as philosophical perceptions of place and attachment introduced by Martin Heidegger and Simone Weil. Such theoretical and philosophical insights will help me tease out the ways in which the constructs of placelessness and mobility are articulated in exilic Palestinian literature and modern American expatriate writing. In this chapter, I elicit the modes of placelessness represented by the characters of each of my two authors from the orientations of their mobility. I show that American expatriate characters are engaged in a centrifugal movement away from home (expatriation) that increases their sense of freedom, while exiled Palestinian characters are involved in centripetal mobility that expresses their desire to return home and end their exile.

In Chapter Three, I will engage with theorists concerned with the notions of identity, exile, nation and language such as Stuart Hall, Kobena Mercer, Benedict Anderson, Magda Stroinska and Cecchetto Vittorina, the last two being the editors of *Exile, Language and Identity* (2003). The theoretical insights of these authors will underpin my analysis of memoirs by Edward Said and Gertrude Stein. I explain, in this chapter, that Said uses his 'voyage in' to the Palestinian context to retrieve his link with Palestine and to contribute to the Palestinian national narrative, while Stein performs 'a displaced and dialectical encounter' with the US and the US national narrative to cultivate a distinctive personal identity.[85] I also show that Stein views her voyage out of the American context as a

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[85] I use the phrase 'voyage in' to refer to Said's textual journey into the Palestinian context. As such, my use of this phrase is the inversion of Said's use of it. Said codifies the phrase 'voyage in' in *Culture and Imperialism* to refer to the movement of the Third World intellectuals from the periphery into the metropolitan First World and their resistance to the dominant Western discourses that marginalise their histories, Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p.295. On this front, see Zhaogou Ding, "Identity, Text, Positioning: On Edward Said's 'Voyage In' as Politics of Resistance", *Studies in Literature and Language*, 6 (2013), 9-25. In applying the phrase 'displaced and dialectical encounter' to Stein, I refer to Daniel Katz's argument that 'expatriation is not a flight from American identity, but rather becomes the means for a displaced and dialectical encounter with it, at times conscious and reflective, at others entirely symptomatic, usually both'. Daniel Katz, *American Modernism's expatriate Scene: The Labour of Translation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p.3.

precondition for creating a personal narrative out of the collective national narrative, while Said uses his 'voyage in' to the Palestinian context to identify with his Palestinian people and contribute to the reconstruction of a Palestinian national narrative.

In Chapter Four, I will draw on James Clifford's treatment of roots, which he associates with origin, residence and belonging, and routes, which he relates to travel, mobility and transition.[86] I explore in this chapter a range of exilic Palestinian and modern American expatriate works to suggest that the nuances between the representations of 'roots' and 'routes' by the authors at stake echo the various forms of departures and returns they represent. This chapter demonstrates that Modernist American expatriate writers represent their return (or the return of their protagonists) to the US as something possible and depends on their choice, intention and desire. By contrast, Palestinian exiled writers describe homecoming as something they (or their protagonists) have no control over.

The Scope of this Thesis: Parameters and Wider Implications

Both the space and scope of this thesis will not allow me to look at the experiences of displacements represented by 1920s and 30s Harlem Renaissance authors, like Langston Hughes and Zora Hurston.[87] Nor does the space and scope of this thesis allow me to examine works authored by a later generation of African-American authors who left their homeland for Paris like Richard Wright and James Baldwin. I would suggest, tentatively at this stage,

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[86] James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[87] The city based Harlem Renaissance is a literary, artistic and intellectual revolution that took place in Harlem in New York and was known as "New Negro Movement". It aimed to bring African-Americans from the margin to the centre of the US. Dr Salam Mir introduced me to Harlem Renaissance authors while attending her workshop in Ramallah on how the struggles of Harlem Renaissance authors and internally-displaced Palestinian authors for identity formation are comparable. Salam Mir, "African American Literature: The Harlem Renaissance, 1920-1932", Workshop 30 June – 4 July (Ramallah: Al-Qatan Foundation, 2012).

that the cases of Baldwin and Wright can be seen as a combination of exile and expatriation.[88] Wright, for example, writes in 'I Choose Exile':

> I live in exile because I love freedom, and I've found more freedom in one square block of Paris than there is in the entire United States! This declaration is not designed to provoke dissatisfaction in other Negroes with American life; neither am I trying to persuade other Negroes or white Americans to live abroad. My decision stems from one simple, personal fact: I need freedom. Some people need more freedom than others, and I'm one of them.[89]

Wright in the above words asserts that his 'exile' in Paris is self-imposed. Wright's experience of expatriation or 'exile' is a matter of choice; he is not directly forced to leave America. Nevertheless, his departure is triggered by his feeling of a lack of physical freedom in America. Wright claims that he chooses to leave America as a result of the racial discrimination against African-Americans that dominated America in the first half of the twentieth century. This can probably be applied to Palestinian authors who remained during the Nakba in what became the State of Israel and chose afterwards to leave it in search of physical and intellectual freedom from Israeli discrimination against them, as the case of Mahmoud Darwish (1941 – 2008) illustrates. Darwish chose to leave Palestine for Cairo in the 1970s because of his inability to tolerate Israeli racist practices against him. His poetry was seen by the Israeli government as a threat to Israel's stability and as a result his physical and intellectual freedom was restrained by Israeli government.[90]

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[88] For a detailed study of modern black American writers in Paris, including Baldwin and Wright, see Michael Fabre, *From Harlem to Paris: Black American Writers in France 1840-1980* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1991). It is also perhaps worth noting in this respect that the Palestinian-American author Suheir Hammad born in 1973 in Jordan noted that her life and writing were influenced by the works of an African-American author, June Jordan, born in Harlem in 1936. On this issue, see Nir Yehudai, 'Two Trends of Cultural Activity Among Palestinian-Americans', in *The Arab Diaspora: Voices of an Anguished Scream,* ed. by Zahia Smail Salhi and Ian Richard Netton (London: Routldge, 2006), pp. 108-126.

[89] Richard Wright, 'I Choose Exile' (1951). Richard Wright Papers. Yale Collections of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, p.1.

[90] See Mahmoud Darwish, *Absent Presence*, trans. by Mohammad Shaheen (London: Hesperus Press Limited, 2010 [2006]).

Because I mainly wish to concentrate on the differences, not similarities, between the exile and the expatriate, I choose for this study Palestinian and American authors who represent instead their displacements in a quite different or antagonistic manner. I aim to emphasise the differences between the circumstances that prompt expatriates, but *enforce* exiles to leave their homeland. I stress that while literary expatriates voluntarily leave their homeland to create a sense of estrangement and solitude, exiles are involuntarily displaced from their homeland by a colonial force. It is also worth noting in this context that connections between Native American and Palestinian authors, which are beyond the scope of my thesis, have already been made by authors like Steven Salaita, Ben White and Mounir al A'kish.[91]

I should also note that gender and sexuality are not central analytical concerns in this thesis. Many discussions of the expatriation of Modernist American authors and studies on Palestinian literature (and films) from a feminist perspective have largely discussed these issues.[92] I will, however, discuss these issues briefly in relation to the expatriation of

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[91] I am referring here to Steven Salaita, *The Holy Land in Transit: Colonialism and the Quest for Canaan* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006), which establishes strong links between the experiences of Native Americans and Palestinians, and compares the crimes the US committed against Native Americans to Israeli oppression of Palestinians. Ben White has also published a short essay in which he proposes that there are some parallels between the historical experiences of dispossession and colonization of the Palestinian and Native American peoples ,'Dispossession, Soil, and Identity in Palestinian and Native American Literature', *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture*, 12 (2005). Mounir Al a'kish, in similar fashion to Salaita, illustrates in his study, which is published in Arabic, that Palestinians and Native Americans share the plight of dispossession and the support of the United States to the Israeli government mirrors the fact that the United States was created by persecuting Native Americans, *Dawlah Filistinyya la Alhonoud Alḥomour* (A Palestinian State for the Red Indians) (Beirut: Dar Ryyad Alrayyis, 2015).

[92] For examples of studies on the expatriation of Modernist American authors that focus on the issues of gender and sexuality, see Donald Pizer, *American Expatriate Writing and the Paris Moment: Modernism and Place* (Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1996); Michael Grawe, *Expatriate American Authors in Paris: Disillusionment with the American Lifestyle as Reflected in Selected Works of Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald* (Munich: Grin Verlag, 2008); Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank: Paris, 1900-1940* (London: Virago Press, 1987) and J. Gerald Kennedy, 'Hemingway, Hadley, and Paris: the Persistence of Desire', in *The Cambridge Companion to Hemingway*, ed. by Scott Donaldson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 197-220. For examples of studies on Palestinian literature (and films) that discuss issues of gender, and nationalism, see Anna Ball, *Palestinian Literature and Film in Postcolonial Feminist Perspective*, (London: Routledge, 2012); Lindsey Moore, *Arab, Muslim, Woman: Voice and Vision in Postcolonial Literature and Film* (London: Routledge, 2008); Joseph Massad,'Conceiving the Masculine: Gender and Palestinian Nationalism', *Middle East journal,* 49 (1995), 467-483; Samira Haj, 'Palestinian Women and Patriarchal Relations', *Chicago Journals*, 17 (1992), 761 – 778; Julie Peteet, 'Male Gender and Rituals of Resistance in the Palestinian Intifada: A Cultural Politics of Violence', *American Ethnologist*, 21 (1994), pp. 31 – 49; miriam cooke, *Women and The*

American authors of the 1920s, mainly in relation to the expatriation of Gertrude Stein in France. I show that Stein's expatriation subverts gender binary and allows her to overcome restrictions on sexuality in America at the time. Also, I will explain in the first chapter of this thesis that one of the reasons why American expatriate authors expatriated from the US to Paris in the 1920s is their desire to have sexual freedom.

The distinction my thesis makes between exile and expatriation as represented in Palestinian and American literatures is perhaps applicable to other world expatriate or exilic literatures. For example, the characteristics this study attaches to American expatriate authors and their characters can probably be applied to British and Irish expatriate authors and characters.[93] To briefly illustrate, expatriate lifestyles have characterised Irish authors like James Joyce, the author who influenced most of American expatriate writers this thesis looks at.[94] The following oft-quoted sentences of Stephen Dedalus in James Joyce's the *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) inspired Modernist American expatriate authors and their characters to view expatriation /'exile' as a space of resistance to restrictions at home and freedom of body and thought:

> I will not serve that in which I no longer believe, whether it calls itself my home, my fatherland, or my church: and I will try to express myself in some mode of life or art as freely as I can and as wholly as I can, using for my defence the only arms I allow myself to use — silence, exile, and cunning.[95]

War Story (California: University of California Press, 1996) and miriam cooke and Angela Woollacott, *Gendering War Talk* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[93] See, for example, the following comparative study on Canadian, American and British authors who left their countries in favour of an expatriate lifestyle, Marilyn Adler Papayanis, *Writing in the Margins: The Ethics of Expatriation from Lawrence to Ondaatje*, (Nashville: Vanderbilt university Press, 2005).

[94] See Cowley, *A Second Flowering*, George Gent, 'Hemingway's Letters Tell of Fitzgerald', *The New York Times* (1972) <https://www.nytimes.com/books/00/12/24/specials/fitzgerald-hem72.html> [accessed 24 January 2016], and Michael Grawe, *Expatriate American Authors in Paris.*

[95] James Joyce, *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (New York: Vintage, 1973 [1916]), p. 246-7.

Analogously, the characteristics this study attributes to involuntarily exiled Palestinian authors and characters can perhaps be seen as characteristics of (for example) Kurdish and Israeli authors and characters as well.[96] I am particularly reminded in this context of the following words of the Israeli-Iraqi author Samir Naqqash (1938-2004), which resonate with words said by exiled Palestinian authors: 'I don't exist in this country [Israel], not as a writer, a citizen nor human being. I don't feel I belong anywhere, not since my roots were torn from the ground [in Iraq]'.[97] We find in Darwish's works similar sentences to Naqqash's. Darwish, for example, narrates, in *Memory for Forgetfulness*, that the Palestinian exile feels that non-Palestinian people say to him or her that '*You are not going there* [Palestine]*, and you don't belong here* [any place outside Palestine],' and he laments 'what can one do other than apologize for an existence which has not yet come into being?'[98] Both Naqqash and Darwish reflect on their feelings of rootlessness in Israel/Palestine and everywhere else.

This thesis specifically examines the distinction between the departures and returns of the post-1948 involuntary Palestinian exile and the Modernist American expatriate or the voluntary exile. I make this distinction through focusing mainly on the issues of the departure, mobility, personal and national identities and homecoming of exiled and expatriate authors and characters this thesis looks at. I urge in this thesis comparative, postcolonial and diaspora studies to stress the differences between expatriation and exile. I also hope to open up new possibilities for further comparative examinations of literatures of exile and expatriation. This thesis also aims to facilitate further research on potential connections between Palestinian and American writing.

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[96] Darwish wrote a famous poem to the Kurdish author Salim Barakat. In this poem Darwish identifies with the ways in which the Kurds view exile, language and identity, Mahmoud Darwish 'Laysa lil Kurdi 'ila alri ḥ' (1965) in *Don't Apologize for What You Did* (Beirut: Riad El-Rayyes Books, 2004), pp.159 -165.

[97] Quoted in Nancy E. Berg, *Exile from Exile: Israeli Writers from Iraq* (New York: State University of New York, 1996), p.3.

[98] Mahmoud Darwish, *Memory for Forgetfulness: August, Beirut, 1982*, trans. by Ibrahim Muhawi (California: University of California Press, 1995),p.17, original emphasis.

Chapter One[1]

Voluntary/Involuntary Departures: The Complications of Exile and Belonging in Malcolm Cowley and Fawaz Turki

Prohibition, puritanism, philistinism, and salesmanship: these seemed to be the triumphant causes in America. Whoever had won the war, young American writers came to regard themselves as a defeated nation. So they went to Paris, not as if they were being driven into exile, but as if they were seeking a spiritual home. (Malcolm Cowley, *A Second Flowering*, 1956)[2]

But the Palestinians who lived in exile − and there are four million of them scattered around the Arab countries and beyond − have a story to tell about their own unspoken pain and about their striving, all these years, for a sense of at-homeness. (Fawaz Turki, *Exile's Return*, 1994)[3]

Exile is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home; its essential sadness can never be surmounted. (Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile*, 2001)[4]

Introduction

This chapter considers ways in which exile is represented by post-1948 exiled Palestinian authors and Modernist American expatriate writers in relation to the different modes of departures they manifest. It illustrates that while exile is represented in Fawaz Turki's

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[1] This chapter has been published as an article by *International Journal of Comparative Literature & Translation Studies*, 2 (2014), 63-73.

[2] Malcolm Cowley, *A Second Flowering: Works and Days of the Lost Generation* (New York: The Viking Press,1973[1956]), p.53.

[3] Fawaz Turki, *Exile's Return: The Making of a Palestinian-American* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), p. v.

[4] Edward W. Said, *Reflections on Exile: and Other Literary and Cultural Essays* (London: Granta, 2001), p.173.

memoirs as an involuntary departure from home, it is described in Malcolm Cowley's memoirs as a voluntary departure from home. In so doing, I develop the brief distinction made by McCarthy between the exile and the expatriate, who argues that the departure of the expatriate from his or her home is 'wholly voluntary', while the departure of the exile is the reverse.[5] This chapter also builds on Said's brief distinction between representations of exile by (American) expatriate Modernist authors and (Palestinian) exiled writers. As I mentioned in my introduction to the thesis, Said argues that while (American) expatriate Modernists chose to live in 'exile', exiled (Palestinian) authors were forced out of their homeland by an external force.

I begin this chapter by contextualising and discussing the circumstances that triggered the departures of Cowley and Turki and some of their contemporaries as represented in their memoirs. Moving from this, I will then invoke Thomas Pavel's theory of exile in order to illustrate that the departure of Modernist American expatriate writers from the US in the 1920s represents Modernists' experiences of crossing borders in defiance of national enclosure and in search of better life and literary opportunities. Analogously, I draw on Pavel's theory to explain that the departure of Turki and his contemporaries from Palestine was imposed on them by a colonial situation and that they are in search of a refuge from war calamity. Later in this chapter, I consider the treatment of the exile/home dichotomy by Cowley and Turki. I demonstrate that while Cowley and the writers of his generation view 'exile' and 'home' as complementary spaces they needed in order to be creative, for Turki the exile/home binary reflects the rupture of Turki and the writers of his generation from their home and their multiple displacements. Towards the end of this chapter, I emphasise that the similarity of the titles and the difference of the subtitles of my two authors are particularly

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[5] McCarthy, 'A Guide to Exiles, Expatriates, and Internal Émigrés', p.51.

significant and that this reinforces our understanding of the contrapuntal relation between expatriation and exile. I conclude by accentuating the differences between the representation of 'exile' by the Palestinian and American authors at stake.

Born and raised in the town of Belsano in Cambria country, Pennsylvania, Malcolm Cowley (1898–1989) was an American memoirist, poet, critic and essayist. He moved to New York City in 1919 to work as an editor for *The New Republic*. In the 1920s Cowley left the US for Paris to join the expatriate authors of his generation living there, and he is often regarded by (literary) scholars as representative of them.[6] Cowley wrote numerous works of literary criticism, essays, and poetry, as well as memoirs, most notably *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* (1954), *The Literary Situation* (1954), *A Second Flowering: Works and Days of the Lost Generation* (1956), *After the Genteel Tradition* (1964) and *Blue Juniata: Collected Poems* (1968).

This chapter primarily focuses on Cowley's *Exile's Return* while exploring ways in which Modernist American expatriate authors represent their voluntary exile or expatriation in Europe. *Exile's Return* chronicles and encapsulates the expatriation of Modernist American authors, and it comments on their literary, national and cultural attitudes towards the US of the 1920s. In *Exile's Return*, Cowley also reflects on the psychic alienation these writers feel in the US upon their return, which this chapter partly reflects on.[7] This chapter will also refer to Cowley's *A Second Flowering* to further account for the reasons why American expatriate authors of the 1920s leave the US for Paris. *A Second Flowering* can be seen as a

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[6] For examples of scholars who see Cowley as representative of his generation, see John Downton Hazlett, 'The American Generational Autobiography: Malcolm Cowley and Michael Rossman', *Prospects*, 16 (1991), 421-422 and Kaplan, *Question of Travel*.

[7] This chapter focuses pre-eminently on representations of departure, and so, while some consideration will be given to the process of return in this section, it is Chapter Four that is specifically devoted to the study of the distinction between the representations of return by American expatriate authors of the 1920s and post-1948 exiled Palestinian authors.

complementary addition to *Exile's Return*. In this memoir, Cowley reflects on the socio-political, literary and cultural atmosphere that dominated the US in the 1920s and triggered the expatriation of Cowley's literary cohort. In particular, *A Second Flowering* focuses on the lives and works of eight representative figures of the 'Lost Generation' of American authors: F. Scott Fitzgerald, John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemingway, E.E. Cummings, Thornton Wilder, William Faulkner, Thomas Wolfe and Hart Crane. I will also briefly refer to Cowley's *The Literary Situation* to expand my analysis of the literary aspect of the expatriation of American authors of the 1920s. In this memoir, Cowley reflects on the role of the American writer in his or her society and the literary atmosphere in America in the first half of the twentieth century.

With respect to the Palestinian works I look at in this chapter, I have chosen Fawaz Turki's memoirs as the main focus of my analysis. Turki (b. 1941), a Palestinian writer, poet and activist, was expelled from his original town, Haifa, in Palestine along with his family as a consequence of the 1948 Nakba (catastrophe). Turki spent his boyhood in the refugee camps of Beirut. In his adulthood, he continuously moved between exiles in Paris, Australia, India and Nepal, before going to the US in the 1970s, where he now lives. Turki is the author of the widely acclaimed memoirs: *The Disinherited: Journal of a Palestinian Exile* (1972), *Soul in Exile: Lives of a Palestinian Revolutionary* (1988), *Exile's Return: The Making of a Palestinian American* (1994), as well as a collection of poems, *Tel Zaatar Was the Hill of Thyme* (1979).

Exile's Return, which is the primary focus of my analysis of Palestinian exile in this chapter, reflects on a variety of political, cultural, national and literary issues that relate to Palestinian experiences of dispossession. In this memoir, Turki combines his personal stories of

displacement with Palestinian collective experiences of exile, and he reflects on his experience of short-term return to Palestine in the 1990s after a forty-year exile. In *Exile's Return*, Turki also comments on his position towards the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organisation), Arab authoritarian regimes and Arab culture and tradition.

Throughout this chapter, I will also make frequent references to Turki's *Soul in Exile* to further explore Turki's reflection on the conditions of the Palestinians of his generation in exile. In this book, Turki recalls his family's flight into a refugee camp in Lebanon when he was eighteen and the years he spends in Australia and France before going to the US. Finally, I will briefly refer to Turki's first memoir, *The Disinherited*, in which Turki explores the lives of Palestinians in refugee camps in the Arab world and the suffering and desperation that befell Palestinians after their initial exodus in 1948. In *The Disinherited* Turki also indulges in polemics against the complicity of Arab regimes in the Palestinian crisis.

Contextualising Departures

I begin this section by examining the circumstances that triggered the voluntary departure of Cowley and the writers of his generation from the US for Paris in the 1920s. In the other half of this section I account for the circumstances that caused the involuntary departure of Turki and the writers of his generation from Palestine in 1948 for refugee camps in neighbouring Arab countries, followed by Turki's individual departure from Lebanon to Australia and then, for a longer term, to the US.

American expatriate authors of the 1920s manifest, in their departure from the US, Seamus Deane's thought that 'distance from and disaffection […] with home territories has almost always been understood as a paradigmatic refusal of the [Modernist] writer to surrender his or

her radical freedom to the demands of an oppressive state or system'.[8] Following in the footsteps of earlier American Modernists in Paris such as Gertrude Stein, Henry James (1843-1916) and Ezra Pound, American expatriate writers of the 1920s view their voluntary exile in Paris as a position that allows them to transcend hegemony and repression at home; they project 'exile' as a means of resistance to the political elite and puritanism in the US.

Cowley's *Exile's Return* begins by describing the distress and disillusionment of American expatriate writers of the 1920s with the political atmosphere that dominated the US during the post-World War I decade and which prompted their departure for Paris. For example, Cowley narrates that American expatriate writers of the 1920s addressed American politicians with the claim that 'you lied to us. Your ideas were vicious; we reject them and reject you'.[9] In this context of his memoir Cowley refers to the participation of the US in World War I. For many post-World War I American writers, including some of the expatriate authors of the 1920s, America's interference in World War I was futile, and they believed that it should have remained neutral. While some Modern(ist) American writers believed that the United States had become more prosperous after the war, others – among whom were some of the expatriate authors of the 1920s in Europe – concluded that the war caused their insecurity at both physical and psychic levels.[10] Sana Hussain comments on the attitude of post-World War I American expatriate authors towards the war as follows: 'ideological chaos and meaninglessness is usually a result of war leaving emotional and mental anguish'.[11] The ideological disorder, emotional dissatisfaction and mental agony of American expatriate authors in the 1920s, after the war, caused the loss of their faith in the traditional system and

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[8] Seamus Deane, 'Imperialism/ Nationalism', in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, 2nd edn, ed. by Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2010), pp. 354-368 (p.367).

[9] Malcolm Cowley, *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* (New York: Viking, 1951 [1934]), p. 72.

[10] For more discussion about the different attitudes that Modern(ist) American authors had on World War I, see Gail Mcdonald, *American Literature and Culture, 1900-1960* (Malden: Blackwell Pub., 2007).

[11] Hussain, 'Belonging & Identity Through Literature', para 3.

socio-political structures of the American nation, something which manifests itself in their expatriation.

The physical distance American expatriate authors of the 1920s make between themselves and their country by their expatriation in Paris is also a form of escape from the repressive Puritan traditions that prevailed over the America of the post-World War I decade. Cowley narrates that 'our own nation had passed the Prohibition Amendment as if to publish a bill of separation between itself and ourselves; it wasn't our country any longer'.[12] 'Paris', by contrast, Cowley narrates, 'was freedom to dress as they [Modernist American expatriate authors] pleased, talk and write as they pleased, drink as they pleased, and make love without worrying about neighbours. Paris was a continual excitation of the senses'.[13] Many expatriate authors of the 1920s reflect in their works on the physical and intellectual freedom that the Parisian scene allowed them.[14] As Cowley epitomises, the American expatriate author of the 1920s believes that 'by living in Paris', 'the artist can break the Puritan shackles, drink, live freely and be wholly creative'.[15] In Paris, Modernist American expatriate authors have the chance to drink alcohol, have sexual freedom and write on and discuss issues that relate to religion and politics freely.

This is not to say that the contrast Cowley draws between the US and Paris expresses the inclination of American expatriate authors of the 1920s to substitute the latter for the former. American expatriate authors of the 1920s instead view Paris as an exilic space that allows them to have distance from the US and to look back at it critically. There is a strong critical tradition that argues that 'American literature has always been remarkably preoccupied with

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[12] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 47.
[13] Cowley, *A Second Flowering*, p.53
[14] I will explore this theme in the next two chapters.
[15] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 61.

the idea of the nation, the mythology of America and Americanness'.[16]American literature of the 1920s, in particular, is highly concerned with assessing America and advancing it. Cowley writes, in *A Second Flowering*, that 'many younger exiles of the time were American patriots: they had fled in despair from their own country, but still they wanted to redeem it'.[17] As the chapters that follow illustrate in detail, American expatriate Modernists in Paris are at pains to present and provide new visions of America.

This discussion in turn problematises Donald Pizer's argument on the American expatriate authors of the 1920s. Pizer claims that 'the expatriate or self-exile state of mind is compounded out of the interrelated conditions of the rejection of a homeland and the desire for and acceptance of an alternative place'.[18] In contrast to Pizer, I argue that American expatriate authors of the 1920s do not abandon their nation in their expatriation, nor do they see France as a new place to live for the rest of their lives. American expatriate authors of the 1920s retain, while living in Paris, their belonging to America and, simultaneously, take the advantage of being in Europe to critique America and project an alternative vision of it. As Malcolm Bradbury notes, 'Europe has always been a deep metaphor in American writing, and more: it has been an alternative perception on life, a contrasting notion of culture'.[19] Indeed, Europe has been seen by American expatriate authors of the 1920s as the place that allows them to have a fresh and creative perspective on their country and culture and advance it.[20]

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[16] Malcolm Bradbury, *The Expatriate Tradition in American Literature* (Staffordshire: Keele University Press, 1982), p.5.

[17] Cowley, *A Second Flowering*, p.16

[18] Pizer, *American Expatriate Writing and the Paris Moment*, p.1.

[19] Bradbury, *The Expatriate Tradition in American Literature*, p.5.

[20] For further discussion on how American expatriate authors through leaving American for Europe learnt more about what America is, see Harlod T. McCarthy, *The Expatriate Perspective: American Novelists and the Idea of America* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1974).

The above analysis suggests that American expatriate authors of the 1920s aim by their expatriation in Paris to enrich their literary and cultural capabilities and perspectives. As a metropolitan city replete with libraries, museums, literary salons and cafes, Paris provides the quintessential milieu for the cultural and literary exchanges sought by these authors. Cowley observes, in *The Literary Situation*, that Paris was the capital of literature, music and art and it was the place for American expatriate authors of the 1920s to 'experiment in all the creative arts, including poetry, fiction, and hot jazz'.[21] Stein, representing modern American expatriation, epitomises this collective attitude of Modernist American expatriate authors in Paris in a lecture delivered at Cambridge University in 1936. She contends that 'I am an American and I have lived half my life in Paris, not the half that made me but the half in which I made what I made'.[22] Stein argues that living in 'exile' in Paris allows American writers to achieve their literary and cultural goals. American expatriate writers of the 1920s tend to align themselves with Stein. Cowley, for example, argues that America does not prompt creativity. Paris, instead, is the place where the American writer is inspired to write as it 'stimulates the nerves and sharpens the senses'.[23] Paris is also seen by American expatriate authors of the 1920s as a place to live more cheaply. American expatriates in Paris at the time used to exchange the dollar for the franc at a cheap exchange rate and hotels, food and transport were much cheaper in France than they were in the US.[24]

The above discussion reveals the following paradox in Cowley's *Exile's Return*: Cowley argues that the departure or 'exile' of his generation in Paris was the result of that 'whatever roots' they 'had in the soil' were destroyed by their nation, which makes us feel that Cowley

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[21] Malcolm Cowley, *The Literary Situation* (New York: The Viking Press, 1958 [1947]), pp.3-4.

[22] Gertrude Stein, *What Are Masterpieces* ?(New York: Pitman, 1940), p.62.

[23] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 135. For further discussion on the link between the intellectual atmosphere in America in the 1920s and literary developments in Paris, see Burkhart J. Gilbert, *Writers and Partisans: A History of Literary Radicalism in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

[24] See Humphrey Carpenter, *Geniuses Together: American Writers in Paris in the 1920s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1987).

reflects on an actual experience of uprootedness. However, we discover, while reading Cowley's various texts, that their 'exile' is instead a metaphor they use to describe their voluntary departure or expatriation in Paris.[25] That is, the 'exile' of American expatriate authors of the 1920s is not imposed on them and they, unlike involuntary exiles, are not physically cut off from their roots. Many of these writers such as F. Scott Fitzgerald and Stein relied on their families in the US to sustain their expatriation in Europe.[26] Samuel Putman stresses that most of the American expatriate authors of the 1920s 'came from the substantial middle class; they had a financial rating or could lay hands on sufficient funds to enable them to live abroad'.[27] Cowley himself confirms, in *A Second Flowering*, that the authors of 'the Lost Generation were white, middle-class', and 'these writers had what would come to be regarded as a privileged background'.[28]

Whereas Cowley represents the 'exile' of his generation of American authors as a chosen condition, Turki shows that the exile of his 'generation of Palestinians' is an involuntary exit from Palestine associated with war catastrophe (the Nakba of 1948) and tyranny.[29] That is to argue, while the departure of American expatriate writers of the 1920s for Paris is the end result of their spiritual alienation in the US, the departure of Turki's generation of Palestinians for refugee camps in the Arab world is the result of their physical dispossession at the hands of Israeli colonialism. Turki narrates that 'the alienation we [Palestinians] felt in our host states' was the result of their dispossession by Israeli forces in the 1948 Nakba.[30] During the Nakba, Israeli forces, as Turki notes, expelled around 750,000 Palestinians from their land and established the State of Israel 'at the cost of much misery for others

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[25] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p.36. I will expand my analysis of this paradox in the next section of this chapter.
[26] See Cowley, *A Second Flowering*.
[27] Samuel Putnam, *Paris Was Our Mistress: Memories of a Lost and Found Generation* (London: Plantin, 1947), p.13.
[28] Cowley, *A Second Flowering*, p.240.
[29] Fawaz Turki, *The Disinherited: Journal of a Palestinian Exile* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972), p.8.
[30] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 61.

[Palestinians]'.[31] For Turki, exile is a weapon that Israelis use(d) to negate the existence of Palestinians in their homeland and to populate Palestine with Jewish immigrants.

Turki reminds us in his first memoir, *The Disinherited*, of the fact that Theodor Herzl proposed in the early stages of the Zionist movement the idea of 'transforming a people without a country to a country without a people'.[32] Herzl claimed that Palestine is a vacant place, therefore the Jews can create their homeland on it. As such, they end their state of homelessness. Golda Meir's notorious remark that Palestinians 'did not exist' was also adopted by Jewish Israelis to facilitate their eviction of native inhabitants of Palestine.[33] These claims, in turn, were a justification for Israelis to establish a homeland in Palestine, turning its native inhabitants into exiles.

In *The Disinherited*, Turki comments on this historical irony and the destitution that afflicted Palestinian lives in refugee camps in the Arab world and beyond:

> How did it come about that a whole nation found itself suddenly in exile and its
>
> two million people afflicted by defeat, hunger, and humiliation, repudiated by
>
> men, despised by host countries and forgotten by the world, left to live as
>
> pariah refugees, their disinherited souls empty of hope and devoid of
>
> meaning?[34]

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[31] Ibid, p.12. For a historical account of the Palestinian Nakba, see Nur Masalha, *The Palestinian Nakba: Decolonizing History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory* (Zed Books: London, 2012).

[32] Turki, *The Disinherited*, p. 17.

[33] Ibid. On the negation of the existence of Palestinians and their rights by Israeli colonialism, see Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, 'Territorially-Based Nationalism and the Politics of Negation', in *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question*, ed. by Edward W. Said and Christopher Hitchens (London: Verso, 1989), pp. 193-206.

[34] Ibid, p.16.

Turki feels that Palestinian refugees of the 1948 Nakba have been destined to endure hunger, humiliation, marginalisation and estrangement.[35] 'To be Palestinian', Turki contends in *Soul in Exile*, 'you know you have no recourse to justice. You have no state, no embassy, no institution of any kind to protect you in a moment of crisis'.[36] Turki further laments that Palestinian refugees live in 'crowded' refugee camps in the Arab world, have no access to basic human needs and are 'left to our own devices' and to 'survive by ourselves'.[37] Turki, in *Exile's Return*, refers to his memories of the bad treatment to which Palestinians living in refugee camps in the Arab world were subjected. In *Soul in Exile*, Turki, for example, alludes to a time when an Arab man says to him: 'kiss my foot, boy, kiss my foot, son of the camps'.[38] Turki refers to this episode to stress that the intolerable humiliation he experienced in refugee camps in some Arab countries prompted his individual departure from the Arab world for Australia and other places before moving to the US where he lives now.

I am bringing the issue of Turki's individual departure into my discussion to highlight that the circumstances of Turki's second departure away from the Arab world in its entirety differ from the circumstances that triggered the voluntary departure or expatriation of Modernist American writers.[39] Whereas Cowley, as I explained above, represents the departure of the writers of his generation as entirely voluntary, Turki is at pains to illustrate that his second departure is due to the fact that his life in the Lebanese refugee camp is intolerable, humiliating and dehumanising.[40] The miserable conditions of Palestinians in the refugee camps in the Arab world, according to Turki, urge 'a new generation of Palestinians, marked

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[35] Ibid, p. 11.
[36] Fawaz Turki, *Soul in Exile: Lives of a Palestinian Revolutionary* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1988), p.6.
[37] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p.vi.
[38] Turki, *Soul in Exile*, p.23.
[39] Later in this chapter I will respond to some critics who tend to liken the second departure of Turki to that of expatriates.
[40] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 22.

by the scars of lost or betrayed dreams to surge forward again'.[41] Certainly, the lost dreams

that Turki refers to are the dreams of Palestinians that Arab armies will 'drive the Jews into

the sea' and return Palestinian refugees to their homeland.[42]

Not only does Turki depict in his memoirs the destitution of Palestinians living in refugee

camps in the Arab world and their disillusionment with the false promises of Arab leaders; he

also delineates the harsh treatment and hatred of Arab peoples and regimes for Palestinian

refugees, which in turn necessitate their subsequent departures. He narrates:

> [After 1948] the Arab world and its peoples were fully prepared to stab them
>
> [Palestinian refugees] in the back, to mistreat them and place them close to the
>
> door for eviction to another country, another refugee camp, another state of
>
> destitution.[43]

Palestinian refugees living in the Arab world have constantly suffered from exploitation and

discrimination by Arab regimes and peoples.[44] Turki laments, in *The Disinherited*, that 'I did

not feel I was an Arab'. Turki continues: 'I was a Palestinian. And that meant I was an

outsider, an alien, a refugee and a burden'.[45] It is worth noting in this context that Turki's

generation witnessed many episodes of murder and evictions of Palestinian refugees from

Arab states. For example, many Palestinians of Turki's generation were either expelled or

killed by the events of *Ayloul Al'soud* (Black September, Jordan 1970), which is for Turki

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[41]Ibid.

[42]Turki, *The Disinherited,* p. 30.

[43] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 22.

[44] It is notable that Palestinian refugees are greatly affected by the events of what is called the 'Arab Spring'. They are taken as scapegoats by Arab regimes and rebels, most prominently in Syria. Both the regime and the rebels in Syria use them as a shield in their attacks on each other. As a result, many Palestinian refugees have been killed in these events and many others lack food and water supplies. Also, as Hani Naqshabandi wrote in his article on 9 June 2014 'if Israel has taken from Palestinians their land, Arab states have taken from them their humanity', 'Why don't we Dispose of Them?', *Raya Journal*, 10 June 2014. My translation.

[45] Turki, *The Disinherited,* p. 8.

'the most traumatic experience in modern Palestinian history'.[46] This event made Turki believe that 'the alienation we felt in our host states [particularly Arab states]' was no less painful than 'the fatal disruptions that occurred following [Israeli colonialism of Palestine] and the exodus of 1948'.[47]

This is to emphasise that the circumstances of Turki's life in refugee camps in Arab states reinforced his exilic feelings and caused his subsequent departures. Turki laments that 'the Lebanese had made it clear that I would never be at home there […] It was not I who rejected the Arab world and its culture', but rather 'it was they who had rejected me' and therefore he had to 'seek another exile in Australia', as he narrates in *Exile's Return*.[48] Turki also comments, in *Exile's Return*, on his distress with the cultural milieu in the Arab world, which is another issue that factored into his departure for Australia in the 1960s. In *Exile's Return*, Turki complains that Arab society 'discourages spontaneity and innovation'.[49] In this context, in his memoir, Turki refers to the condition of the writers of his generation that do stay in the Arab world in order to argue that Arab society not only frustrates writers who tend to be creative, but it also restricts their intellectual freedom. Turki claims that 'fear of retribution by state and social milieu contributes to [their] accept[ance] [of] orthodoxy, dependency and submission'.[50]

The contrast Turki makes in *Exile's Return* between the intellectual freedom he has in the US and the hardships experienced by Arab writers, including Palestinian authors, living in Arab

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[46] Turki, *Soul in Exile*, p.99. In Ayloul Al'soud, the Jordanian army attacked Palestinian refugees in Jordan and they killed some of them and expelled others. For more information on the treatment of the Palestinians of Turki's generation by Arab regimes, see Glenn Bowman, 'Tales of the Lost Land: Palestinian Identity and the Formation of Nationalist Consciousness', in *Space and Place: Theories of Identity and Location*, ed. by Erica Carter, James Donald and Judith Squires (London: Lawrence &Wishart, 1993), pp. 73-99.
[47] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 61.
[48] Ibid, p.132.
[49] Ibid, p. 73.
[50] Ibid, p. 120.

countries led some critics to suggest that Turki embodies the notion of exile as a way of resistance to national boundaries. Susanne Enderwitz, for example, suggests that Turki views his departure from the Arab world in a way that exemplifies Said's ideas of the 'trans - or anti-nationalist intellectual'.[51] Enderwitz is right to argue that Turki's thoughts correlate with Said's. To give an example, Turki's statement that 'I cannot imprison myself within the boundaries of one nation' is comparable with Said's thought that 'borders and barriers, which enclose us within the safety of familiar territory, can also become prisons [...]. Exiles cross borders, break barriers of thought and experience'.[52] However, Enderwitz undermines the fact that both Said and Turki problematise the view of exile as a means of resistance to national boundaries.

Other critics interpret Turki's and Said's arguments as indicative of their tendencies to privilege the Modernist 'exile' or expatriation since it offers literary benefits and critical possibilities. Zina Halabi, for example, claims that the generation of exiled Palestinian intellectuals to which Turki belongs has certainly followed the Modernist discourse of estrangement (or what can be called in this context voluntary departure or expatriation) as a critical and defining framework.[53] I agree with Halabi that the exiled Palestinian writers she refers to benefit from the critical possibilities and cultural advantages of their voluntary exile from the Arab world to Europe and the US. However, I argue against Halabi (and also Enderwitz) in the following sections, suggesting that Turki, like many exiled Palestinian

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[51] Susanne Enderwitz, '"Home" in Palestinian autobiographies', in *Crisis and Memory: The Representation of Space in Modern Levantine Narrative*, ed. by Ken Seigneurie and Samira Aghacy (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 2004), pp. 223-42 (p.236).

[52] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 85; Said, *Reflections on Exile*, p. 185.

[53] Zina Halabi 'Writing melancholy: The death of the Intellectual in Modern Arabic literature', (2011) (Published Doctoral Thesis, Austin: University of Texas), <http://hdl.handle.net/2152/ETD-UT-2011-08-3998> [accessed 1 June 2014], (p. 35).

writers including Said, problematises rather than embraces Modernists' notion of exile and adds to our understanding of the notion of voluntary exile.

Reconsidering Voluntary Departure: A Search for Sanctuary or Opportunity?

While it is obvious that Turki's departure from Palestine in 1948 was imposed on him by Israeli forces, his departure from the Arab world in the 1960s − and my comparison of this second departure with the departure of American writers for Paris in the 1920s − raise some significant questions about the ways in which we can further specify the voluntary departures of the authors at stake. Could we consider their voluntary departures as a search for a sanctuary or as a search for an opportunity? And why does this matter? In this section, I clarify the distinction between departure in search of sanctuary and departure in search of opportunity by considering the implications of a range of categories, definitions and terms associated with the departures described by Cowley and Turki.

I argue that Cowley's memoirs problematise our attempt to neatly classify the departure of American expatriate authors of the 1920s as either a search for sanctuary or as search for opportunity. This argument will in turn reveal the inaccuracy of some critical tendencies that simply classify American expatriate authors of the 1920s as exiles in search of sanctuary, or as immigrants looking for opportunities abroad.[54] To illustrate my argument, I draw on Pavel's distinction between the categories of immigrants and exiles. Pavel writes:

> Immigrants begin a new life and find a new home; exiles never break the
>
> psychological link with their point of origin. Among the features of exile must

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[54] See for example John Gawelti's argument that 1920s American writers are mere immigrants, not exiles, 'Eliot, Joyce and exile', *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews* , 14 (2001), 38-45. For examples of critics that classify 1920s American writers as refugees or exiles in Paris, see Hannah Skahill, 'Expatriate literature and American culture: The influence of place in literature', (Unpublished Masters' Dissertation, New York: Hofstra University, 2012) *<www.hofstra.edu/pdf/academic/.../geog_skahill_honors_ thesis.pdf>* [accessed 2 June 2014]. Alfred Kazin, *On Native Grounds, an Interpretation of Modern American Prose Literature* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982). I will return to these critics in my next chapter.

thus be included the coercive nature of the displacement, its religious or political motivation.[55]

Reading Cowley's *Exile's Return* against the above theoretical contribution from Pavel, we find it problematic to categorise American writers of the 1920s as either exiles or immigrants. That is to say, Cowley's *Exile's Return* attributes a variety of characteristics to American writers of the 1920s in Paris, some of which are used by Pavel to describe exiles and others which are used by the same theorist to describe immigrants. For instance, Cowley reflects on the psychological link that American expatriate writers of the 1920s have with their homeland as follows: 'the country of our childhood survives, if only in our minds, and retains our loyalty even when casting us into exile'.[56] Cowley's description of American expatriate authors of the 1920s resonates to an extent with Pavel's description of exiles as people who 'never break the psychological link with their point of origin'.[57] And the reasons why American expatriate authors of the 1920s are cast into 'exile', according to Cowley, fall into the categories of religious and political motivations that Pavel classifies above, where Cowley narrates that 'puritanism is the great enemy' and 'the war had destroyed their belief in political action'.[58]

At the same time, Cowley attaches to his literary cohort in Paris some of the characteristics of immigrants. For example, he narrates that 'perhaps they even felt homesick for America, but unless they had run out of money there seemed to be no special reason for returning'.[59] Therefore based on the theoretical distinction Pavel proposes above, one feels tempted to view American writers of the 1920s as 'immigrants [who] begin a new life' in Paris.[60]

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[55] Thomas Pavel, 'Exile as Romance and as Tragedy', p. 26.
[56] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 14.
[57] Pavel, 'Exile as Romance and as Tragedy', p. 26.
[58] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 58.
[59] Ibid, p. 243.
[60] Pavel, 'Exile as Romance and as Tragedy', p. 26.

However, Cowley does not tell us in his memoir that American authors of the 1920s in Paris consider their new place in Paris as 'a new home', which is a condition that Pavel suggests is a necessity for one to be classified as a 'proper' immigrant. Again, in Pavel's view immigration entails renunciation, breaking with the past and beginning a new life in a new place, something that does not apply to American authors of the 1920s in Paris. The lack of American expatriate authors of the 1920s for this characteristic obstructs our classification of them as 'genuine' immigrants.[61]

More significantly in relation to my overall project, I would argue that one cannot simply and neatly liken American writers of the 1920s in Paris to exiles and refugees who were expelled from their native land by force, even if, as I mentioned above, they share some of the characteristics that Pavel attaches to exiles. I illustrate my argument by accounting for the ways in which Cowley uses the terms refuge and refugees in reference to American expatriate authors of the 1920s. Cowley illustrates:

> The refugees were undergoing a peculiar experience [...] In Paris [...] they had written stories about their childhood [...] the hero of which was a sensitive boy oppressed by his surroundings [...] here in this ultimate refuge there were no distractions wherever, nothing to keep them from working except the terrifying discovery that they had nothing now to say. [62]

In the above passage the author represents the refuge of American writers of the 1920s in Paris positively and figuratively. Their refuge, according to Cowley, provides them with an inspiration for writing and an atmosphere conducive to productivity. Cowley's use of the

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[61] Pavel, 'Exile as Romance and as Tragedy', p. 26. Similarly, Kaplan argues that immigrants, by contrast to expatriates, *intend* to become as much as part of the new country as possible and 'immigrants are associated with financial or material gain rather than aesthetic gain', *Question of Travel*, p.110. McCarthy also argues that 'the expatriate is usually an artist or a person who thinks he is artistic', 'A Guide to Exiles, Expatriates, and Internal Émigrés', p.51.

[62] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 242.

term refuge contravenes the meaning of refuge or sanctuary (a synonymous word) that dictionaries provide. For instance, according to *Oxford Dictionary of English*, the word sanctuary means 'a safe place where someone is protected or given shelter from danger', and it gives the following example: 'the refugees found sanctuary when they crossed the border'.[63] Both the dictionary definition and the example provided suggest that the exile or the refugee is the person who crosses the border in search of protection from immediate conflict or war, which is not the case of American expatriate writers of the 1920s.

Furthermore, Cowley frequently uses, in *Exile's Return*, the phrase 'we were physically uprooted' to reflect on his departure and the departure of the writers of his generation from the US for Paris.[64] This image could tempt us to think that American expatriate writers of the 1920s were exposed to events that forcibly uprooted them from America and cast them into Paris. However, we infer from Cowley's *A Second Flowering* that the departure of American expatriate authors of the 1920s for Paris was wholly voluntary. Cowley narrates:

> Prohibition, puritanism, philistinism, and salesmanship: these seemed to be the triumphant causes in America. Whoever had won the war, young American writers came to regard themselves as a defeated nation. So they went to Paris, not as if they were being driven into exile, but as if they were seeking a spiritual home.[65]

As such, the above passage from *A Second Flowing* reinforces our understanding that while Cowley uses, in *Exile's Return*, military and political terms to reflect on the departure of American expatriate writers of the 1920s, he uses them in symbolic ways. That is to argue, the departure of American expatriate authors of the 1920s is not a result of an actual episode of uprootedness. As Simone Weil reminds us, 'uprootedness occurs whenever there is a

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[63] *Oxford Dictionary of English*, p. 1561.
[64] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 27.
[65] Malcolm Cowley, *A Second Flowering*, p.53.

military conquest, and in this sense conquest is nearly always an evil'.[66] Weil's argument adds to our understanding that the way in which Cowley, by contrast to Turki, represents refuge, exile and uprootedness is the opposite of what the political jargon in his memoir suggests.

I argue that 1920s American writers' experience of 'crossing the border' illustrates Modernists' 'experience[s] of crossing boundaries and charting new territories in defiance of the classic canonic enclosures' at home, to refer to Said.[67] They cross the borders of the American nation in search of a privileged literary position in Paris rather than for the protection or sanctuary sought by refugees of war. Rob Nixon insists on the distinction between refugees and expatriates, noting that 'refugees tend to be powerless, anonymous, voiceless people who, as the etymology suggests, are in flight'.[68] In Nixon's view, refugees, in contrast to expatriates, are almost always associated with tyranny and catastrophe and 'others speak on their behalf; if they themselves are said to speak at all it is through their numbers'.[69]

The points made by Nixon and Weil help us further understand that Turki, in contrast to Cowley, uses the terms refuge, uprootedness and exile to reflect on actual experiences of dispossession or involuntary exile. Turki uses these terms while describing his departure from the Arab world as a form of 'uprootedness', 'escape' and a quest for security from danger, which are associated with the word sanctuary.[70] Muhammad Siddiq emphasises that crossing borders for Palestinian refugees outside Palestine is almost always a sign of their fate of

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[66] Simone Weil, *The Need for Roots: Prelude to a Declaration of Duties Towards Mankind* (London: Routledge, 1952), p. 42.

[67] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 384.

[68] Rob Nixon, *London Calling: V.S. Naipaul, Postcolonial Mandarin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.23.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 63.

continuing flight from terror in the host states and departure under compulsion.[71] In Turki's

view, the Arab world is not a 'proper' or secure refuge for Palestinians uprooted from their

native land in 1948 as they never feel physical or emotional security. This makes the

condition of Palestinian refugees in the Arab world no less painful than that of Palestinians

who remained in the occupied territories. Turki claims that 'after all, life under occupation

may be harsh, but it is no better for Palestinians living in host states in the Arab world'.[72]

Turki's description erases the line of distinction between the enemy (Israeli occupation) and

the neighbouring refuges (the Arab states). This, in turn, reinforces my argument that Turki,

like many other exiled Palestinian writers, crossed the border of the Arab world, seeking

sanctuary in Europe and the US, rather than looking for an opportunity.

This may explain why the titles of many Palestinian-American memoirs evoke exile and

havoc and their 'coming-to-America stories revolve around loss and deracination, rather than

fulfilment of destiny, attainment of a goal, or reaching a final destination.'[73] Turki, being one

of these Palestinian-American memoirists, underscores that exiled Palestinian writers of his

generation who came to America are heirs of destitution, 'escap[ing] [from the Arab world]

elsewhere [...] with their crippling sense of loss of home and homeland', looking for a

sanctuary rather than seeking opportunities or achieving a specific goal.[74]

The Exile/Home Dichotomy

In this section, I read Turki's narrative of the exile/home dichotomy as a counter narrative to

Cowley's. I argue that Cowley, in similar fashion to Stein, views exile and home as

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[71] Muhammad Siddiq 'On Ropes of Memory: Narrating the Palestinian Refugees', in *Mistrusting Refugees*, ed. by E. Valentine Daniel and John Chr. Knudsen (California: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 87-102 (p. 89).
[72] Siddiq 'On Ropes of Memory', p. 84.
[73] Waïl S. Hassan, *Immigrant Narratives: Orientalism and Cultural Translation in Arab American and Arab British literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.114.
[74] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 63.

complementary constructs that grant the American Modernist expatriate writer simultaneous affiliation to two countries. In contrast to Cowley, Turki represents the exile/home binary as a condition of rupture and a tormenting lack of sense of at-homeness.

The following oft-quoted words of Stein emblematise the dominant (American) Modernist view of 'exile':

> After all, that is, everybody who writes is interested in living inside themselves in order to feel what is inside themselves. That is why writers have to have two countries, the one where they belong and the one in which they live really. The second one is romantic, it is separate from themselves, it is not real but it is really there. [75]

Stein's passage indicates that the affiliation of the American Modernist expatriate writer to both 'exile' and home offers him or her unique possibilities for productivity. Like Stein, Cowley notes that American expatriate writers of the 1920s desire to be affiliated to both their 'exile' in Paris and their homeland (the US) to 'write a good novel'.[76] As such, both Cowley and Stein suggest that American expatriate writers of the 1920s need to live in 'exile' in Paris (while keeping their link with the US), which is one of the capitals of international modernism. The proponents of this Modernist movement tend to advance that 'there is an essential virtue and gain in escaping from the singularity of one culture into the multiplicity of all'.[77] As I mentioned before, Modernist American expatriate authors of the 1920s adopted the view that the author who is interested in producing a work of art should leave his or her country. In this way, the author gains literary and cultural privileges not available at home.

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[75] Gertrude Stein, *Paris France* (New York: Liveright, 1970 [1940]), p. 72.
[76] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 79.
[77] Deane, 'Imperialism/ Nationalism', p.367.

In contrast to Cowley, Turki represents the exile/home dichotomy as an emblem of loss and lack of sense of at-homeness. For Turki, exile is the antithesis of home and it marks Palestinians' state of non-belonging. He writes:

> To be Palestinian was, in part by upbringing, in part by sensibility, to be a
>
> wanderer, an exile, a touch moon-mad, always a little different from others.
>
> Our name, which was acquired after 1948, was not so much a national title –
>
> we had no nation – as an existential term.[78]

Turki wants to say that exile for the Palestinian exiled writer embodies alienation from home, catastrophe, suffering and loss; it marks rupture and absence rather than affiliation to multiple places. Turki narrates that 'like other exiles, I was driven from one language to another, from one culture to another. The transition brought deep shifts in my sensibility that cannot be corrected. You cannot think in one language and feel in another'.[79] Notice Turki's use of the passive tense 'I was driven'. It indicates that Turki's departure from one language to another, from one culture to another, is passive and helpless; an involuntary transition that reflects the involuntary exile of Palestinians. Indeed, multiplicity for Palestinian writers is generally experienced as loss and double estrangement.[80] Exiled Palestinian writers are torn between countries, between homes, between cultures and between languages. My argument can further be illustrated by looking at the following lines that Mahmoud Darwish shares with Edward Said in his elegy to him:

> He [Said] says: I am from there, I am from here,
>
> but I am neither there nor here.
>
> I have two names which meet and part
>
> I have two languages, but I have long forgotten
>
> which is the language of my dreams.

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[78] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 272.

[79] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 102.

[80] I elaborate on my analysis of the passage that follows while discussing Said's memoir in Chapter Three.

I have an English language, for writing,

with yielding phrases,

and a language in which Heaven and

Jerusalem converse, with a silver cadence,

but it does not yield to my imagination.[81]

The rupture between home and exile penetrates Darwish's and Said's personal and national identities, and also pervades the domains of their everyday life, thoughts and emotions. Exiled Palestinian writers like Darwish, Said and Turki never feel at home anywhere after their rupture from their homeland in 1948, as the next section continues to demonstrate. Every place for them looks like an exile, including their homeland, which makes the distinction between their Palestinian homeland and their exile around the world blurred. Turki epitomises that 'exile and homeground are an indivisible part of each other'.[82] Turki fuses the binary between home and exile to reflect on his continuous state of placelessness both inside Palestine and outside it.

'Exilic' Consciousness and Suspended Return

As I mentioned before, American expatriate writers of the 1920s retained their link with their native land while living in Paris. Therefore, when some of them felt that living in their Parisian 'exile' was no longer sustainable (for reasons I account for in Chapter Four), they moved back to the US and 'put an end to their happy exile', as Cowley describes it.[83] By contrast to Cowley, Turki reflects, in *Exile's Return*, on the physical inability of the Palestinian exile to return permanently home and how he himself is relegated to eternal exile in the US.

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[81] Mahmoud Darwish, 'Edward Said: A Contrapuntal Reading', trans. by Mona Anis, *Cultural Critique*, 67 (2007), 175-182 (pp.176-177).
[82] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 256.
[83] Cowley, *A Second Flowering*, p.58.

Having referred to the basic distinction between the representations of physical return by Cowley and Turki which I elaborate in Chapter Four, I show in this section that my juxtaposition of the subtitles of their memoirs – Cowley's *A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* and Turki's *The Making of a Palestinian American* – urges further consideration of the implications of their notions of return. The juxtaposition of these two subtitles indicates that return for Cowley and Turki does not merely suggest the ability of the 'exile' to repatriate at the physical level. It is instead a complex issue due to a variety of reasons. One of these reasons is that '[the exile] has a double perspective, never seeing things in isolation'.[84] The 'exile' thinks simultaneously of his or her place of 'exile' and the original home, which generates his or her ambivalent attitude towards returning home.

Turki shows, in *Exile's Return*, an ambivalent attitude towards Palestine: longing for it and uncertainty whether he wants to return to it or not. He writes that 'the tug of return always lies at the center of a Palestinian's identity. I understand this tug, and at times I feel it in my own heart, but it is alien to what I believe'.[85] Part of Turki's statement suggests that he feels the necessity of his *a'wdah* (return) to Palestine and its significance at the national level. Maha Habib emphasises that:

> The future vision [of Palestinians] is centred on the continuity of Palestinian-ness; it is centred on the idea of 'return' to a future not defined by existential outsidedness. To give up the notion of 'return', *regardless of how it is conceptualized* is to give up Palestine and to give up Palestinian-ness. [86]

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[84] Said, 'Intellectual Exile', p.121.

[85] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 84.

[86] Maha F. Habib, 'Writing Palestinian Exile: The Politics of Displacement in the Narratives of Mahmoud Darwish, Mourid Barghouti, Raja Shehadeh and Fawaz Turki', *Holy Land Studies,* 12 (2013), 71-90 (p. 73). 'Existential outsidedness' is a term coined by Edward Relph to describe the condition of the person who believes that 'all places assume the same meaningless identity and are distinguishable only by superficial

Habib's argument helps us understand that although Turki has an ambivalent attitude towards returning to Palestine, by staying in the US he does not give up his Palestinian identity and his right of return. Instead, he reconceptualises the notion of return in a revolutionary mode which makes returning to Palestine 'alien to what I believe'.[87] Turki claims that he will not return to Palestine before Palestinians have 'a modern country', metonymically figured through 'Jericho airport'.[88] By demanding this condition, Turki stresses efficiently that Palestinians have no state. Therefore, for Turki returning to Palestine means he returns to a land that was once his but is now inhabited and occupied by Israel, which complicates his possibility of return. Turki narrates that 'in fact, there is no chance I could return here [Palestine] to live' as Israelis would not allow his return.[89]

It is true that Turki, from a collective and national perspective, feels the need to return to Palestine; he writes that 'the tug of return always lies at the center of a Palestinian's identity. I understand this tug, and at times I feel it in my own heart'. Nevertheless, Turki expresses in the second half of the same sentence his hesitance to return to Palestine. He argues that 'it is alien to what I believe'. The author hesitates to conform to the Palestinian ideology which requires the exiled Palestinian to repress or confront the hardships inherited in living under Israeli occupation or in seeking return to Palestine. Turki distances himself from the Palestinians living in the West Bank and who confront the brutality of the Israeli occupation by their commitment to stay in their land (ṣmoud). While Turki identifies with 'my archetypal [Palestinian] roots', upon his experience of temporary return to Palestine, he contends that he

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qualities', E. C. Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, (London: Pion, 1976), p. 51. I engage with this term in my analysis in the next chapter on placelessness and mobility in Jabra Ibrahim Jabra and Ernest Hemingway. In the above quotation, Habib wants to emphasise that Palestinian exiles feel the need to stress the significance of their homeland and the importance of distinguishing it from their places in exile.

[87] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 85.

[88] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 274. Turki largely reflects on the meaning of airports for Palestinians in *Soul in Exile*. For example, he writes that 'airports, after all, are where Palestinians have traditionally been turned away, held up, detained, questioned', p.176.

[89] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p.109

would not be able to endure living under Israeli occupation if he gets the chance to do so.[90] Turki argues, in *Exile's Return*, that he prefers a life of freedom in the US rather than an intolerable life under Israeli occupation.

Cowley, analogously, asserts in *Exile's Return*, that although the 'physical exile' of his literary cohort ended, they were still 'exiles in spirit'.[91] Cowley attributes this partly to the fact that the writers of the 1920s formed in Paris new ways of thinking about home and culture. He narrates that 'I was returning to New York with a set of values that bore no relation to American life'.[92] Therefore, Cowley's notion of return regarding the spiritual and physical (in)ability to integrate into the original home problematises Caren Kaplan's argument that 'the "literary Odyssey" of his expatriates leads them to repatriation rather than eternal wandering and melancholy'.[93] While Kaplan is right to argue that American expatriate authors of the 1920s were physically able to return to the US, Cowley's narrative suggests that they were not able to integrate into their homeland at the psychic level.

The above discussion thus entails that the perception of the native homeland, which is cherished in the 'exilic' milieu, by Cowley and Turki, remains utopian and irreconcilable with the realities they confront upon their 'return'. The Palestinian exile and the American expatriate of the 1920s share the impossibility of their return at the psychic level; however, they differ in that the Palestinian exile cannot return to Palestine permanently. Turki perhaps highlights the contrast between the return of the Palestinian exile and the American expatriate of the 1920s by his reflection in *Exile's Return* on the departures and returns of American expatriate authors of the 1920s. For example, he refers to Thomas Wolfe in *Exile's Return*,

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[90] Ibid, p.257.
[91] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p.292.
[92] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 170.
[93] Kaplan, *Question of Travel*, p. 48.

quoting the words of his protagonist in *Look Homeward, Angel*:'I will remember [...] when I come to the place, I shall know'.[94] While I reflect on the representation of return by Wolfe in detail in Chapter Four, it is worth stressing, in this context, Turki's choice of Wolfe rather than any other American expatriate author of the 1920s. This may be because Wolfe suggests in his works that American expatriate authors who lived in 'exile' in Paris in the 1920s, like involuntary exiles, will never be able to return home at the psychic level. Wolfe disrupts the glorification of 'exile' by American expatriate authors by suggesting that 'exile'/expatriation spiritually alienated these authors from their home, even if they physically were able to return.[95]

More importantly, Wolfe opposes the view of exile by American expatriate authors of the 1920s as a voluntary departure that suggests possible return. He instead stresses that to understand what exile means you should think of people who are forced into exile and unable to return. Therefore, in quoting Wolfe, Turki perhaps wants to further insist on the Palestinian view of exile as an involuntary exit and a condition that suggests an impossible return at both physical and psychic levels. That is, Turki probably wants to problematise through Wolfe the view of 'exile' by American expatriate authors of the 1920s as a voluntary departure that entails possible return. Turki quotes Wolfe while he is illustrating that exile is a realm of destruction of roots and memory of place and a condition that implicates the inability to return at both physical and psychic levels.[96]

This discussion reminds us of both the frequently-quoted words of Said, 'exile is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and his native place', and Said's idea that

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[94] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 6.
[95] The following chapters will further expand on the counter-narrative that Palestinian authors present against American expatriate authors' narrative of 'exile'.
[96] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 6.

celebrating 'exile' is 'a challenge or a risk.'[97] Said argues that the writer in 'exile' might fail to challenge the force of 'exile' in blurring the line between himself or herself and his or her old place. Said, like Turki, highlights that 'exile' or displacement is a realm that lures voluntary exiles with promises that will later obstruct their ability to return to their original home at the psychic level, as the case of the American expatriate authors of the 1920s suggests.[98] According to John Gawelti, American expatriate Modernists' celebration of their 'exile' in Paris made their return very problematic. 'Stranded far from the homeland of their earlier years', Gawelti argues, American writers of the 1920s have come to emblematise 'the pervasive spiritual exile of modern experience'.[99]

Salman Rushdie's following comment on the exilic condition of Indian writers fits as a conclusion for this section: 'our physical alienation [...] inevitably means that we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing we lost; that we will, in short create fictions, not actual cities and villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands'.[100] In a sense both the exile and the expatriate can only imaginatively reclaim their native spot which they left or were expelled from. However, the exile, unlike the expatriate, cannot physically reclaim/return to his or her native place and has to find another place to live, as I will consider now, using Turki's illustrations of this.

'Statelessness is Your Only State'[101]

Turki's stay in the US is not entirely a matter of choice. It is a reluctant submission to the state or force of homelessness after his physical inability to return to Palestine. Turki, by the

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[97] Edward Said, *The World, The Text, and The Critic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), p.7. I will return to this idea in detail in Chapter Three.

[98] In another context, Said writes 'no return to the past is without irony or without a sense that a full return, or repatriation, is impossible', *Reflections on Exile*, p. xxxv

[99] Gawelti, 'Eliot, Joyce and Exile', p.39.

[100] Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism, 1981-1991* (London: Vintage, 2010), p. 10.

[101] Turki, *Soul in Exile*, p.6.

end of his *Exile's Return*, comes to look at homelessness as a home in order to alleviate his pain of loss of Palestine – a fact Susanne Enderwitz overlooks. Enderwitz wrongly views Turki's decision to remain in the US as an example of his aspiration for anti-nationalism or trans-nationalism.[102] My counter argument to Enderwitz can be illustrated by accounting for Turki's reflection on his state of homelessness and his inclination to identify with New Yorkers. Turki narrates that:

> I need not live in Nablus or Jericho or Gaza. I could live anywhere [...] especially New York, because New Yorkers are like Palestinians in many ways. They too are born of tragedy. Their ancestors landed at Ellis Island after escaping a czar who claimed to love them.[103]

However, note the absence of Haifa, the city from which Turki was expelled, from the range of Palestinian cities he names above. I think that Turki intentionally crosses Haifa out from the passage above in order to convey a political message. This message embeds the fact that every place for Turki is an exile, even Gaza and the Palestinian cities in the West Bank like Nablus and Jericho, except his original city of Haifa.[104] Turki's memoir was published in 1994, one year after the signing of the Oslo Accords by the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) and the Israeli government in Madrid, which Turki criticizes in his memoir. During the process of negotiations that preceded the signing of these accords, Israel refused to accept that Palestinian refugees could return to the original cities from where they were exactly uprooted in the 1948 Nakba, like Haifa and Acre, as this would undermine the

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[102] Susanne Enderwitz, '"Home" in Palestinian Autobiographies', p. 224.

[103] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 273.

[104] This was the attitude of most of the exiled Palestinian authors who had the chance to go to Palestine after the Oslo Accords. Exiled Palestinian authors like Darwish and Yahia Yakhluf committed themselves to seeing only their original towns in Palestine as homes to which they want to return. The following study in Arabic reflects in detail on this issue, Adel Osta, *Adab Almoqawamah* (Damascus, Palestinian Institute for Culture, 2007).

Jewish character of Israel.[105] For this reason, Turki finds it impossible to return to his town Haifa and he, consequently, feels that he is destined to a life of permanent exile.

Also, the allusion Turki makes in the above passage to Emma Lazarus's poem 'The New Colossus' is very suggestive. America is described in this poem as 'mother of exiles'. Turki seems to identify with this image of America.[106] After his loss of his original city Haifa, Turki feels that he has become destined to a permanent state of homelessness. He reflects on this in *Soul in Exile*: 'statelessness is your only state, and you have long since developed an aboriginal sense of how to live there'.[107] Turki seems to suggest that seeing America as the last refuge and making of himself a Palestinian-American (the subtitle of his last memoir) are the ways in which he attempts to alleviate his pain of statelessness.

In her article 'The American Experience: Palestinians in the US', Kathleen Christison argues that Palestinians have no homeland, or their homeland is occupied by foreign occupation. Therefore, Palestinians in America tend to identify themselves as Palestinian-Americans in order to relieve their sense of homelessness and incompleteness.[108] Christison continues: 'large numbers of Palestinians tend to be here [in the US] simply because there is nowhere else to go. For these Palestinians, becoming American is not a choice made enthusiastically but a passive act, taken because there is no other or better alternative.'[109] For Turki, Haifa is out of reach; he cannot return and live in it, and he refuses to live under Israeli occupation or in refugee camps in Arab states as this mainly compromises his physical security. Therefore,

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[105] On this issue, see Jacob Tovy, 'Negotiating the Palestinian Refugees', *Middle East Quarterly*, 10 (2003), pp.39-50.

[106] Emma Lazarus, 'The New Colossus', in *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, ed. by Nina Baym (London: W.W. Norton & Company Ltd., 2003, 2nd edn), p. 2601. The poem was originally published in 1883.

[107] Turki, *Soul in Exile*, p.6.

[108] Kathleen Christison, 'The American Experience: Palestinians in the U.S.', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 18 (1989), 18-36 (p.19).

[109] Ibid.

America is the place where he can live, especially as America, in his view, is the state of the stateless.

A Final Note

My contrapuntal analysis in this chapter does not seek to suggest that exiled Palestinian writers negate the representation of 'exile' by Modernist American expatriate authors as a space that offers literary and cultural benefits. As Turki suggests, exiled Palestinian writers themselves acknowledge the literary and cultural benefits that the writer in exile can gain. However, unlike American expatriate Modernists, exiled Palestinian authors do not posit exile as a position to be desired or searched for, but a position to be challenged. In most cases, the cultural advantages Palestinian writers gain in exile aim to contribute and advance the Palestinian cause, abolish exile altogether and return the Palestinian refugees back home. Exiled Palestinian authors try to transform exile 'into a space of defiance, creativeness and resistance'[110] to what Said calls 'anonymity'.[111] Furthermore, whilst American Modernist expatriate writers seek 'exile' in Paris to cultivate a better existence, exiled Palestinian authors view exile as the negation of their existence. Likewise, whereas American expatriate Modernists see 'exile' as a mode of entry into internationalism, Palestinian writers look at exile as the antithesis of a nation that they have never had.

This is not to say that Palestinian authors are not critical of nationalism, but, in Anna Bernard's words, they 'are rather less sceptical about the idea of the nation, and also less sanguine about the merits of border-crossing and exile'.[112] Turki observes that:

> We were growing up to see ourselves as inseparable from the national struggle,
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> or separable from it only by abstraction. Our struggle for statehood, for

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[110] Habib, 'Writing Palestinian exile', p.72.
[111] Said, *The Question of Palestine*, p.155.
[112] Bernard, 'Palestine and Postcolonial Studies', para 11.

> freedom, for self-definition was, in effect, our window on life. We knew that if
>
> the Palestinian revolution lost any of this energy, every Palestinian would, in a
>
> vital or central way, become less Palestinian.[113]

Turki wants to say that Palestinian struggle is not only against Israeli colonialism, but also against statelessness and nonentity, against exile and its destitution or temptations for the forgetfulness of the place of origin. Darwish expresses the same view on Palestinian nationalism and exile. For Darwish, one must first have a state to think of exile as a desired position and as a space that offers possibilities for resisting and criticising nationalism and traditions at home. He quotes Jean Genet, who said that 'a homeland is a stupid idea, except for those who still don't have one. Goytisolo, the Spanish poet, answered him: "And when they have a homeland?" Genet said: "let them throw it out the window."'[114]

In this way, exiled Palestinian writers offer a narrative of exile that counterpoints the narrative of 'exile' introduced by Modernist American expatriate authors. This chapter has showed that the departure of Modernist American expatriate authors from their home is the result of feeling psychic alienation in the US, while the departure of exiled Palestinian authors from their home was imposed on them by a colonial situation. Furthermore, this chapter's juxtaposition of literary Palestinian and American experiences of departure and return has suggested that American expatriate authors of the 1920s felt upon their return that they had been 'wrenched away' from any 'attachment to any region or tradition'.[115] Therefore, they put their faith in mobility or 'the idea of changing place', which is the subject

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[113] Turki, *Soul in Exile*, p.8.
[114] Quoted in Helit Yeshurun, '"Exile Is So Strong Within Me, I May Bring It to the Land" A Landmark 1996 Interview with Mahmoud Darwish', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 42 (2012), 46-70 (p.52). Said shares this view of nationalism with Darwish and Turki. He argues that 'nationalism is an assertion of belonging in and to a place, a people, a heritage. It affirms the home created by a community of language, culture and customs; and, by so doing, it fends off exile, fights to prevent its ravages', *Reflections on Exile*, p. 176.
[115] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p.9.

of the next chapter.[116] I show that while exiled Palestinian protagonists manifest a centripetal movement that promises to relieve them from their pain of placelessness, American expatriate characters embody a centrifugal movement that, as opposite to attachment to a specific place, promises multiple values.

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[116] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p.61.

Chapter Two

Centrifugal/ Centripetal Movements: Placelessness and the Subversive Tactics of

Mobility in Ernest Hemingway and Jabra Ibrahim Jabra

> For as I look back on it now, I realize how deep and strong was the emotional conflict within me – I felt I was running away from America, this time really without good and sufficient reason; and yet I couldn't help running away. "Home" was not home to me any longer. But Paris was not my home either. I was just an uprooted, aimless wanderer on the face of the earth. And a lonely one, too. I didn't like that; I hated it. And, since there was nothing else to do, I would go into the bar and take another drink – and try to forget. (Harold E. Stearns, *The Street I Know: The Autobiography of the Last of the Bohemians*)[1]

> I have to go back to the land. Ulysses was a much better sailor and voyager than any of us. Yet even he, like us, would escape so that he could eventually reach somewhere where he could plant his feet firmly on land and say, "This is my soil". (Jabra I Jabra, *The Ship*)[2]

> Mobility bears a number of meanings […] Mobility as progress, as freedom, as opportunity, and as modernity, sit side by side with mobility as shiftlessness, as deviance, and as resistance. Mobility, then, is more central to both the world and our understanding of it than ever before. (Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World*)[3]

Introduction

This chapter differentiates between post-1948 Palestinian literary exile and modern American literary expatriation by teasing out the ways in which the constructs of placelessness are articulated in works by Hemingway and Jabra. The mode of placelessness embodied by the characters of each of my two authors will be elicited from the orientations of their mobility. I argue that Hemingway's characters express in their inclination for centrifugal movement (moving away from the centre) the expatriate's strategy to increase his or her sense of

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[1] Harold E. Stearns, *The Street I Know: The Autobiography of the Last of the Bohemians*, (Lanham: M. Evans & Company; Reprint edition, 2014 [1935]), p. 254. Stearns is an essayist, critic and editor of *Civilization in the United States* (1922), and one of the American expatriates of the 1920s on whose works I focus in this thesis.
[2] Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, *The Ship*, trans. by Adnan Haydar and Roger Allen (Washington: Three Continents Press, 1985[1970]), p. 188.
[3] Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp.1-2.

freedom that space (expatriation), rather than home/ place, secures. In parallel, I show that Jabra's characters in their centripetal movement (moving or tending to move towards the centre) manifest the exile's predilection to return home and express their resistance to the lures of exile. This chapter explains that the expatriate character (in this case, the American) views place as confining, restrictive and disagreeable and centrifugal mobility as a figure of freedom, resistance, self-fashioning and understanding/inhabiting the world. By contrast, the involuntarily exiled character (in this case, the Palestinian) is a figured obsessed with and aching for the place, roots and 'dwelling' from which he or she was uprooted – a sense of attachment that defines his or her authentic existence and frames his or her understanding of the world.[4]

In the course of this chapter, I initially explore the different ways in which Hemingway and Jabra represent the notion of placelessness. I show that Hemingway represents placelessness as a feeling that resulted from World War I and loss of traditional places in the process of the urbanisation of the country. I also explain that Jabra, by contrast to Hemingway, represents placelessness as loss of homeland (Palestine) in the 1948 Nakba. This initial analysis prefaces my arguments in the following two sections that the motion of Hemingway's characters is a strategy they use to subvert their sense of 'existential outsidedness', while the motion of Jabra's characters is a condition triggered by external forces (Israel and Arab regimes). To enhance this differentiation, I apply Relph's ideas on 'existential outsidedness' to the novels examined in this chapter. Relph uses the term 'existential outsidedness' to describe the condition of the person who believes that 'all places assume the same meaningless identity

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[4] See Martin Heidegger's dictum 'to be human being means to be on the earth as a mortal. It means to dwell', 'Building, Dwelling, Thinking', in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. by Albert Hofstadter (New York: Haper & Row, 2001[1971]), pp. 141-160 (p.145); Simone Weil's aphorism 'to be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul', *The Need for Roots*, p. 43; Gaston Bachelard's statement home is 'the topography of our intimate being', *The Poetics of Space* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), p. xxxvi.

and are distinguishable only by superficial qualities'.[5] I show that whilst Relph's thoughts correlate with Hemingway's view of urban places as less homely than traditional places and the feeling of his characters of 'existential outsidedness' after World War I, they can be used in the Palestinian literary context – cautiously – to describe the milieu of exile as insignificant and meaningless.

The analysis in the remaining sections of my chapter will focus on the orientations of the characters' motions in the works at stake and the significance of understanding those orientations. I read the centrifugal motion of Hemingway's characters as a comforting ideology and a means they use to increase their sense of freedom and reconfigure their perception of the world. In the following part, I explain that Jabra's characters, unlike Hemingway's, represent centripetal movement that echoes their refusal to put down roots in exile and their attempts to return to Palestine. I conclude this chapter by showing how the differences between Hemingway's and Jabra's representations of the constructs of place, placelessness and motion are ascribed to the differences between the modes of placelessness they represent. I emphasise that whereas Jabra's Palestinian characters embody an involuntary exile, Hemingway's characters manifest expatriation.

Hemingway (1899-1961) was born and raised in Oak Park, Illinois. He was a prominent American expatriate novelist, short-story writer and journalist. He wrote numerous works of fiction and non-fiction, many of which are seen as classics of American literature, and he won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1954. In 1921 Hemingway joined the expatriate community in Paris and he made a major contribution to their Modernist thought.[6] In this

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[5] E. C. Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976), p. 51.
[6] In this context, it is worth quoting the following words of Harry Levin on Hemingway: 'most of Hemingway's fiction, which the world accepts as the exemplification of a strenuous Americanism, takes place on foreign soil. This transatlantic impetus reached its fullest intensity with the artistic movement that surfaced after the first

chapter, I focus on his epochal novel *Fiesta*: *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) for exploring his representation of placelessness and motion. Yet I will be making extensive reference to other major works by Hemingway such as *A Farewell to Arms* (1929) and *A Moveable Feast* (1964) and works by other American expatriate authors of the 1920s to expand my analysis of the themes at stake. *Fiesta* instantly caused Hemingway's international celebrity identified with an entire generation, 'torn by war and grieving throughout the Roaring Twenties for their lost romantic idealism'.[7] Therefore, in order to understand the treatment of place, space, geography and mobility by post-World War I American expatriate writers in relation to their expatriate lifestyle, *Fiesta* is an invaluable resource. It deals directly with the expatriate experience of Modernist American writers in Paris.

With respect to Palestinian material, I will focus on Jabra Ibrahim Jabra's works. Jabra (1919-1994), a distinguished Palestinian poet, novelist, critic and artist, resided in Iraq and remained there until his death after he was expelled from Bethlehem in the 1948 Nakba. The fact that Jabra had a great interest in American Modernist literature as a result of his education in Cambridge and his translation of fictional works written by American Modernists is a major reason for using Jabra for this comparison. More importantly, Jabra expressed his interest in American Modernists' configurations of 'exile', particularly Hemingway's. For example, in his article 'Modern Arabic Literature and the West', Jabra advised the Arab reader to refer to one of Hemingway's works to figure out the ways in which Euro-American Modernist writers reflect on the anxiety of being uprooted and placeless in the modern era.[8]

World War', Harry Levin 'Introduction', in William Carlos Williams, *A Voyage to Pagany* (New York: New Directions Books, 1970 [1928]), pp. ix – xx (p.ix).

[7] Scott Donaldson, *The Cambridge Companion to Hemingway* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 87.

[8] Jabra. I. Jabra, 'Modern Arabic Literature and the West', *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 2 (1971), 76-91 (p. 88).

In this chapter I will concentrate in particular on Jabra's *The Ship*, originally published in Arabic in 1970 as *al-Safina*, with supplementary evidence provided from Jabra's other major works, particularly *In Search of Walid Masoud*, originally published in Arabic in 1978 as *al-Baḥth ʻan Walīd Masʻūd* and *Hunters in A Narrow Street*, published in English in 1960. I will also give some brief references to a variety of works by other Palestinian authors. *The Ship* tells the stories of a cohort of Arab intellectuals who are on board *The Hercules* that sails around the Mediterranean. In telling those stories, Jabra addresses a tapestry of themes including – among others – love, the alienation of the Arab intellectual, land and Palestinian exile. In this chapter, my main focus will be on the character Wadi Assaf's experience of exile and his memory of the Nakba which serve to buttress the novel's argument about the Palestinian experience of placelessness and motion.

Place, 'Non-Place', Placelessness, Mobility

This short section defines and relates key terms I use in my chapter – place, non-place, placelessness and mobility – to the theorists I am drawing on in order to make the distinction between expatriation and exile. Place, according to Yi-Fu Tuan, 'exists at different scales. At one extreme a favourite armchair is a place, at the other extreme the whole earth. Homeland is an important type of place at the medium scale'.[9] In this chapter, the meaning of place varies according to the context in which it is used, yet it mainly refers to 'home', which is, according to Tim Cresswell, 'an exemplary kind of place where people feel a sense of attachment and rootedness'.[10] As the world has become more homogenised and urbanised with technological innovations invading 'home' and rural places, some parts of our globe have been replaced by what Marc Augé called 'non-places', sites characterised by the

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[9] Yi- Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1977), p. 149.

[10] Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (London: Blackwell, 2004), p. 24.

'fleeting, the temporary and ephemeral'.[11] Examples of non-places, in Augé's sense, include

motorways, airports, supermarkets: locations where specific histories and traditions are not

pertinent – unrooted places defined by mobility and transience. As a way into the concerns

this chapter addresses, I will argue that the café as represented in American expatriate writing

and the sea as portrayed in exilic Palestinian literature are two sites that can also be

categorised as non-places.

This chapter also adopts the notion of placelessness introduced by the geographer Edward

Relph. According to Relph, 'placelessness' suggests an absence of identity and significance

as opposed to 'placeness', which implies character and meaning. This condition of

placelessness emerges if an 'authentic and unselfconscious sense of place' is reduced or

disappears.[12] Relph defines this authentic sense of place as 'that of [unselfconsciously] being

inside and belonging to your place both as an individual and as a member of a community'.[13]

More recent anthropologists and human geographers, particularly David Harvey, Tim

Cresswell, and Augé, attribute 'placelessness' to what Harvey terms 'time-space

compression', meaning, in Cresswell's words, 'the effective shrinking of the modern globe

by ever-increasing mobility at speed enabled by innovations in transportation and

communications technology'.[14]

Mobility, movement and motion are used as synonyms in this chapter and they refer to the

action or process of moving or being moved from one place to another. This chapter will

build on theoretical insights from Cresswell to account for the different functions of the

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[11] Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London: Verso, 1995), p. 44, p. 78.
[12] Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, p. 143.
[13] Ibid, p. 65.
[14] Tim Cresswell, *On the Move*, p.4; David Harvey, *The Condition of PostModernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (London: Blackwell, 1991) and Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London: Verso, 1995).

mobility of the literary characters at stake. As the epigraph to this introduction prefaces, mobility in this chapter could stand for transition, deviance, resistance, shiftlessness and progress, and it could either be a centrifugal or centripetal movement.

Place and Placelessness in *Fiesta*

Critics such as Hannah Skahill, William Adair and Donald Pizer explore Hemingway's allusions to places and account for their significance through their analysis of Hemingway's biography.[15] Such a stance curtails the literary and symbolic significances that places serve in the literary world of Hemingway's expatriate characters. I believe that to understand Hemingway's insights on place and placelessness, one should examine the writer's treatment of places in relation to the mode of displacement (expatriation) his characters exemplify – something marginalised in the critical commentary on Hemingway. Agnieszka Gutthy and Jeffrey Herlihy confirm that 'the expatriation of the protagonists is a binding element in all of Hemingway's novels and a theme that is relatively unstudied by critics'.[16] Papayanis also provides an insightful conclusion in this regard. She argues that the reasons for literary characters' expatriation are interrelated with the ways in which they have perceived their places.[17] This section therefore explores the ways in which Hemingway's expatriate characters express their feeling of placelessness in relation to their expatriation. This section also reveals the limitations of some critical studies of *Fiesta* and offers answers to critical inquiries related to the same novel.

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[15] Hannah Skahill 'Expatriate literature and American culture: The influence of place in literature'; William Adair, '*The Sun Also Rises*: A Memory of War', *Twentieth-Century Literature*, 47 (2001), 72-91; Pizer, *American Expatriate and the Paris Moment: Modernism and Place*.

[16] Agnieszka Gutthy, 'Introduction' in *Exile and the Narrative/Poetic Imagination*, ed. by Agnieszka Gutthy (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. 1- 4, (p. 2); Jeffrey Herlihy, *The Complications of Exile in Ernest Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises*, in *Exile and the Narrative/Poetic Imagination*, ed. by Agnieszka Gutthy (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. 51- 61, (p. 51).

[17] Marilyn Adler Papayanis, *Writing in the Margins*, p. 207.

In this regard, I agree with Kirk Curnutt's and Mukesh Williams's observations that the technique of the dialogue that Hemingway establishes between his characters functions as an indicator of his implied themes and covert meanings.[18] I therefore analyse the following dialogue between Bill and Jake in order to explore Hemingway's ideas on place and placelessness:

> Bill: 'You know what you are? You're an expatriate. Why don't you live in New York? Then you'd know these things'.
>
> 'Take some more coffee,' I [Jake] said.
>
> 'Good. Coffee is good for you. It's the caffeine in it. Caffeine puts a man on her horse and a woman in his grave. You know what's the trouble with you? You're an expatriate. One of the Worst type'.
>
> He drank the coffee.
>
> 'You're an expatriate. You've lost touch with the soil. You get precious. Fake European standards have ruined you [...] you spend all your time talking, not working. You are an expatriate, see? You hang around cafés'.
>
> 'It sounds like a swell life,' I said. 'When do I work?'
>
> 'You don't work. One group claims women support you'.[19]

In this passage Bill attributes Jake's personal troubles, physical instability, social predicaments and, above all, his anxiety about finding a good place to live, to his expatriation from the US. Jake's unwillingness to stay in the US is strikingly expressed in his expression

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[18] Curnutt, *Literary Topics*, p. 118; Mukesh Williams, 'The Refuge of the Spanish Café in Ernest Hemingway's "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place"', (2011) <http://libir.soka.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10911/3335/1/ebk361-049.pdf> [accessed 10 June 2015], p.65. Curnutt also notes that Hemingway resented his reviewers who overlooked this issue, *Literary Topics*, p.118.

[19] Ernest Hemingway, *Fiesta: The Sun Also Rises* (London: Arrow Books, 2004 [1926]), pp. 100-1.

which comes earlier in the text: 'I couldn't live quietly in the country (US)', and therefore he searches for a 'somewhere else' to live.[20] Arguably, Jake exemplifies the dilemma of American expatriates who were not able to adapt to changes that resulted from the process of large scale urbanisation and industrialisation in post-World War I American society.[21] The use of the article "an" in the above dialogue supports this generalisation. The "an" in the statement 'you are an expatriate' makes "expatriate" a noun rather than an adjective.[22] Therefore, "expatriate" in this context does not imply a state of being. Instead, it signifies a shared identity by a group and a category with which Jake can neatly be associated. Indeed, Hemingway wants the characteristics above to be not only Jake's but central to the lost generation of American authors, the generation who felt that they have lost their traditional places in the process of urbanisation.

Hemingway, in *Fiesta*, reflects on the anxiety of American expatriates of the 1920s about the disappearance of 'traditional places – garden, forest, country house' and 'the proliferation of a more and more limited set of uniform places that have caused a peculiarly modern malaise called *placelessness*'.[23] This is more substantially articulated by the following scene that takes place between Jake and Bill towards the middle of the novel. Immediately after addressing Jake 'you're an expatriate. You've lost touch with the soil', Bill points to a road in 'woods' that leads to 'a hill.' The significance of this attitude becomes clearer when he narrates:

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[20] Hemingway, *Fiesta*, p. 49.

[21] Waldo David Frank laments that 'industrialism swept the American land and made it rich. Broke in on the American soul and made it poor', *Our America* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1919), p. 45. For a discussion on the attitude of American expatriate authors of the 1920s towards urbanisation and industrialisation in the US, see Lutwack, *The Role of Place in Literature* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1948). He for example writes that 'Americans were more mobile after the First World War. Land was changing hands and being converted to new uses – from farmers' fields and woodlots to suburban acres, from old country properties to new subdivisions, from lonely mountains and rocky coasts', p.124.

[22] It can be adjectival if it is used without 'an', thus: 'you are expatriate'.

[23] Lutwack, p. 183, p. 213.

The road went up a hill and we got into thick woods, and the road kept on

climbing […]. There was no undergrowth, only the smooth grass, very green

and fresh, and the big grey trees well spaced as though it were a park. 'This is

country,' Bill said.[24]

At this point in the novel, Jake and Bill feel less anxious about finding a place to live; they

seem to have found what they have been looking for: a rural place. According to Stoneback,

'for Hemingway roads in nature [lead to] authentic and real places'.[25] Therefore, Bill's phrase

'the native soil' can be interpreted as an allusion not only to a homeland but to nature and the

significance of maintaining a link with it. For both Hemingway and his expatriate characters,

the natural world can provide us with the sense of place that we need. This analysis, in turn,

helps unravel the mystery in *Fiesta* to which William Adir refers. A prominent critic of

Hemingway's novels, Adir writes: 'climbing hills or mountains and descending [...] is a

pattern in the novel, though its source seems a mystery'.[26] I would argue that the reason for

this pattern lies in the interest of Hemingway's expatriate characters in finding a refuge in the

natural world.[27] Even Hemingway himself took the Michigan woods to be a refuge from

urban places. The opening scene of *A Moveable Feast* shows Hemingway returning to the

mountains as a retreat from Paris which he sometimes associates with ugliness and

coldness.[28]

The motif of orientation towards nature in modern American literature, which is a sign of

nostalgia for simplicity and authenticity, stems from nineteenth-century American writers'

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[24] Hemingway, 102.

[25] H. R. Stoneback, 'Freedom and Motion, Place and Placelessness: On the Road in Hemingway's America', in *Hemingway and the Natural World*, ed. by Robert E. Fleming (Idaho: University of Idaho Press, 1999), pp. 203-221 (p. 204).

[26] Adair, '*The Sun Also Rises*: A Memory of War', p. 85.

[27] This also can be seen in Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms*. The protagonist Fredrick Henry describes Milan as a practical country, and he suggests to Catherine that 'we can find some place up in the mountains', Ernest Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms* (London: Penguin Modern Classics, 1935), p. 220.

[28] Pizer, *American Expatriate and the Paris Moment*, p. 20.

glorification of nature. Ralph Waldo Emerson, for example, portrays nature as a divine beauty and a source of inspiration for human intellect. Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* also represents nineteenth-century America's defence of nature against the trappings of industrial modernity.[29] Broadly speaking, nature in the United States has always been viewed 'as a sign of God's beneficent or malevolent design; as a refuge, a place of Edenic simplicity and youthful innocence; as an occasion for introspection, as a source of wealth, as a metaphor for human emotion'.[30] The concern about the effects of human uses of nature pervades many of the writings of American expatriate authors in Paris. Putman, for example, expresses his nostalgia towards nature as follows: 'anyone who has not been born and reared in the heart of the prairies will never be able […] to realize how intensely a boy can long for the sight of the mountain or for a glimpse of lake, sea, or river'.[31] Putman pinpoints the disparity between living in harmony with nature and confronting the emerging complications of the city.

Hemingway, in particular, returns to the natural landscape in *A Moveable Feast*, probably, in order to express his nostalgia for the simplicity that nature, as opposite to the complications of life in Paris, guarantees. The motif of retreat to nature in Hemingway's works in general can be seen as another form of Hemingway's implied polemics against human exploitation of nature, which is often associated in Hemingway's fiction with solace, recreation, and spiritual renewal. Hemingway's hero (Nick Adams in the short stories *In Our Time* is a typical

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[29] Russ Castronovo, *The Oxford Handbook of Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 394. My chapter will use the term 'modernity' to refer to the twentieth-century way of living and of experiencing life which has arisen with the changes shaped by industrialisation and urbanisation such as speed, mobility and travel. As Peter Childs explains: 'in relation to modernism, modernity is considered to describe a way of living and of experiencing life which has arisen with the changes wrought by industrialisation, urbanisation; its characteristics are disintegration and reformation, fragmentation and rapid change, ephemerality and insecurity. It involves certain new understandings of time and space: speed, mobility, communication, travel, dynamism, chaos and cultural revolution', *Modernism*, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 2008), p.16.

[30] McDonald, *American Literature and Culture, 1900-1960*, p. 43.

[31] Putnam, p. 32. The space of this chapter does not allow me to discuss the complexities of Hemingway's attitude towards nature, especially since it is not a chapter on Hemingway's or American naturalism. However, I would note that the attitude of Hemingway's characters toward nature and their relation with it, like their attitude toward the city, is not stable. It varies in accordance with the theme of the story. On this issue, see Willard Thorp, *American Writing in the Twentieth Century* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1963).

example) is usually immersed in the quintessential American quest for spiritual self-renewal through solitude and contact with nature.

This returns us to the rest of Bill's criticism of Jake, which, I argue, embeds Hemingway's insights on placelessness. Bill addresses Jake: 'you are an expatriate,' 'you are not working' and 'you hang around cafés'. Bill's description of Jake implicates Jake's addiction to cafés after his departure from the US. I use the word addicted here to allude to the term 'swell' which Jake uses to describe his habit of hanging around cafés. This discussion partly implies that the addiction of Hemingway's expatriate characters to cafés has become a lifestyle. That the narrator gives references to an impressive range of cafés in Paris and Spain which Jake and Cohn frequently visit – such as the Dôme, the Rotonde and the Select – supports my argument. The keen interest of Hemingway's expatriate characters in cafés can be seen as verification of what Kennedy called the substitution of 'the last good country' for the 'good café'.[32]

That is, the frequent visits of the expatriate characters in *Fiesta* to the cafés could imply their lack of anchor or a Modernist sense of alienation. Hemingway associates the motif of alienation in his works with the café as the following lines from *A Moveable Feast* further illustrates.[33] Hemingway in this memoir refers to an emotional dissatisfaction that he and his wife Hadley felt during their trip to Spain. He narrates that 'we both touched wood on the café table and the waiter came to see what it was wanted. But what we wanted not he, nor anyone else, nor knocking on wood or on marble, as this café table-top was, could ever bring

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[32] Kennedy, *Imagining Paris*, p. 95. I will elaborate my discussion about Kennedy's description in the following section of this chapter.

[33] This also applies to Hemingway's 'A Clean Well-Lighted Place' (1933), in James Daley, *The World's Greatest Short Stories* (New York: Dover Publications, 2006), pp. 222-226.

us'.[34] Hemingway and his wife reflect on their disenchantment and self-delusion, which they ironically associate with their feeling 'awfully lucky'.[35] Their motion is one way to express this emotional ambivalence, as I explain later.[36]

McCarthy has already classified expatriates as alienated persons who are associated with a lack of work, self-delusion, and 'sitting in cafés', which are attributes Bill touches upon in his diatribe against Jake.[37] Although she does not state explicitly the point of her association of expatriates with cafés, McCarthy probably wants to portray the café as a temporary setting for the expatriates who no longer have a feeling of attachment to their past place or comfort in their old homes (the first epigraph of this chapter supports this conclusion). Indeed, the café in this context, in similar fashion to what the sea symbolises in Jabra's *The Ship* (as my next section illustrates), functions as a liminal space and an absolute 'non-place' that echoes the wider condition of placelessness that Hemingway's characters illustrate. In *A Moveable Feast*, Hemingway writes that 'the people that I liked and had not met went to the big cafés because they were lost in them and no one noticed them and they could be alone in them and be together'.[38] 'Could be alone in them and be together' is a characteristic that resonates with one of the features of non-places that Cresswell, building on Augé's work, describes: 'spaces where people coexist or cohabit without living together'.[39]

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[34] Ernest Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1964), pp. 159-160.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] McCarthy, 'A Guide to exiles, expatriates, and internal émigrés', p.52. Papayanis similarly argues that: 'expatriates do not work, or at least not the way they do or would do at home', p 27.
[38] Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast*, p. 89.
[39] Cresswell, *On the Move,* p. 220.

In this sense, my analysis supports Leon Betsworth's argument that there tends to be an automatic association between American expatriates in Paris and the café.[40] However, Betsworth is wrong to generalise that the café for Hemingway and his characters is 'the destination itself' and 'a desirable end'.[41] While I agree that the café triggers Hemingway's creativity, I disagree with the view that it is a place his characters intend to stay or reside in. Hemingway's expatriate characters are in constant motion that mirrors their resistance to staying in a specific place, including cafés.

This is not to claim that the café in American expatriate writing, as the epigraph of my chapter partially suggests, is merely a space where the intellectual seeks a temporary refuge from 'deep and strong emotional conflict'. Nor do I argue that the café serves as a substitute for the writer whose '"Home" was not home' for him or her 'any longer,' feeling 'an uprooted, aimless wanderer on the face of the earth'.[42] On the contrary: 'it was in the café that generations argued, new aesthetics were distilled, and movements were formed and contested. Though often humble or parochial in character, the best cafés became places of rendezvous for movements that changed the course of history'.[43] Betsworth illustrates:

> The French Revolution, English Classicism, Decadence, Symbolism, Impressionism, Dadaism, Existentialism, Surrealism, Futurism, and Vorticism have all been rooted in the café life of their times. In the early decades of the

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[40] Leon Betsworth, for example, illustrates the Modernists' fidelity to the café by naming ten American expatriates, 'The Café in Modernist Literature: Wyndham Lewis, Ernest Hemingway, Jean Rhys' (Doctoral thesis, East Anglia: University of East Anglia, 2013) < https://ueaeprints.uea.ac.uk/47862/ > [Accessed 25 May 2015]. It is also worth noting that 'similar and equally important instances of artists being alone together have occurred in American urban spaces'. Bookstores in New York and San Francisco, for example, and Alfred Stieglitz's gallery at 291 Fifth Avenue were informal and friendly headquarters for writers, McDonald, *American Literature and Culture, 1900-1960*, p. 28.

[41] Betsworth, p. 112.

[42] Putnam, p.32.

[43] Betsworth, p. 1.

twentieth century, the period that coincides with the cultural and artistic moment known as modernism, the situation was no different.[44]

When thinking about the American expatriate or (American) Modernist movement, one cannot help but to imagine the café terraces of du Dome at Montparnasse brimming with American expatriate authors and European authors discussing and charting novel ideas about art, politics and economics.[45] Indeed, Modernist American expatriate authors such as Henry Miller, Anaïs Nin, Ernest Hemingway, Samuel Putman and F. Scott Fitzgerald, associate the expatriate lifestyle, creativity, publication, modernism and movements that changed the course of art and history with famous cafés in Europe such as the ones I mentioned before.

Therefore Putman's above mentioned words suggest that there is an intriguing link between the feeling of Modernist American expatriate authors of placelessness and their creativity. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, these authors saw their expatriation, which is triggered by the very feeling of rootlessness in the US, as a powerful tool to write and publish works. In other words, they transformed the sense of placelessnes they felt in the US after the machine invaded the traditional places into a stimulus for creativity and a source of new subjects for their writing.[46]

The Sea Metonym in Jabra's *The Ship*: Place, Placelessness and 'Non-Place'

Although both the café in Hemingway's work and the sea in Jabra's are metonyms for the characters' sense of placelessness, the ways in which these two authors represent placelessness are different. While Hemingway uses placelessness as a trope for his characters' feeling of loss of a traditional place, which triggers their self-chosen estrangement

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[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] For further discussion on this issue see Burkhart J. Gilbert, *Writers and Partisans: A History of Literary Radicalism in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

from the US, Jabra uses the sea to portray placelessness as his characters' actual loss of homeland and the insignificance of their exile. That is, underpinning the analysis in this chapter is the following proposition: both exiled Palestinian and American expatriate authors were participants in the Modern(ist) discourse of placelessness, but in different ways. Modernist American authors advanced that the expatriate character should personify, express and mitigate his or her feeling of alienation and despair of placelessness by his or her departure from home (centrifugal movement). In contrast, Palestinian authors were concerned with returning the exiled Palestinian character back home to relieve his or her plight of placelessness (centripetal movement).

Unpacking the above proposition will reveal the superficialities of some of the existing discussions on the representation of place and placelessness in Jabra's works. A case in point is Zina Halabi's use of Caren Kaplan's idea that 'the Modernist trope of exile works to remove itself from any political or historically-specific instances' as a framework within which she analyses Jabra's *In Search of Walid Masood*.[47] Halabi's analysis of Jabra's work draws on the Modernist trope of exile, and it underestimates the fact that Jabra represents involuntary exile in his novels. Having said this, I should clarify that this chapter does not seek to subvert the fact that Jabra employs the Modernist trope of exile in his works. But what I will be emphasising in this chapter is that Jabra's works are in the first place concerned with foregrounding the particular circumstances of the dispossession of Palestinians and the placelessness of their exile.

The critical commentary introduced by both Adnan Haydar and Roger Allen is another example of a mechanical discussion of Jabra's *The Ship*. The former claims that 'while the

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[47] Halabi, 'Writing Melancholy: The Death of the Intellectual in Modern Arabic Literature', p. 35.

present time [in *The Ship*] is set during a cruise on the Mediterranean, the real theme of this work has nothing to do with the sea'.[48] By contrast to Haydar's view, I argue that the key theme of this work is intimately connected with the sea. Jabra uses the trope of the sea to depict the constant involuntary displacement of Palestinians. Also, both Haydar and Allen claim in their introduction to *The Ship* that '[it] is not specifically about Palestine [...] it treats the angst of man, wherever he may be'.[49] Unlike these critics, I argue that the focus of Jabra's narrative is the Palestinian historical Nakba that ruptured the Palestinians from their land.[50]

Jabra's *The Ship* invokes images of the placelessness of the Palestinian exile which was initiated by the 1948 Nakba through using the sea as a setting and a metonym for displacement.[51] Lutwack notes that the sea in its immense sameness and its unlimited space entails an abstraction or non-place.[52] Wadi's descriptions of the sea manifest this idea. He, for example, describes 'the calm moonlit sea' as rather 'unreal'. 'So too is this blueness [...] the only real thing is my memory of it [Jerusalem], a memory that is transformed into something resembling music'.[53] Wadi's comparison reveals that the placeness embedded in his references to Jerusalem connotes belonging, envisions stability and nostalgia, and embodies 'existential insidedness', to use Relph's term.[54] Relph's defines existential insidedness as 'the

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[48] Roger Allen, *The Arabic Novel: An Historical and Critical Introduction (Contemporary Issues in the Middle East)* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), p. 178.

[49] Adnan Haydar & Roger Allen, 'Introduction', in *The Ship* by Jabra Ibrahim Jabra (Washington: Three Continent Press, 1985), pp. 2 – 10, (p. 9). Original work published in 1975.

[50] Assmaa Naguib's conclusions in her PhD thesis, which was turned later into a book, support my argument, Assmaa Mohamed Naguib, *Representations of 'Home' from the Setting of 'Exile': Novels by Arab Migrant Writers* (Essex: University of Essex, 2011), p. 58.

[51] My analysis of Jabra's novel in this chapter can be applied to other Palestinian literary works, especially Palestinian poetry. Palestinian poets like Mouin Bsiso, Mahmoud Darwish, Samih Al-Qasem and Abu Khaled extensively reflect on the pain of Palestinians' dislocation and placelessness through their use of the sea metonym. See the following masters' dissertation (in Arabic) on this issue, Maha Daoud Ahmad, 'Dal al-Bahar fi Shi'ar Mahmoud Darwish' (The Symbolism of the Sea in the Poetry of Mahmoud Darwish) (Unpublished Masters' Dissertation, Nablus: An-Najah National University, 2011).

[52] Lutwack, p. 218.

[53] Jabra, *The Ship*, p.22.

[54] See Ihab Saloul in *Catastrophe and Exile in the Modern Palestinian Imagination: Telling Memories* presents a cultural reading of selected Palestinian literary works to argue that 'the catastrophic output,' is persistent in 'Palestinian culture and politics [and] is closely linked to their construction of exilic identity', p.2. He further

insidedness that most people experience when they are at home and in their own town or region'.[55] Jerusalem, the place which exists only in Wadi's memory, is an archive of fond memories that impinge on his exilic consciousness and assuage the sorrows of his estrangement (*al-Ghorba*).

In similar fashion to Wadi, Jameel Farran, the protagonist in Jabra's *Hunters in A Narrow Street*, dislikes Paris (his space of exile) and celebrates his memories of Jerusalem as follows:

> Paris: each one seemed to sigh over his memories of Paris; if he had no memories of it, he had dreams. But although I had spent a whole summer in Paris, at that particular moment I could not remember a thing. Instead, the streets of Jerusalem unfolded simultaneously before my eyes, rising, falling, bending, with the white-stone buildings refracting the light, shedding the glow of silver and gold which shimmers in the imagination of all lovers long parted.[56]

Thus Jabra's characters insist on viewing their exile as the antithesis of their sense of place in Jerusalem and their memories of it. As Ahmad Harb observes, Jerusalem tends to signify the Palestinian nation as a whole; an allusion to Jerusalem is also an allusion to the attachment of Palestinians to 'their "country" in both the sense of a "nation" and a "land."'[57]

The comparison that Wadi establishes above between his past life in his original place (Jerusalem) and his present life in exile culminates with his assertion that 'to be an exile from

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argues that: 'nostalgic memory functions as a cultural response to the loss of homeland in exile' as well as 'nostalgic memory is a present-oriented memorization that links the past to the present and future' hoping for preservation of Palestinian heritage and opening an avenue for return to their homeland (Macmillan: Palgrave, 2012), p.10.

[55] Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, p. 55. I will use this term more explicitly later in this chapter.

[56] Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, *Hunters in a Narrow Street* (London: Heinemann, 1960), p. 89

[57] Quoted in Naguib, *Representations of 'Home' from the Setting of 'Exile'*, p. 59.

your land is a curse, the most painful curse of all'.[58] Being exiled is a curse for Wadi because

exile, as contrasted with homeland, is a realm of loss, estrangement and dislocation that the

sea metaphor suggests. In the words of Jabra's protagonists, namely Wadi and Walid, this

world (the sea) is 'carefree, indifferent,'[59] like all 'the different countries' in which 'all our

young [Palestinian] people are dispersed'.[60] These properties of the sea world are equivalent

to the qualities of what Relph calls 'absurd landscape'.[61] This kind of landscape, according to

Relph, is devoid of any essence or character and 'apart from us and indifferent to us', exactly

as Wadi describes the sea.[62]

It can also be argued that Jabra uses the sea as a metonym for Palestinian exile to represent

Palestinian exile as a 'non-place'. According to Mahyar Arefi, 'non-places' are typically

defined through a lack of historical, emotional, or cultural values. Unlike places which carry

historical, emotional and cultural significances and emphasise rootedness, non-places are

generally devoid of personal or cultural memory, and emphasise transition and solitude.[63] The

setting (the Mediterranean Sea) in Jabra's *The Ship* has these attributes. Wadi describes the

sea as 'unreal,' 'foreign,' 'trap,' 'strange,' 'hell,' and 'monster'.[64] These qualities are bereft

of any historical or cultural allusions and resonances, like the qualities of non-places that

Arefi mentions above.

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[58] Jabra, *The Ship*, p. 24. I remember in this context how Aziz Shihab opens his memoir. His mother says to him 'don't sell your holy piece of land, my son, it is your link to your past and to your people', *Does the Land Remember me?: A Memoir of Palestine* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2007), p.5.
[59] Jabra, *The Ship*, p. 25
[60] Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, *In Search of Walid Masoud*, trans. by Roger Allen and Adnan Haydar (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000 [1978]).
[61] Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, p. 127
[62] Relph, p. 127.
[63] Mahyar Arefi, 'Non-place and Placelessness as Narratives of Loss: Rethinking the Notion of Place', *Journal of Urban Design*, 4 (1999), 179-193, (p. 180; p. 182).
[64] Descriptions mentioned so frequently in the novel.

Jabra asserts that exile for Palestinians is not only a sphere that lacks significance, which is the characteristic of the modern world according to Hemingway's characters as my next section explains, but it is also a space of torment. This can be inferred from Jabra's reference to Dante Alighieri's *Inferno* – the Italian word for 'Hell' – which is the first part of Dante's epic poem *Divine Comedy*. Jabra's narrator instructs the voyagers to: 'abandon hope all ye who enter here! Abandon all memories, all ye who enter here! For voyagers, the sea is a tremendous eraser that can wipe out the most stubborn types of ink'.[65] These instructions most likely adduce Jabra's intention to depict the sea as a dangerous space at both physical and mental levels.[66]

This analysis, in turn, explains the ironic statement with which Jabra opens *The Ship*. The first five words in the novel are: 'the sea is a bridge to salvation'.[67] The irony is embedded in Jabra's description of the sea as salvation while he means it to be the opposite. The narrator instructs the people on board the Hercules to 'abandon hope' upon entering the ship. This phrase is supposedly inscribed at the entrance to Hell, according to Dante. Therefore, the narrator likens the sea to a bridge probably to indicate the transition of Palestinians from the security of homeland to the anguish of exile, which Wadi describes as 'Hell'. Anna Bernard states, with reference to 'real' bridges, that: '[the bridge in the Palestinian context is] an object whose cultural significance has been over-determined by dispossession and occupation'.[68] Thus, if both the sea and the bridge in *The Ship* have similar symbolic significance and the bridge connotes 'dispossession', then the sea echoes the transition of

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[65] Jabra, *The Ship*, p. 125.

[66] I have argued elsewhere that Jabra's novel and its representation of the sea and the ship can be seen as a prophecy of the contemporary Middle Eastern refugee crisis. Ahmad Qabaha, 'One Novel's Prophecy of the Middle East Refugee Crisis', *Your Middle East* (2015) < http://www.yourmiddleeast.com/culture/one-novels-prophecy-of-the-middle-east-refugee-crisis_35468> [accessed 21 February 2016].

[67] Jabra, *The Ship*, p. 11

[68] Anna Bernard, 'Who Would Dare to Make it into Abstraction': Mourid Barghouti's *I Saw Ramallah*, *Textual Practice,* 21 (2007), pp. 665 – 686 (p. 672).

Palestinians from their place of origin to the placelessness or 'non-place' of their exile. The way the novel begins supports this conclusion. It opens with the ship sailing away from Palestine and scattering its people on various ports without anchoring in a specific destination. The motion of the ship in this direction brings to the reader's mind, as it does to the Palestinian character Wadi, the memories of the 1948 Nakba and the 1967 Naksa (setback) that cast more than a million of Palestinians into the realm of placelessness and non-place, exile.

'Existential Outsidedness' and Motion in *Fiesta*

One striking pattern in *Fiesta* is the constant motion of its characters. Lutwack considers this pattern in Hemingway's characters as a way to 'express and alleviate' their pain of placelessness.[69] In contrast with Lutwack's view, this section views the motion of Hemingway's characters as a means to overcome their dilemma of 'existential outsidedness', instead of placelessness. According to Relph, 'in existential outsidedness all places assume the same meaningless identity and are distinguishable only by their superficial qualities'.[70] I argue in this section that the proclivity of Hemingway's characters for perpetual motion partly mirrors their belief that all modern and urban places carry the same meaningless identity, which reinforces their sense of placelessness.[71] The following dialogue between Cohn and Jake about place illustrates this idea:

> Jake: 'listen Robert, going to another country doesn't make any difference.
> I've tried all that. You can't get away from yourself by moving from one
> place to another. There's nothing to that.'
>
> Cohn : 'But you've never been to South America.'

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[69] Lutwack, p. 221.

[70] Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, p. 51.

[71] I will later propose another interpretation to the inclination of Hemingway's characters for motion that complements the interpretation of it in this section.

Jake: 'South America is hell! If you went there the way you feel now it would

be exactly the same […] Why don't you start living your life in Paris?'

Cohn: 'I'm sick of Paris, and I am sick of the Quarter.'[72]

Jake's description of 'South America,' as 'hell!,' Cohn's feeling sick of Paris, and their

descriptions elsewhere in the novel of Vienna, Paris and Spain as 'strange,' 'dead,' and 'hell'

express their existential belief in the sameness of the modern world in its meaninglessness.[73]

In this context, I agree with Gunther Schmigalle's argument that Jake acts as a proxy for a

philosopher or Hemingway himself. Like the twentieth-century philosophers Jean-Paul Sartre

and Martin Heidegger (and Hemingway himself), Jake foregrounds the existential idea of the

meaninglessness of the whole world.[74] For example, Jake's descriptions of the world post-

War as strange, hellish and dead illustrate Heidegger's conception of '*unheimlichkeit*'.

Heidegger's concept refers to the feeling of 'not-being-at-home'.[75] In *Being and Time*,

Heidegger connects the word *unheimlich* with the word *angst* to emphasise that humans are

profoundly dislodged from their traditional places, connections and orientations in life.[76] For

Heidegger, we no longer feel 'at home'. This experience, fundamental to existential concern,

contrasts greatly with the ancient concept of *Weltraum* (the world) in which humans had a

well-organised and ordered place.[77]

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[72] Hemingway, *Fiesta*, p. 10.

[73] Hemingway, *Fiesta*, p. 65, p. 36, p. 156.

[74] Gunther Schimgalle, 'How People Go to Hell: Pessimism, Tragedy, and the Affinity to Schopenhauer in *The Sun Also Rises*', *The Hemingway Review*, 25 (2005), 7-21, (p. 13).

[75] Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*: *A Revised Edition of the Stambaugh Translation* (SUNY series in Contemporary Continental Philosophy) (New York: State University of New York Press, 2010), p. 182. Freud also used the word *unheimlich* to refer to the circumstance in which 'the familiar become[s] uncanny and frightening', 'The Uncanny', in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, ed. By Vincent B Leitch (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001), pp. 929-952, (p. 930, p. 931). However, as Anneleen Masschelein emphasises: 'it is unlikely that Freud regarded the uncanny as the existential condition of mankind, as Heidegger puts it […]. Heidegger did not hold Freud in great esteem, and there is no evidence that Freud was familiar with Heidegger's work', *The Unconcept: The Freudian Uncanny in Late-Twentieth-Century* (New York: SUNY Press, 2012), p. 140.

[76] It is worth noting in this context that according to Heidegger, Relph, Bachelard, Cresswell, 'feeling at home' or 'dwelling' frames our understanding of the world and is an emblem of 'authentic existence'.

[77] Ibid, 54.

This is the point where the philosophy of Jake and existentialist thinking coincides. Early in the novel Jake reveals that 'I got hurt in the war,' a war which he describes as 'dirty' and 'a calamity to civilization'.[78] Jake's physical and mental condition after the war inevitably sustains his philosophical perceptions and existential thoughts that he preaches to other characters in the novel. Jake's descriptions of war correlate with the allusions of Hemingway in his other works to World War I such as *A Farewell to Arms*. 'I was always embarrassed by the words sacred, glorious, and sacrifice' the protagonist in *A Farewell to Arms* reflects.[79] Henry's negation of the glorification of the war emanates from his actual wartime experience – an experience that many American expatriate writers of the 1920s depict in their works, concluding that World War I was futile and traumatising. Ezra Pound, for instance, describes the futility of believing in the myth 'war to end all wars' as follows:

> There died a myriad
>
> And of the best, among them,
>
> For an old bitch gone in the teeth,
>
> For a botched civilization,
>
> Charm, smiling at the good mouth,
>
> Quick eyes gone under earth's lid,
>
> For two gross of broken statues
>
> For a few thousand battered books.[80]

As is well established critically, a sense of waste and futility shaped American expatriate literature of the 1920s, including Pound's.[81] American expatriate writers of the 1920s created

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[78] Hemingway, *Fiesta*, p. 14.

[79] Ibid, p.143. The protagonist refers to what American expatriate authors at the time called "the big words." See Cowley, *A Second Flowering*, p.16.

[80] Ezra Pound, 'There Died a Myriad', in *Personae: Collected Shorter Poems*, ed. by Lea Baechler and A. Walton Litz (London: Faber and Faber, 1990 [1920]), p.188.

[81] For more literary representations of the futility and demythologising the grandeur of the war and memories of war trauma by American expatriate authors at stake, see E.E. Cumming's *The Enormous Room* (1922) and *Across the River and into the Trees* (1950). Hemingway's protagonist in this novel, the colonel Cantwell, keeps

characters whose voices register physical and psychological damage that resulted from World War I. Hemingway, like his American contemporaries, suggests that World War I constituted the profound modern existential crisis, and it 'uprooted' American expatriate writers from the place to which they had once belonged.[82]

The first epigraph of *Fiesta* 'you are the lost generation' reflects the sense of alienation and disillusionment by the generation of American expatriate authors which witnessed the Great War.[83] When Gertrude Stein referred to Hemingway as one of post-World War I American expatriates, she referred to the deep alienation these writers express in their works — 'an alienation that Sartre strove to overcome in his literature of commitment'.[84] Hemingway expresses this in *Fiesta* through Jake who forges an existential identity. Why existential? Because Jake's accelerated self-realisation and fulfilment correlate with Sartre's perceptions of living life authentically and the necessity of freedom as essential to fill meaninglessness with a new essence. Sartre himself believed that Hemingway's novels mirror 'the complexities of the new [modern] era or the sense of the absurd' generated by twentieth-century wars.[85]

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remembering the image of the dead veterans in the war and looks at his physical wound as a sign of a permanent scar of war. The colonel is depicted as a figure coming to terms with a lifetime of memories of war trauma. For further reading on the theme of futility in Hemingway in particular, see Philip Young, *Ernest Hemingway: A Reconsideration* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996). For more reading on disillusionment with post-war American culture and issues of war and masculinity, see Tiffany Joseph, '"Non-Combatant's Shell-Shock": Trauma and Gender in F. Scott Fitzgerald's *Tender is the Night*', *NWSA Journal* 15 (2003), 64-81.

[82] See also John W. Aldridge in *After the Lost Generation: A Critical Study of the Writers of Two Wars*. The author suggests that the expatriate's idea of exile 'grew out of their need to sustain the emotions which the war had aroused in them, to keep up the incessant movement, the incessant search for excitement, and to find another faith to replace the one they had lost in the war' (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951), p.12.

[83] Ben Stoltzfus argues that: 'Hemingway's work, from the beginning, was imbued with a deep sense of loss, disillusionment and the absurd', 'Sartre, "Nada", and Hemingway's African Stories', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 42 (2005), 205 – 228, (pp. 205-6).

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid, p. 205.

This is to argue that behind much of Hemingway's fiction lurks the insoluble crisis of existence or what various critics have labelled 'the shadow of ruin,'[86] 'the ultimate horror,'[87] and 'the void'.[88] Hemingway himself referred to this as the great *nada* (nothingness) which manifests itself in the second epigraph of *Fiesta* taken from Ecclesiastes.[89] Ecclesiastes starts with: 'vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, vanity of vanities; all is vanity. What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun?'[90] Hemingway intentionally quotes from Ecclesiastes to substantiate his reflection in *Fiesta* on the sense of futility that defined his age (and its mobility to some extent). He wrote in *A Moveable Feast* that 'later when I wrote my first novel I tried to balance Miss Stein's quotation from the garage keeper with one from Ecclesiastes'.[91] He continues to state that 'you are the lost generation, she [Stein] insisted. You have no respect for anything. You drink yourselves to death'.[92]

Fiesta manifests another aspect of the theory of existential outsidedness that Relph introduces in *Place and Placelessness*. The novel shows that the modern world is ruled by the reality of the sameness of places in what Relph called a world of 'geographical uniformity'.[93] Specifically, the dialogue above (between Jake and Cohn) conveys a twofold view of this concern. On the one hand, Jake represents the belief of the expatriates that their discontent with life in a specific place cannot be cured by changing it due to the sameness of all places in the context of modernity or 'geographical uniformity'. This view is also embedded in the following dialogue between Jake and Chon:

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[86] Robert Penn Warren, *Selected Essays* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1964), p. 86.
[87] Carlos Baker, *Hemingway: The Writer as Artist* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 123.
[88] Ihab Hassan, *The Dismemberment of Orpheus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 80.
[89] See his short story 'A Clean Well-Lighted Place'.
[90] *The Holy Bible* (Douay-Rheims Version), Ecclesiastes, ch.1, verses 2-3.
[91] p. 32
[92] p.32. Also, the two lines quoted above from Ecclesiastes precede the lines that Hemingway actually starts quoting from it: 'one generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever', Hemingway, *Fiesta*, p.1. Clearly, there are thematic similarities and resonances between Hemingway's epigraphs (especially the one taken from Ecclesiastes) and Existentialist thought.
[93] Relph, p. 79.

Jake: 'don't you like Paris?'

Cohn 'no.'

'Why don't you go somewhere else?'

'Is there anywhere else?'[94]

Cohn's wondering illustrates his belief that all places in the modern world are similar. 'One of the effects of modernity,' Ernst Van Alphen writes, 'is that the differences between places are erased'.[95] The above conversation goes in line with Alphen's thought. It suggests that in a homogenised and modernised milieu it becomes more and more difficult for expatriate characters to search for new places which can make a difference. The interwar years witnessed the technological innovation of air travel, which connected all the places around the world – something that interested American expatriate authors of the 1920s.[96]

On the other hand, underlying Cohn's resistance to Jake's philosophy is the expatriate's belief, which is a belief the exiled characters in Jabra's novel share as my following section illustrates, that they can overcome the dilemma of 'existential outsidedness' through motion. Although Jake forewarns Cohn of the uselessness of motion, he and other expatriates in the novel move from Paris to Spain and plan to go to England.[97]

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[94] Hemingway, *Fiesta*, p. 12.

[95] Ernst Van Alphen, 'A Master of Amazement' in *Exile and Creativity: Signposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backward Glance* ed. by Susan Rubin Suleiman (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. 220-239, (p. 227).

[96] See Paul Giles, *The Global Remapping of American Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

[97] It can be argued as well and through using wider historical and cultural lenses that there is an allusion embedded in the representation of placelessness, the virtue of mobility and the search for a place in twentieth-century American expatriate literature to the idea of America itself as a place constructed 'on a hill', 'the virgin soil', 'the wide, wild West'. The colonization and industrialisation of America was premised on myths of glorifying a foreign land /a country of plethora of natural resources, and teemed with the cult that the country would provide bountiful opportunities for both economic success and personal fulfilment— "The American Dream." Cresswell argues 'mobility as a geographical phenomenon in American life is linked to a number of ideological themes, including opportunity, democracy and modernity,' 'the equation … [that defines] American modernity'. However, the story of mobility in America as a trope for opportunity, democracy and modernity does not show the other version of it. It needs to address 'central stories, often untold: tales of marginality and exclusion, which cast a different light on the grand narratives of nationhood, of progress, of democracy and of modernity'. 'A different kind of story emerges when we look at the marginal cases and use them to reflect on undifferentiated and glorious story of 'America'', Tim Cresswell, *The Tramp in America* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), p. 20.

The contradictions in the perceptions of place and motion by American expatriate authors of the 1920s go back at least to nineteenth-American thought and literary tradition. While some nineteenth-century American authors suggest that the vastness of America has motivated citizens for endless movement and 'the conquest of the west in the migration westward', others depict the limitations of mobility.[98] Emerson, for example, argues that 'traveling is a fool's paradise. We owe to our first journeys the discovery of the indifference of places'.[99] Emerson's reflection can be seen as the bedrock of Hemingway's characters' description of all places as the same – what I described in Relph's terms throughout this chapter an 'existential outsidedness'.[100]

American expatriate authors of the 1920s, specifically, express an aura of yearning for the traditional places and a sense of order, attachment and settlement. At the same time, they feel the necessity of adventure, progress and freedom through displacing themselves in the world. Paradoxically, they feel both nostalgic for nature, and therefore express a nativist utopia, and fully excited and energetic to embrace 'exile' in Paris and live in metropolitan cities. Their writing is indeed imbued with a sort of tension between moving forward (centrifugal) and looking back (centripetal), between staying in Europe and returning to America.[101] Lawrence Levine called this 'the central paradox of American history: a belief in progress coupled with

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[98] Lutwack, p.226. I elaborate on this idea in Chapter Four.

[99] Emerson, 'Self-Reliance' (1841), in *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, ed. by Nina Baym (London: W.W. Norton & Company Ltd., 2003, 2nd edn), pp. 1160 – 1176 (p. 1173).

[100] Perhaps Emerson paraphrased his aforementioned description later by ironically saying America's 'ample geography dazzles the imagination', in *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, ed. by Nina Baym (London: W.W. Norton & Company Ltd., 2003, 2nd edn), pp. 1177 – 1191 (p. 1190).
David Thoreau was more concise when he expressed the costs of technological progress in *Walden* as follows 'we do not ride on the railroad; it rides upon us', David Thoreau, *Walden* (Boston: Mifflin and company, 1910 [1897]), p. 120.

[101] Implicated in post-World War I American expatriate writing, I think, is the allusion of American expatriate writers to their 'ancestral relation in Europe'; therefore, one might argue that their motion can be described as both centripetal (from the US to their ancestral home, Europe) and centrifugal (from Europe to the US, the new place they constructed). This American literary tradition goes back to nineteenth-century American authors. Many nineteenth-century American writers tend to view their expatriation to Europe as homecoming and they see Paris as the 'immemorial city of refuge for the outcast and the rebel' in the words of Putman, p.5. Unlike the American expatriates, exiled Palestinian authors are not able to reconnect with their origin as expressed by their fruitless yet/thus endless centripetal motion to Palestine.

a dream of change, an urge towards the inevitable future combined with a longing for the irretrievable past'.[102]

When reduced to its fundamental level, the American expatriate movement of the 1920s was triggered by the attractions of urban life, yet with a nostalgic halo for traditional places sacrificed for urban places. While Hemingway sometimes seems to distance himself from Paris, at other times he stresses that 'Paris was our mistress'[103] – a phrase that entitles Putman's work mentioned above. Putman personifies the city (Paris) as 'our spiritual mistress', 'wise' 'beautiful', and the locus of spiritual renewal, yet he, like Hemingway, also describes the gloomy side of this involvement in the spiritual renewal in Paris.[104]

The multiple and contradictory portrayal of Paris by Modernist American expatriate authors suggest that place or home in their writing could also be seen as something performed and reconstructed by those inhabiting it and by their reiterative cultural, literary and daily practices. Putman claims that 'there were many [Parises]' for American expatriate authors of the 1920s.[105] As Cresswell argues 'place is made and remade on a daily basis. Place provides a template for practice – an unstable stage for performance'.[106] The urban space in this context connotes a cultural and social site that offers new modes of self-fashioning. As my next sections argue, these complexities illustrate that mobility in modern America (and contemporary Palestine) has a twofold implication. On the one hand, it can be a threat to perceptions of a local place that grounds its own people's attachment and rootedness; on the

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[102] Quoted in Rita Barnard, 'Modern American Fiction', in *The Cambridge Companion to American Modernism*, ed. by Walter Kalaidjian (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 39-67 (p.45).

[103] Quoted in J. Gerald Kennedy, 'Hemingway, Hadley, and Paris: The Persistence of Desire', in *The Cambridge Companion to Hemingway*, ed. by Scott Donaldson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 197-220 (p. 204).

[104] Putman, p. 7.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Cresswell, *Place*, p. 39.

other hand, mobility can be a form of resistance, freedom and self-fashioning. However, while home for the American expatriate, as the first epigraph to this chapter indicates, could be recreated or constructed through mobility, 'in Palestinian exile', as Helena Schulz and Juliane Hammer underline, 'home is where you are not and where you cannot be. Home is somewhere else, from where you once came or where you originated, but where it is impossible to reach'.[107] Home for Palestinian exiles is the place that is lost and from where their unwanted mobility was imposed on them.

'Existential Outsidedness' and Motion in *The Ship*

My contrapuntal analysis of Hemingway and Jabra in this chapter shows that literary Palestinian exilic characters share the characteristic of restlessness with literary American expatriate characters; however, they express it differently. As my previous section has explained, the motion of Hemingway's expatriate characters aims either to palliate their sense of existential outsidedness or to seek its virtue. In parallel, the motion of Palestinian characters is a strategy for retaining an identity of a lost place (Palestine) and challenging the temptations of exile to forget it. Wadi observes:

> Each time we had to start again, to go back to the rock. The sea is foreign to
> me, however much I love it. However much I enjoy wandering among islands,
> I can find no haven there. I have to go back to the land. Ulysses was a much
> better sailor and voyager than any of us. Yet even he, like us, would escape so
> that he could eventually reach somewhere where he could plant his feet firmly
> on land and say, "This is my soil".[108]

In this passage, Jabra uses action verbs which entail forward motion such as 'start again,' 'escape,' 'wander,' and he juxtaposes them with other action verbs which connote backward

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[107] Schulz and Hammer, *The Palestinian Diaspora*, p.94.
[108] Jabra, *The Ship*, p. 188.

motion like 'go back,' 'reach,' and 'plant'. This juxtaposition invigorates Waid's understanding of the significance of motion in the milieu of exile. To 'start again', 'escape' and 'wander' in exile is the way for Wadi to preserve the identity and memory of his lost place (Palestine) from forgetfulness. Wadi refuses to establish a link with an exilic country due to his belief that attachment to any place in exile is equivalent to substituting exile for the homeland. Wadi's sense of homelessness therefore triggers the exigency of 'go[ing] back,' or 'reach[ing]' there (Palestine) and 'plant[ing] his feet firmly' on the Palestinian land and saying 'this is my soil'. Furthermore, Jabra's recurrent allusions to the myth of Ulysses can be interpreted as an implication of his belief that Palestinians are determined to resist all havens of exile in order to 'eventually' return to Palestine (as I will elaborate later in this chapter). For Jabra's characters, all 'islands' and 'havens' of exile are defined by existential outsidedness. They carry the same meaningless identity that the sea does, and they signify the profound alienation of Palestinians from their land. Wadi argues:

> One goes into the world and finds everywhere there are tall trees, thick forests, well ordered gardens, but none of them is equal to one crooked branch from those ancient dust-laden trees. Nothing is equal to that red rocky land that greets your feet like a lover's kiss; and when you lie down on it, it provides you with all the comfort of a bed in paradise. [109]

Like his Palestinian coevals, particularly Kanafani and Darwish, Jabra personifies Palestine as a beloved that provides Wadi with comfort and pleasure.[110] Wadi also contrasts Palestine with exilic places to illustrate his belief that finding beauty or 'haven' in exile is out of the question. Although 'everywhere there are tall trees,' 'none of them is equal' to the trees planted in Wadi's lost land.

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[109] Ibid, p. 24.
[110] I refer here to Kanafani's *Men in the Sun* (1963) and Darwish's 'A Lover from Palestine' (1982). Unfortunately, I will not be able to discuss at length all the fictional works I refer to in my chapter due to reasons of space.

Wadi's reflections on his profound belonging to Palestine and his emphasis that all places in exile are insignificant and incomparable with his homeland correlate with Relph's idea of 'existential insidedness'. Existential insidedness:

> Is part of knowing implicitly that this place is where you belong – in all other places we are existential outsiders no matter how open we are to their symbols and significances […]. Then there exists between place and person a strong and profound bond like the tie between farmer and property. [111]

There are many other examples in the novel where Wadi expresses his 'existential insidedness' in Palestine, or what Tuan calls *topophilia*: the 'affective bond between people and place'.[112] Early in the novel, Wadi expresses his willingness to 'abandon the prostitution of commerce [in Kuwait] and cultivate vines, pine trees, tomatoes, and apples [in] the land which I have bought in the hills beyond the vineyards of Halhoul'.[113] Wadi resists the economic lures of Kuwait and its promises of success and prominence and prefers life in Palestine.[114] In such treatment of Wadi, Jabra suggests that it is misleading when exile is sometimes thought to offer a better existence for Palestinians than their life at home.[115]

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[111] Relph, p. 55.

[112] Yi-fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (Colombia: Colombia University Press, 1974), p. 4.

[113] Jabra, *The Ship*, p. 39. Halhoul is a large town in the south of Palestine, near Hebron. On the symbolism of trees in the Palestinian culture (and Israeli culture), see Carol Bardenstein, 'Trees, Forests, and the Shaping of the Palestinian and Israeli Collective memory', in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (Hanover, New Hampshire, Dartmouth College Press, 1999), ed. by Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer, pp. 148-168. See also Schulz and Hammer, *The Palestinian Diaspora*, pp. 98-107.

[114] At the time this novel was written many Palestinians went to Kuwait after they were expelled from Palestine to establish a career or business there. Notice that the characters in Kanafani's *Men in the Sun* (1963) aimed to go to Kuwait to work and sustain their families.

[115] This is an important theme in the Palestinian novel. This aspect of Jabra's *The Ship* can be compared with some aspects of Kanafani's *Men in the Sun*. Also, it can be argued that Jabra's novel is a prophecy of what is going on in Palestine in the twenty-first century. Sharp discussions take place between Palestinian people about whether life in hostile Palestine is better than life in exile. Moreover, a connection can be made between Jabra's *The Ship* and the ship which Gazan people boarded to Europe after the Israeli attacks on Gaza in July 2014 to escape the life of oppression in Palestine. Like the destiny of Kanafani's characters, their destiny was death. For reasons of space, I will not be able to establish comparisons between any of the pairs.

Note that Wadi names what he plans to cultivate in the land which he purchased, which is something that perhaps suggests his strong determination to do that. Also, Wadi's emphasis on the agricultural imagery mirrors the Palestinian national consciousness of the significance of the preservation and cultivation of their land; farming is perceived by Palestinians as an act of resistance to the Israeli 'ethnic cleansing' of Palestine, to use Ilan Pappe's phrase.[116] Like Heidegger, Zygmunt Bauman tells us that: 'farming stands for continuity,' 'assertion,' and 'reaffirmation of being' – virtues closely associated with the Palestinian-Israel conflict over land and self-determination.[117] In his major works, mainly the poem "In The Deserts of Exile" (which is quoted below) and the novels *In Search of Walid Masoud* and *Hunters in A Narrow Street*, Jabra sets exile, metonymically figured through desert and sea, as the antithesis of homeland, which is always associated in Jabra's works with childhood's memories and agricultural imagery:

> O land of ours where our childhood passed
>
> Like dreams in the shade of the orange-grove,
>
> Among the almond-trees in the valleys –
>
> Remember us now wandering
>
> Among the thorns of the desert,
>
> Wandering in rocky mountains;
>
> Remember us now
>
> In the tumult of cities beyond deserts and seas;
>
> Remember us
>
> With our eyes full of dust

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[116] Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappe, *On Palestine,* ed. by Frank Barat (Illinois: Haymarket Books, 2015), p. 26.

[117] Zygmunt Bauman, *Wasted Lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p. 20. For more discussion on this topographical aspect of Palestinian-Israeli conflict, see Nur Masalha, *The Palestinian Nakba*.

That never clears in our ceaseless wandering.[118]

Although Palestine is for Wadi, as it is for Jameel Farran in *Hunter in A Narrow Street* and Walid in *In Search of Walid Masoud*, only a set of past memories and not a tangible environment in the present, Wadi's passionate construction of it prevents him from establishing ties in the milieu of exile.[119] Wadi's allegiance to the Palestinian homeland makes it impossible for him to feel at home or set roots in exile. However, this impossibility is exactly what he desires; it is a precondition for keeping the link with the past he is looking and longing for. Jabra emphasises this idea through employing Wadi as a character who is obsessed with Palestine as his repeated refusals underline:

> I refuse to accept my expulsion from Jerusalem by bullets and dynamite […].
> I refuse to accept the idea of going from town to town looking for some paltry
> morsel to eat or for a roof beneath which to house my mother and father, I
> refuse to accept that anyone should give me looks prompted by either pity or
> displeasure.[120]

Wadi's refusal to acknowledge the 1948 expulsion from Palestine which occurred during his childhood can be seen as one reason why he is unable to establish a link with a place in exile in the present. His obsession with his displacement can also be seen as a sign of Wadi's commitment to retrieving the memory of a land lost by the events of the Nakba of 1948. That is, this refusal is a sign of his demand for working towards returning to his place of origin, which Harvey defines as the 'locus of collective memory' – a site where identity is created through the construction of memories linking a group of people into the past.[121] This

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[118] Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, 'The Deserts of Exile' (1974), in *An Anthology of Modern Arabic Poetry*, ed. by Mounah Abdallah Khouri and Hamid Algar (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 225-228 (p.227).

[119] For more discussions on this idea, see Richard van Leeuwen, 'A journey to reality: Mourid Barghouti's *I saw Ramallah*', in *Crisis and Memory: The Representation of Space in Modern Levantine Narrative*, ed. by Ken Seigneurieand Samira Aghacy (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 2004), pp. 177-198; Bernard "'Who Would Dare to make it into Abstraction': Mourid Barghouti's *I Saw Ramallah*'".

[120] Jabra, *The Ship*, p. 43.

[121] David Harvey, *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996), p. 306.

synthesis between memory and place is also strikingly manifested in Jameel's expression below of his obsession with his life in the past in Jerusalem, while living in his exile in Baghdad:

> I had forgotten my travels and could not remember what any city in the world looked like – any city, except one. Only one city did I remember, and remember all the time. I had left a part of my life buried under its rubble, under its gutted trees and fallen roofs, and I came to Baghdad with my eyes still lingering on it – Jerusalem.[122]

This chapter's examination of the motion of the characters in Jabra's works helps propose a schema of the representation of motion in exilic Palestinian writing. First of all, when motion of the characters is associated with expulsion from Palestine or from one Arab host state to another it should be classified as involuntary, something my first chapter illustrates in detail. The motion of Palestinians inside Palestine can also be classified as mandatory. The latter subcategory encompasses the Palestinian people who are compelled by Israelis to move from one region to another within the borders of historic Palestine. Emile Habibi's *The Secret Life of Saeed: The Pessoptimist* (1974) and Raja Shehadeh's *Palestinian Walks: Notes on a Vanishing Landscape* (2008) are good literary examples of ways in which Palestinians living in the West Bank and Israel suffer from the Israeli harsh treatment and laws that enforce them to leave their homes and live in other places within the borders of Palestine.

In this context, one should consider Edward Said's ironic comment regarding the expulsion of Palestinians from their land in 1948. In *After the Last Sky*, Said assumes that 'it could be argued that we are too mobile and too adaptable. Is this why we did not prevent our own

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[122] Jabra, *Hunters in a Narrow Street* (London: Heinemann, 1960), p.7.

exodus in 1948?'[123] Said's hypothesis is quite ambiguous because the kind of exodus that Said refers to and Jabra represents is, in fact, involuntary: the departure of Palestinians from their homes in 1948 was initiated by Zionist atrocities. Wadi asserts that 'I was forced out of my country'.[124] Superficially it may seem that Said wanted to warn Palestinians against having an inclination towards motion, viewing it as the antithesis of steadfastness (ṣumoud) and preservation of a place and identity. However, wider reference to Said's work makes this argument difficult to sustain. For example in *The Politics of Dispossession* (1995) Said represents the motion of Palestinians as a mode of resistance to the Israeli ideology premised on wiping Palestine off the map. He writes:

> The Palestinians are a people who *move a lot*, who are always carrying bags
>
> from one place to another. This gives us a further sense of identity as a people.
>
> And we say it loudly enough, repetitiously enough, and stridently enough,
>
> strong in the knowledge that they haven't been able to get rid of us.[125]

Thus, for Said, motion in the Palestinian context, symbolised by 'carrying their bags from one place to another', is both a sign of the proclivity of Palestinians for motion and a proof of their existence.

Based on my life experience in Palestine, my understanding of the motion of Palestinians challenges Said's views. In terms of symbolism, the bag in the Palestinian context is also a sign of Palestinians' lack of stability both in exile and in the occupied territories. Their 'carrying bags from one place to another' also confirms that Palestinians have not replanted roots in a permanent environment in exile. Sarit Shapira notes that 'the suitcase is a

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[123] Said, *After the Last Sky*, p. 130.

[124] Jabra, *The Ship*, p. 20. Generally speaking, being 'too mobile' cannot be reconciled with being 'too adaptable', I believe. Nor can the two descriptions appear in one conjunction, an idea I will expand upon in my next section.

[125] Edward W. Said, *The Politics of Dispossession: The Struggle for Palestinian Self-determination 1969-1994* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), p. 115.

distinctive characterisation of the contemporary exile who moves between places as a sign of his non-belonging to a fixed environment'.[126] Although I agree with Said's point that the Palestinians 'move a lot', unlike Said, I believe that their peripatetic lifestyle gives a clear sign of the continuity of their geographic displacement and the fact their motion is constantly triggered by external forces, as well as a sign of their refusal to establish roots in exile.

Jabra reflects on the persistence of Palestinian geographic displacement and travelling aimlessly from one place to another by arguing that 'the wandering Palestinian has replaced the wandering Jew'.[127] In making an analogy between the Palestinians and the Jews, Jabra emphasises that the incessant motion of Palestinians is a sign of their inherited instability and homelessness from the Jews. It is worth noting that Palestinians have no seaport and its construction is one of the profound present-day unresolved issues addressed by the negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis about the future Palestinian state. Jabra's ship is, metaphorically, like the promised, long awaited and prospective Palestinian homeland which is not well received by foreign countries/ports and lacks a national port to anchor in, and thus it is still moving with no specific destination.

Despite my argument above about the pragmatics of everyday life, voluntary movement within Palestine can be proactively reconceptualised as a sign of resistance to dominant Israeli practices that attempt to imprison or limit the movement of the Palestinians. This second form of motion represented by Palestinians is particularly important in relation to the socio-political situation in Palestine since 2002. The Israeli construction of the Separation

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[126] Quoted in Gannit Ankori, 'Dis-Orientalisms': Displaced Bodies/Embodied Displacements in Contemporary Palestinian Art', in *Uprootings/ Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*, ed. by Sara Ahmad (Oxford: Berg, 2003), pp. 59 – 90, (p. 84). Tucker argues that 'in the twentieth century, the image of the suitcase is intimately associated with the modern refugee – once the suitcase has been taken away, or the refugee worries no longer where his suitcase sits, he is transformed from a refugee into some other being'; he acquires another name, whether for the better of the worse', *Literary Exile in the Twentieth Century*, p.xvi.

[127] Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, 'The Palestinian Exile as Writer', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 8 (1979), 77-87 (p. 77).

Wall following that year has imprisoned Palestinians in the West Bank and restricted them within areas irreconcilably separated from each other.[128] Anna Ball nicely epitomises that the Israeli Wall signifies 'the diverse, restrictive and intrusive ways in which the Israeli occupation touches the everyday lives of Palestinians'.[129] The Israeli Wall has been used by Israelis as a strategy to paralyse Palestinians and thwart their activities in all walks of life. Therefore, as Lindsey Moore puts it in 'Ruins, Rifts and the Remainder: Palestinian Memoirs by Edward Said and Raja Shehadah', motion in this 'occupation context' in some circumstances can be interpreted as an act of defiance to 'quotidian routine.'[130] It is worth adding in this context that the checkpoints in the West Bank, like the Separation Wall, also signify 'the daily exposure of Palestinians to surveillance, hindrance and obstruction by the Israeli military and manifest the Israeli colonial method for fragmenting the Palestinians'.[131]

The third form of motion Palestinian literary characters represent is what this section has focused on. I have shown that the motion of Palestinian literary characters in the milieu of exile is a sign of their refusal to establish roots outside their homeland and a way to express their strong determination to return to Palestine – this differs from the purpose of the constant centrifugal motion in *Fiesta* that my next section reflects on.

Constant Centrifugal Motion in *Fiesta*

[128] For further discussion on the conceptualisation of the borders within Palestinian cultural consciousness (and Israeli cultural consciousness), see Anna Ball, 'Impossible Intimacies: Towards a Visual Politics of "Touch" at the Israeli-Palestinian Border', *Journal for Cultural Research*, 16 (2012), 175 -195.

[129] Ball, 'Impossible Intimacies: Towards a Visual Politics of "Touch" at the Israeli-Palestinian Border', p. 175.

[130] Moore, 'Ruins, Rifts and the Remainder: Palestinian Memoirs by Edward Said and Raja Shehadah', p. 37. Moore in her article points out that Shehadah's mobility is uncritically gendered and it is enabled by certain class privileges as well.

[131] Lindsey Moore and Ahmad Qabaha, 'Chronic Trauma, (Post) Colonial Chronotopes and Palestinian Lives', p.22. On the Israeli checkpoints in the West Bank and the Palestinian lives, see also Anna Ball, 'Kafka at the West Bank checkpoint: De-normalizing the Palestinian encounter before the law', *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 50 (2014), 75-87; Anna Bernard 'No Way Through: Approaching the West Bank Checkpoint', *Journal of Postcolonial Writing,* 50 (2014), 88-102 and Helga Tawil-Souri, 'Qalandia Checkpoint as Space and Nonplace', *Space and Culture*, 14 (2011), 4-26.

One striking aspect of the motion of the expatriate characters in *Fiesta* is its constancy. I previously viewed their constant motion as one of their ways to express their refusal to stay in a specific place. This section shows that the expatriate characters in *Fiesta* see motion also as an action that promises to replace the disaffection and confinement of place with the freedom of space. The following dialogue between Jake and Cohn illustrates my argument in this section:

> 'All my life I've wanted to go on a trip like that,' Cohn said.
>
> He sat down. 'I'll be too old before I can ever do it.'
>
> 'Don't be a fool,' I said. 'You can go anywhere you want. You've got plenty of money.'
>
> 'I know. But I can't get started.'
>
> 'Cheer up,' I said. 'All countries look just like the moving pictures.'
>
> But I felt sorry for him. He had it badly.
>
> 'I can't stand it to think my life is going so fast and I'm not really living it.'[132]

This dialogue shows that Cohn's inclination for motion is governed by an intense passion. According to Cohn's interlocutor, Cohn's passion motivates him to travel to many places as he has 'plenty of money' so that he 'can go anywhere' he likes. This reflection on travel relates to the significance of motion in the expatriate's outlook. In the above passage, Cohn represents the expatriate modern wealthy person who is motivated by the ease of travel to tour many countries. Cohn's above expressions further reveal the expatriate ideology that extols the modern person's tendency to substitute the freedom of mobility for the virtue of attachment to a specific place. As Tuan writes, 'modern man is so mobile that he has no time to establish roots; his experience and appreciation of place is superficial'.[133] The motion of Hemingway's expatriate characters thereby turns out to be a symbol of passion for the

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[132] Hemingway, *Fiesta*, p. 9.

[133] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), p. 183.

freedom of space and progress. It is only through expatriation that Hemingway's characters can challenge the restrictions of the places where they live and enjoy the privileges of mobility.

Noticeably, Hemingway employs characters who are constantly moving not only in *Fiesta* but also in his other works. In *A Farewell to Arms*, for instance, the protagonist Fredrick Henry keeps saying to Catherine 'let us go on if you're rested'.[134] Also, in *A Moveable Feast* Hemingway himself and his wife Hadley walk constantly. These examples inform my argument that expatriates privilege mobility in this sense, as it challenges stability and any possibility of establishing roots in places where they do not integrate. As Tuan notes, 'attachment, whether to a person or to locality, is seldom acquired in passing'.[135] This view of motion as an antithesis of attachment – what Cresswell called *nomadic metaphysics* versus *sedentarist metaphysics* – manifests itself in the persistent centrifugal motion of Hemingway's characters.[136] They are in pursuit of the freedom that space provides rather than the stability and rootedness that place secures.[137] In his reflection on the rise of automobile culture in the first half of the twentieth century, Per Gustafson argues that 'place and territorial bonds lose their importance to mobile persons'.[138] Against this backdrop, Hemingway's expatriates express no intention to remain in a specific place. The characters in *Fiesta*, for example, are restless and unmoored from the constraints of domesticity and are moving incessantly.

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[134] Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms*, p. 233.
[135] Tuan, *Space and Place*, p. 184.
[136] Cresswell, *On the Move*, p. 26.
[137] According to Tuan, space is freedom and place is security.
[138] Per Gustafson, 'Place Attachment in an Age of Mobility' in *Place Attachment: Advances in Theory, Methods and Applications*, ed. by Lynne C. Manzo and Patrick Devine-Wrihgt (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 37-49 (p. 39).

This analysis offers an interpretation as to why such motion is not circular as Lutwack argues, but rather centrifugal. The trip of Hemingway's characters in *Fiesta* begins in Paris, moves to Pamplona in Spain, then to Madrid with no intention of residing in any of the mentioned places. For example, Jake states 'I felt strange to be in Paris again,' and 'Paris means nothing except more fiesta-ing'.[139] Elsewhere he states that 'I felt like a fool to be going back into it [Spain]'.[140] The resistance of Hemingway's characters to movement within a circumscribed area and their fetishizing of a peripatetic lifestyle underpin their lack of attachment to a specific place in Europe or elsewhere.

The way *Fiesta* ends supports this general conclusion. The last scene of the novel shows Jake in an automobile moving from one place to another in Spain. As H. R. Stoneback reminds us, 'the automobile [in Hemingway's works] is associated with freedom and motion away from home'.[141] Stoneback's remark emphasises that Hemingway's expatriate characters seek the freedom that centrifugal motion promises, not the security that the centre (home) used to provide. The characters in *Fiesta*, unlike Jabra's characters as the next section demonstrates, view rootedness as a threat to their ideology of motion and freedom. This is one reason why 'rootlessness' in the broadest sense has become an established theme in the writings of American Modernist expatriate authors.[142] Modernist Americans seem to believe that 'high mobility' promises change and freedom.[143] Cohn, for example, associates physical movement between places with 'really living' life and freedom, whilst staying in a place with inactivity and obstruction.[144] Hemingway writes against this background, I believe. He writes from a

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[139] Hemingway, *Fiesta*, p. 203.
[140] Ibid, p. 204.
[141] Stoneback, 'Freedom and Motion, Place and Placelessness: On the Road in Hemingway's America', p. 204.
[142] Lutwack, p. 215.
[143] Ibid.
[144] This resonates with what Wolfe's narrator in *You Can't Go Home Again* narrates: 'perhaps this is our strange and haunting paradox here in America – that we are fixed and certain only when we are in movement' (New York: Scribner, 2011 [1934]), p.50.

profound realisation that every one of his expatriate characters represents, as Wallace Stegner puts it, 'the displaced person whose culture [of rootlessness] urged motion in him as a form of virtue'. [145]

Centripetal Motion in Jabra's *The Ship*

Having classified in the previous section the motion of Hemingway's characters as centrifugal, this section categorizes the motion of Jabra's characters as centripetal. Whereas Hemingway's characters express their predilection for motion away from a fixed place, Jabra's characters ache to return to their homeland.

In his article 'The Palestinian Exile as Writer', Jabra concludes that 'like Wadi Assaf in my novel "Al-Safina," the Palestinian sailed away only to ache more deeply for his return, to ache more bitterly for his grass roots'.[146] Jabra's conclusion implies that one of his concerns in representing Wadi is showing the obsession of the exiled Palestinian with return. Wadi sees the contours of identity as firmly attached to those of his homeland. However, despite Wadi's determination to join Maha's trip back to Palestine, it is not certain whether Wadi will be able to 'find, or force his way back', as Jabra promises in his article.[147] The novel ends with no resolution, which mirrors the persistence of the Palestinian exile.

Putting the novel in its historical context helps us understand the politics of Wadi's centripetal movement. Palestine at this time (the 1970s) was already under Israeli military occupation. This occupation banned Palestinian refugees, who were coerced into exile after the 1948 and 1967 catastrophes, from returning to Palestine. Therefore, in ending *The Ship*

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[145]Wallace Stegner, 'The Sense of Place' (1992) <http://www.pugetsound.edu/files/ resources/7040_Stegner,%20Wallace%_20%_20Sense%_20of%20_Place._____pdf>, (para 17) [accessed 09 November 2014].

[146] Jabra, 'The Palestinian Exile as Writer', p. 86.

[147] Ibid, *The Ship*, p. 87.

with his Palestinian character on his way back to Palestine, Jabra most likely intends to show that Wadi's return remains an unfulfilled wish or task. Nevertheless, like Walid in *In Search of Walid Masoud*, Wadi, despite his inability to return home, believes that 'there has to be a return'; therefore, he shows his persistent challenge to exile by attempting to return to Palestine. Wadi likens himself to Ulysses to reflect on his attempts of return to his homeland.[148] He says that 'the smell of the earth attracts Ulysses as he roams amid the perils of the sea. There has to be a return'.[149] Both Wadi and Walid (and other Palestinian characters Jabra employs in his other novels), are metaphorically shuttling between the insignificant milieu of exile and their inaccessible homeland. This movement is an indication of their desire to end their exile by returning to their motherland. This centripetal motion, according to Jabra, 'will continue to be so until the [Palestinian] exile finds, or forces, his way back to his soil'.[150]

A Final Note

The following conversation between Isam Salman and Waid Assaf in *The Ship* about the notions of place and motion as articulated by exiled Palestinian writers and Euro-American Modernists provides a pertinent conclusion to this chapter. Before introducing the dialogue, I shall first mention again that Jabra typically refers in his novels and articles to Modernist American expatriate authors, such as Gertrude Stein and Hemingway. He shows his awareness of their idea of expatriation as 'exile' in his comments on exile and Euro-American modernism.

The character Isam, who seems to speak on behalf of Modernist alienated intellectuals, views the likes of the writers mentioned above as alienated mobile persons who go to 'distant places

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[148] Ibid, p. 64.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.

in order to forget their own alienation, to put an end to it'.[151] Isam continues to state that the moment these expatriates feel familiarised with a place, 'this feeling of alienation and this lust for departure soon takes hold of them again'.[152] In response to this Modernist view of alienation and motion introduced by Isam, 'Wadi interjected […] But don't you see?" "they have a place to go back to and to be measured by […] Real alienation is alienation from a place, from roots. This is the crux. Land, land, that's everything'.[153] The conversation between Isam and Wadi illuminates nuances between (American) expatriation and (Palestinian) exile in terms of how each group views place and motion. The latter category believes that the involuntary exile from land is more severe and painful than expatriation or self-imposed exile. 'To be an exile from your land is a curse, the most painful curse of all,' argues Wadi. 'Ask the Palestinian […] he would say that his life, after he'd been evicted from his land, was no life at all. This blue sea sparkles, carefree, indifferent'.[154] In presenting this discussion, Jabra provides a view of exile or placelessness (the Palestinians' view) that disrupts and counterpoints the view of 'exile' or placelessness introduced by Modernist American expatriate authors. Jabra infuses placelessness with its involuntary exigencies and contrasts it with the form of placelessness introduced by (American) literary modernism.

Furthermore, critics of American expatriate authors of the 1920s blur the ways in which expatriate and exiled writers perceive place, placelessness and motion. For example, Kennedy and Lutwack simply view placelessness as a trope that describes the writer's feeling of alienation inside and outside his or her homeland. Kennedy argues that American Modernist authors who live in 'exile in Paris' reveal 'the situation of the exile who lives between two

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[151] Ibid, p. 74.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid, p. 25.

worlds yet belongs to neither and perhaps cannot say where "home" might be'.[155] Kennedy speaks about the patterns of attachment and detachment from place in modern American expatriate writing which mirror the American expatriate writer's concerns and interests in art. For Kennedy, mobility is understood by American expatriate authors of the 1920s as one way to subvert their sense of attachment to a place which is a condition needed for creativity. Similarly, Lutwack suggests that American expatriate authors of the 1920s have come to emblematise 'the modern condition of placelessness' after 'they have been uprooted by events in the twentieth century'.[156] Lutwack takes American expatriate authors of the 1920s as examples of Modern(ist) authors who feel that they have lost their traditional places in the process of urbanisation and therefore have to search for another place to live. Consequently, the likes of these critics overlook or undermine the actuality of placelessness which is typified in the Palestinians' experience of the loss of homeland in the 1948 Nakba, as Wadi argues above and as this chapter has illustrated.

This chapter has also developed and problematised Said's distinction between exile and expatriation. Said does not really clarify the point that the involuntary exile is approximately the reverse of the expatriate (voluntary exile) in terms of the relation of each group with its place of origin. In *The Question of Palestine*, Said argues that 'the exiles – perhaps with something of the expatriate's romantic idealism – expressed their politics in holistic terms: they are exiled not from parts of Palestine but from all of it, and therefore all of it had to be liberated'.[157] Said's drawing a line of similarity between expatriates and exiles in terms of the relation of each cohort with its homeland is problematic. The motion of expatriates away from home, as opposite to the motion of exile, implies a deliberate departure from origins. By

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[155] Kennedy, *Imagining Paris*, p. xiii.
[156] Lutwack, p. 216.
[157] Edward, W. Said, *The Question of Palestine* (London: Routledge, 1980), p. 136.

contrast, the motion of exiles away from home is imposed on them and their return is prevented.

Even at the level of romantic ideology, which Said refers to above, expatriates, to borrow the words of Papayanis, are obsessed with 'becoming free', something the space of self-imposed exile rather than homeland can secure. This explanation, in turn, problematises Said's association of an expatriate romantic ideology of freedom with repatriation.[158] It is apt to recapitulate my response to Said and the above critics, and simultaneously to conclude, by quoting the following words of the American expatriate Eugene Bagger. Bagger describes, in his 1929 article 'Uprooted Americans', American expatriate thought as follows:

> Being an expatriate is not a physical condition but a state of mind […] The true expatriate is set apart from the various types of mere residents abroad not by external criteria but by an inner test. He *knows* that he is an exile. He may have sailed from New York with his mind all made up, or he may have arrived as a student, or on an assignment of appointment, or simply as a tourist, and then drifted into staying: the crucial fact about him is that he is conscious of having burned his ships. He may even from time to time set a date for his return home; when the hour strikes he will postpone it, and then postpone it again; and he will rationalize his growing inner resistance to the idea of repatriation by exaggerating or inventing material obstacles.[159]

This lengthy quotation further validates my argument that the modern American expatriate prefers mobility and its key benefits, ranging from freedom, flux, dynamism, virtue, personal happiness and self-fashioning, yet with an aura of nostalgia for his or her place of origin. By contrast, the involuntary Palestinian exile sees place and mobility through the lens of

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[158]Papayanis, *Writing in the Margins*, p 10.

[159] Eugene Bagger, 'Uprooted Americans', *Harper's Magazine*, 159 (1929), 474-484 (pp.475-6), my emphasis

attachment, belonging, coherence, rootedness and being. The exile, unlike the expatriate, is obsessed with the place of origin because he or she was taken away from it by force and cannot return to it. This conclusion correlates with what Stein, whose case of expatriation will be compared with Said's case of exile in the next chapter, posits: 'it is nice to leave a place when you want to but it is not nice to be taken away from it even if there is nothing left of it'.[160] Stein's idea informs the comparison and contrast I establish between Said's exile and her expatriation in the next chapter. I explain in the next chapter that Stein celebrates her self-chosen 'voyage out' of the US to Paris and she glorifies the significance of that at the individual and national levels. Analogously, I demonstrate that Said embarks on a 'voyage in' to the Palestinian context to retrieve his link with Palestine, the place his extended family was taken away from by force, and the significance of his 'voyage in' at the personal and national levels.

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[160] Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography* (Cambridge: Exact Change, 1993 [1937]), p. 95.

Chapter Three

Voyage In/Voyage Out: The Place of Origin and Identity (Re-) Construction in

Gertrude Stein and Edward Said

After all, that is, everybody who writes is interested in living inside themselves in order to feel what is inside themselves. That is why writers have to have two countries, the one where they belong and the one in which they live really. The second one is romantic, it is separate from themselves, it is not real but it is really there. (Gertrude Stein, *Paris France*, 1940)[1]

There is a popular but wholly mistaken assumption that to be exiled is to be totally cut off, isolated, hopelessly separated from your place of origin. If only that surgically clean separation were possible, because then at least you could have the consolation of knowing that what you have left behind is, in a sense, unthinkable and completely irrecoverable. (Edward W. Said, 'The Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals', 1993)[2]

'["Displaced Persons"] often continue to recognize the language, which is called the mother tongue, as their ultimate homeland, and even their last resting place'. (Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, 1997)[3]

This chapter explores the different ways in which Gertrude Stein and Edward Said represent their experiences of expatriation and exile, respectively, in relation to their places of origin. This chapter in particular illustrates that Stein embarks on a voyage out of the US to Paris to perform what Daniel Katz calls 'a displaced and dialectical-encounter' with her American identity and community, while Said uses his 'voyage in' to the Palestinian context to relate himself to his place of origin, Palestine, and his Palestinian people. [4]

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[1] Stein, *Paris France*, p. 2.
[2] Said, 'Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals', p.114.
[3] Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality: Anne Dufourmantelle Invites Jacques Derrida to Respond*, trans. by Rachel Bowlby (Stanford: Califronia, 2000 [1997]), pp.87-88.
[4] Daniel Katz, *American Modernism's Expatriate Scene: The Labour of Translation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p.3. I use the phrase 'voyage in' to refer to Said's textual (and actual) journey into the Palestinian context. That is, it refers to Said's commitment in his writing to reconnect with Palestine and Palestinian people. My use of this phrase is the inversion of Said's use of it. Said codifies the phrase 'voyage in' in *Culture and Imperialism* to refer to the movement of the Third World intellectuals into the metropolitan First World and their writing back to its discourse, p.295.

The first two sections of this chapter show that Stein and Said look at language in their memoirs as a symbolic power representing identity and belonging. Stein uses her native language while staying in Paris to keep a link with the US. In parallel, Said looks at his native language as a symbol of his past belonging to Palestine from where his extended family was expelled and was not able to return. Theoretical insights on identity such as Stuart Hall's concept of 'identity in process' will inform the other parts of this chapter. Hall argues that 'instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact', we should think of identity 'as a "production", which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation'.[5] I show in the third section of this chapter that Stein considers her 'voyage out' of the American context as a precondition for (re)constructing a distinctive personal identity and narrative out of the collective national identity and narrative. I illustrate in the fourth section that Said, by contrast to Stein, views his 'voyage in' to the Palestinian context as a way to (re)construct (his) Palestinian identity and (national) narrative shattered by the Palestinian 'collective experience of dispossession'.[6] I conclude with emphasising that it is wrong to use 'exile and expatriation interchangeably to refer to people displaced from their original homes'.[7] This chapter in turn offers an interpretation why McCarthy advises us not to gloss over the differences between exile and expatriation when we study the effects of these two modes of displacement on the writer's identity and his or her relation with the place of origin.[8]

Gertrude Stein, born in Pennsylvania in 1874, was one of the most famous Modernist American authors who contributed to the modern American canon, and she is one of the main originators of the expatriation of American authors in the early twentieth century. Stein left

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[5] Stuart Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage Publications, 1996), pp. 1-17, (p.4).
[6] Edward Said, *Out of Place*: *A Memoir* (London: Granta Books, 1999), p. 118.
[7] Barbour 'Edward Said and the Space of Exile', p. 293.
[8] McCarthy, 'A Guide to Exiles, Expatriates, and Internal Émigrés', p.53.

for France in 1903 and remained there until her death in 1946. As is best articulated in *Paris France*, Stein looks at her expatriation in Paris as a condition that triggers her literary muse. She states that 'Paris was the place that suited those of us that were to create the twentieth century art and literature, naturally enough'.[9] Paris inspired Stein's authorship of several literary and non-literary works, most notably *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933), *What Are Master-pieces and Why are There so few of Them*? (1936) and *Paris France* (1940). These narratives in which Stein mediates on the discursive relations between expatriation, art, the place of origin and identity will be the object of my analysis in this chapter.

Edward Said (1935-2003) was a Palestinian-American influential literary theorist, cultural critic and public intellectual. He is the author of eighteen books, including *Orientalism* (1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), which are foundational texts in the field of postcolonialism. Said was a professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, and he was widely regarded as an outstanding representative of Palestinians. Following the expulsion of his extended family from Jerusalem (his place of birth) after the 1948 Nakba, Said lived with his family in Egypt. In the 1950s Said left Egypt for the US where he remained until his death in 2003. Apart from the fact that Said wrote many books and articles on the Palestinian experience of exile, he reflects in *Out of Place: A Memoir* (1999) on how his identity was afflicted, to a certain extent, by '[the Palestinian] collective experience of dispossession'.[10] Said's reflections on his past memories in his memoir, especially when we read it in conjunction with some of his other works, can be seen as Said's attempt or desire to recapture and (re)construct (his) Palestinian identity obscured by the permanent dislocation of his (extended) family from Palestine.

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[9] Stein, *Paris France*, p. 12.
[10] Said, *Out of Place*, p. 118.

Gertrude Stein's National and Linguistic Identity

While staying in Paris, Stein performs 'a displaced and dialectical-encounter' with her American context.[11] Katz explains that '[Stein's] expatriation is not a flight from American identity, but rather the means for a displaced and dialectical encounter with it'.[12] Katz's contribution informs my argument that Stein's expatriation in Paris does not 'imply a deliberate renunciation of origins' as Kennedy claims. Instead, Stein aims in her expatriation to reformulate a distinctive personal identity that relates to her American origin.[13]

Stein's stay in Paris, the locus of modernism and internationalism, is, in the first place, an embodiment of the Euro-American Modernists' desire to cherish 'exile' as a space that generates an alternative form of existence for the author who seeks distance from, but not abandonment of, home. In this sense, expatriation in Paris is viewed by American Modernist writers as a positive attitude since it creates a critical distance between them and their country of origin that is deemed necessary for the intellectual.

However, this attitude can be risky in the following sense: 'a disruption of the ties with the environment inevitably leads to various forms of fragmentation' because our link with our environments is 'fundamental to our sense of identity and our relation with the material world'.[14] Stein seems to suggest that writing in the native language is one of the means that expatriates use to resist this risk. As this section demonstrates, Stein retains her bond with the US while living in Paris through privileging and writing in English/American language.[15]

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[11] Katz, *American Modernism's Expatriate Scene*, p.3.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Kennedy, *Imagining Paris*, p.26.

[14] Van Leeuwen, 'A Journey to Reality: Mourid Barghouti's *I Saw Ramallah*', p. 179.

[15] For more discussion of the immunity of the American expatriates in Paris to French influence, see Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank*, and Christine Brooke-Rose, 'Exsul', in *Exile and Creativity: Signposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backward Glance* ed. by Susan Rubin Suleiman (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. 9-25.

Language thus becomes not only a means of communication, but also a symbolic power representing identity and belonging. 'Without our national language', Magda Stroinska writes, 'we will not be able to know who we are. It constitutes part of our identity. Thus language, or languages with which we grow up are factors in identity construction'.[16] Stroinska emphasises that 'individual identity too is strongly related to language and so the loss of one's language could be seen as a loss of identity'.[17]

Stein shows in her works that her expatriation in a new linguistic context (Paris) does not curtail her competence and performance of her native language. Through the ventriloquising of Alice's voice, Stein writes in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*: 'it does not make any difference to me what language I hear, I don't hear a language […] there is for me only one language and that is English', and she later writes that she likes 'being alone with English and myself'.[18] Mary Goodwin depicts that 'Stein seemed to occupy language the way other people occupy space. Words had physical dimensions and properties for her, like the cherished furnishings of her homes'.[19] Goodwin's words suggest that English for Stein has become a kind of 'home', and Stein's preference to use her national language in France, not French, makes France, despite being an existing entity, seem 'unreal'.[20]

Stein's national and linguistic attitude thus explain why Stein describes Paris as 'not real but it is really there'.[21] Stein manifests the expatriate's desire to sense the expatriate environment around him or her as an imaginary construct or what is called in ethnographic studies 'a

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[16] Magda Stroinska, 'The Role of Language in the Re-construction of Identity in Exile', in *Exile, Language and Identity*, ed. by Magda Stroinska and Vittorina Cecchetto (Oxford: Peter Lang AG, 2003), pp. 95-106 (p. 95).
[17] Ibid, p. 97.
[18] Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (London: Penguin Books, 1966 [1933]), p. 77, p. 78.
[19] Mary Goodwin, 'Homes Away from Home: The Intimate Geographies of Pearl Buck and Gertrude Stein', *Studies in Language and Literature*, 19 (2008), 117-154 (p. 138).
[20] Stein, *Paris France*, p. 18.
[21] Ibid, p. 2.

bubble'. Anne-Meike Fechter explains that 'the conceptual significance [of the bubble] lies in the fact that it captures what is regarded as a key feature of expatriates' lives: that is, the existence of boundaries'.[22] The boundaries are expressed in Stein's words as 'inside' and 'outside.' She writes:

> Everybody who writes is interested in living inside themselves in order to tell what is inside themselves. That is why writers have to have two countries, the one where they belong and the one in which they live really. The second one is romantic, it is separate from themselves, it is not real but it is really there.[23]

Stein's creation of a boundary and her attachment to a 'bubble' free her to be 'alone with English' and herself, which in turn facilitates her quest to develop a singular literary identity and work more productively.[24] In so doing, Stein does not abandon her place of origin, nor does she seek enclosure. Stein's 'boundary-creation' and living in 'a bubble' facilitates and allows her to look around/out while living in a shelter that protects her interiority, linguistic identity and her link with the US, as well as securing her a space of creativity. Fechter remarks that a 'bubble' creates a bounded 'inside' that is sheltered from an 'outside', but it does not reduce the significance of any of these constructs.[25] The boundary which separates inside and outside is provisional and artificial, so it serves Stein to find a temporary refuge in isolation and a space where she can 'lose [herself] in writing' and live 'only with English language'.[26]

That is, Stein's relationship with Paris involves both detachment and attachment which, in Stein's view, reinforces her national sense. By distancing herself linguistically from the French, Stein refigures her American-ness and foregrounds impulses that trigger a national

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[22] Anne-Meike Fechter, *Transnational Lives: Expatriates in Indonesia* (London: Ashgate, 2007), p. 151.
[23] Stein, *Paris France*, p. 2.
[24] Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, p. 78.
[25] Fechter, *Transnational Lives: Expatriates in Indonesia*, p. 151.
[26] Stein, *The Autobiography,* p. 85.

identification. At the same time, while being physically attached to Paris and detached from the US, Stein has the chance to contribute to her national literature. Stein views her self-centred approach in *Paris France* as conducive to original creation of 'twentieth century American literature'.[27] For Stein, the background of France is crucial 'for the twentieth century and its innovations—innovations which Stein consistently associates with America and herself'.[28]

I should emphasise again that in Stein's conception the boundary (inside/outside) is crucial for 'the dialectic to continue to function'.[29] Only through maintaining her American identity while being in France can 'the French estrangement succeed in protecting the interiority and freedom, built through discontinuity, which is necessary for writing'.[30] Katz demonstrates that 'writing is an encounter with an "unreality" which nevertheless is "really there," and according to this logic, should Stein come to feel "French," France would no longer occupy this role for her'.[31] During the process of the dialectical-encounter with her national home, which Edward Said, whose exilic condition will be compared with Stein's expatriation in the next section, called 'being both an insider and outsider', Stein emphasises that she does not lose any of the defining features of her Americanness.[32] She writes that 'it is not what France gave you but what it did not take away from you that was important'.[33]

Edward Said: Identity and the Space of Language

Whereas Stein's departure from her American context aims for 'a displaced and dialectical-encounter' with it, Said's 'voyage in' to the Palestinian context can be interpreted as Said's

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[27] Stein, *Paris France*, p. 17.
[28] Katz, *American Modernism's Expatriate Scene*, p.116.
[29] Ibid, p. 96.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Edward W. Said, *Humanism and Democratic Criticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), p. 76.
[33] Stein, *What Are Masterpieces*?, p.70.

desire to retrieve his locational and positional relation with Palestine and the Palestinian collective experience of dispossession. The difference between Stein's and Said's ways of combining their national and personal identities lies in the differences between the conditions of estrangement they represent. Whereas Stein chooses to detach herself from her collective community in the US and join the expatriate community in Paris, Said belongs to a collective diaspora, which, according to Karla P. Zepeda, 'turns a personal situation into a collective reality'.[34] Zepeda articulates that when displacement is a communal event, the pain of the diasporic community is shared by all members of that community, no matter whether all of them experienced an actual uprooting or not.[35] Although Said was not directly expelled by Israeli forces, he was afflicted (at least emotionally) by the Palestinian experience of dispossession in 1948. Referring to Said's memoir, Waïl S. Hassan notes that 'private feelings, and private life are inextricably woven into the fabric of collective history'.[36] 'Needless to say', he adds, 'such indissoluble ties exist in all human contexts, but in an extreme situation like that of Palestinians living in exile or under occupation, it is impossible to obscure such ties'.[37]

Stein, unlike Said, represents a self-imposed exile (expatriation), which she chooses in order to create a critical distance between herself and the US. Typical of American Modernists, Stein looks at expatriation as one way to express her disillusionment with the US and her predilection for physical detachment from it.[38] Stein belongs to a generation that sought estrangement in Paris, but Said belongs to a generation and family that did not choose to live

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[34] Karla P. Zepeda, *Exile and Identity in Autobiographies of Twentieth-Century Spanish Women* (Oxford: Peter Lang AG, 2012), p. 11.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Waïl S. Hassan, 'Edward Said and Memoirs of Palestinian Exile', *Revista Litteris*, 8 (2011), 1-15 (p. 6).
[37] Ibid.
[38] For more on this issue, see Michael Grawe, *Expatriate American Authors in Paris – Disillusionment with the American Lifestyle as Reflected in Selected Works of Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald* (Munich: Grin Verlag GmbH, 2001).

in exile. 'Naj, you know, it's my generation that's messed it all up; we are too connected to the events of '48 and '67', Said teaches his daughter, as she narrates in her *Looking For Palestine: Growing Up Confused in an Arab-American Family*.[39] Said's (extended) family was ruptured from Palestine in the 1948 Nakba and their return was not allowed. As Najla Said confirms, 'the [Edward Said's immediate] family were unable to return [to Palestine] when it became Israel, in 1948'.[40]

This is not to say that Said and his family had to endure the pain that Palestinians in refugee camps suffered after 1948, but they experienced their own deprivation of the Palestinian homeland, which Said describes in *The Politics of Dispossession* as 'the place of our common origin'.[41] Anna Bernard argues that 'by calling up collective experiences that are clearly *not* equivalent to his own experience, Said simultaneously links himself to the collective (politically) and distances himself from it (experientially)'.[42] Bernard, as I agree, suggests that Said intimates 'the mildness of his own unhappiness in comparison to Palestinian suffering'.[43] In spite of this fact, Said and his family, like Palestinian refugees, lost their home in the Nakba of 1948 and they were not able to return to it.[44] Najla continues to narrate:

> Though the family [Edward Said's immediate family] was lucky enough to not
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> see their village burned, their town renamed, and their passports rendered
>
> useless; though they didn't end up in a refugee camp in Palestine, Jordan, or

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[39] Najla Said, *Looking For Palestine: Growing Up Confused in an Arab-American Family* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2013), p.167.
[40] Ibid, p.22.
[41] Said, *The Politics of Dispossession*, p.110.
[42] Bernard, *Rhetorics of Belonging*, p.52.
[43] Ibid.
[44] The space of this chapter will not allow me to substantially account for Said's reflections on his inability to return in his documentaries and interviews and the difference between his case and that of Palestinian refugees. One point I should make here is that Said makes it clear in his interview with Ari Shavit that he has privileges that Palestinian refugees do not have, yet he asserts that he and his family and children, like Palestinian refugees, are deprived of the right of return to his house in Talbieh. Edward Said, 'My Right of Return: Interview with Ari Shavit', in Gauri Viswanathan, *Power, Politics, and Culture: Interviews with Edward W. Said* (London: Bloomsbury, 2005), pp.443 – 458.

Lebanon, with only an identity card and no basic rights, nonetheless, their

home was taken, along with their possessions, and they were exiled, never to be

allowed back as anything but visitors.[45]

In his memoir Said asserts that the expulsion of Palestinians, including his extended family, from their land and their inability to return caused a disruption of their lives. Said links the political disruptions that have befallen Palestine after the Nakba to the disruption to his identity by using the phrase 'the subsequent changes in my life and Palestine's'.[46] Said further combines the effects of exile on his individual identity and the collective Palestinian identity in *After The Last Sky* as follows: 'identity – who we are, where we come from, what we are – is difficult to maintain in exile. Most other people take their identity for granted'.[47] Kobena Mercer suggests that 'identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty'.[48] Said above considers the loss of Palestine an interruption of the Palestinians' way of being and of existing. It is no secret that the loss of Palestine in 1948 and the dispossession of Palestinians from their land disrupted the Palestinians' sense of identity (both personal and national) and caused a rupture between the components that shape it.

The national identity of Palestinians in exile is disrupted because their link with the defining components of it, such as geography, language and culture, is destabilised. In order to

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[45] Said, *Looking For Palestine*, p.164.

[46] Said, *Out of Place*, p. 111. On Said's reflection on his feeling of Palestinian dispossession that 'aimed at their bodies and souls' and how 'Edward Said felt this acutely and his writings reflect it in one way or another', see Ghada Karmi, 'Edward Said and the Politics of Dispossession', *Al Ahram* (2003) < http://www.karmi.org/articles/content/edward_said.html> [accessed 23 February 2016] and Ghada Karmi 'Said and the Palestinian Diaspora: A Personal Reflection', in *Edward Said: The Legacy of Emancipation and Representation*, ed. by Adel Iskandar and Hakem Ruston (California: University of California Press, 2010), pp. 304-314.

[47] Said, *After the Last Sky*, p. 16.

[48] Kobena Mercer, 'Welcome to the Jungle: Identity and Diversity in Postmodern Politics', in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. by Jonathan Rutherford (Lawrence & Wishart: London, 1990), p. 43.

challenge these conditions of destabilisation and disconnections, Palestinian memoirists, including Said, retrieve their link with Palestine, 'the country they visit by remembering and writing'.[49] By this act, to use Caren Kaplan's paraphrase of Michael Seidel, 'what has been lost can be recaptured by the imagination. The writer "comes home" in the writing itself, transforming the "figure of rupture back into a 'figure of connection'".[50]

This section illustrates that Said's reflections in his memoir on the Arabic language can be interpreted as Said's tendency to recover and retrieve his Palestinian identity and the Palestine of the past.[51] Magda Stroinska notes that 'language is so closely intertwined with all aspects of our identity that it may at times seem inseparable from it. This is why one often equates national identity with the ability to speak the national language'.[52] Towards the middle of his memoir, Said emphasises that Arabic was the shared language of his Palestinian people, family, and institutions, including schools, before Israeli colonialism of Palestine. He states that 'our daily conversation in school and home was uniformly in Arabic; unlike in Cairo, where English was encouraged, our family in Jerusalem "belonged" and our native language prevailed everywhere, even when talking about Hollywood films'.[53] By contrast to how his school life was in Jerusalem, in Cairo – the cosmopolitan, bourgeois and colonial milieu – 'schoolteachers were supposed to be English' and 'we [Arab students] were all treated as if we should (or *really* wanted to be) English'.[54] Said further narrates that his Egyptian elite English-medium school was located in Zamalek, which unlike Talbiyah (his Palestinian town), 'was not a real community but a sort of colonial outpost whose tone was

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[49] Asaad Al-Saleh, 'Displaced Autobiography in Edward Said's *Out of Place* and Fawaz Turki's *The Disinherited*', *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 33 (2011), 79-95 (p. 79).
[50] Kaplan, *Question of Travel*, p. 39.
[51] I am using the phrase 'the Palestine of the past' in this chapter in reference to Palestine before Israeli colonialism of it. Ghada Karmi chooses to refer to 'Palestine of the past' in her memoir, *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2015), by putting it (Palestine before Israeli colonialism) between inverted commas.
[52] Stroinska, 'The Role of Language in the Re-construction of Identity in Exile', p. 97.
[53] Said, *Out of Place*, p. 108.
[54] Ibid, p.39, original emphasis.

set by Europeans'.[55] In this school in Egypt, Said notes, the use of Arabic was prevented; similarly, it was banned at home in Egypt, except when speaking to the servants.

It is notable that Israeli colonialism since its beginning aimed at suppressing and erasing the Arabic language because the existence of this language supports that Palestinians existed in Palestine before 1948.[56] Therefore Said's association of his life in Palestine with the Arabic language before the 1948 Nakba attests to his and his people's presence in Palestine before the birth of the Palestinian exile in 1948.[57] Said argues that the Arabic language is as important as geography and any physical entity he owned before he was displaced from Palestine. He writes that 'to me, nothing more painful […] characterises my life than the many displacements from countries, cities, abodes, languages, environments that have kept me in motion all these years'.[58] Said shows that displacement is not only limited to his abodes, environments and cities; it also affected his Arabic language, which is one of the components of the Palestinian homeland destroyed by Israel.

Said's linguistic displacement is another marker of 'the subsequent changes in my [his] life and Palestine's', or what Karmi refers to as the double dispossession of Said and his people (physical and psychological) after the 1948 Nakba. [59] Stroinska notes that 'language is one of the least noticeable, yet strongest links between our internal life and *who we are* on the one

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[55] Ibid, p.22.

[56] For further discussion on this issue, see Haim Bresheeth, 'The continuity of Trauma and Struggle: Recent Cinematic Representations of the Nakba', in *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory*, ed. by Lila Abu-Lughod and Ahmad Sa'di (Columbia University Press, New York, 2007), pp. 161–187. See also Edward Said, *The Politics of Dispossession : The Struggle for Palestinian Self-Determination*, 1969-1994 (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

[57] In this light, Bart Moore-Gilbert refers to the significance of making the assertion that Said was a resident of Jerusalem, as stated in his memoir, at the national level. According to Moore-Gilbert, this attests to the existence of Palestinians in Palestine before it was colonised by Israel, Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Life Writing: Culture, Politics, and Self-Representation* (London, Routledge, 2009), p.119. Moore-Gilbert further argues that *Out of Place* constructs a space from which a new category 'Palestinian' can emerge in a willed act of resistance to the condition of exile outside Palestine, something I elaborate later in this chapter, p.134-151.

[58] Said, *Out of Place*, p. 217.

[59] Ibid, p. 111.

hand, and the way we function in the outside world and interact with fellow human beings on the other'.[60] Stroinska's insight helps us interpret why Said describes his bilingualism not merely as a figure of multiplicity, but also a marker of displacement, or what he calls in his memoir a 'primal instability'.[61] This is also referred to in the following part of the imaginary dialogue (which I also recalled in the first chapter of this thesis) between Said and Mahmoud Darwish:

> But I [Said] am neither there nor here.
>
> I have two names which meet and part
>
> I have two languages, but I have long forgotten
>
> which is the language of my dreams.
>
> I have an English language, for writing,
>
> with yielding phrases,
>
> and a language in which Heaven and
>
> Jerusalem converse, with a silver cadence,
>
> but it does not yield to my imagination.[62]

Said's above association of his bilingualism and the boundary 'here'/ 'there' (exile/ home) implies that Arabic, as opposed to English, is proof of his existence in Jerusalem before the 1948 Nakba. Said equates Arabic with 'there' (Palestine) to assert his link with Jerusalem and his presence there in the past, the place from where his family was permanently displaced. Indeed, the way Said constructs the binary 'home'/ exile in the above lines resonates with how Said reflects on the tension between his current life in the US and his previous life in the

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[60] Stroinska, 'The Role of Language in the Re-construction of Identity in Exile', p. 95, original emphasis.
[61] Said, *Out of Place*, p.4. Ari Shavit nicely reflects on Said's investment in his bilingualism as follows: 'he[Said] takes obvious delight in moving between the various languages and between the cultural levels on which he lives. Between the different identities that skitter within him. As though celebrating his ability to be British and American and Arab all at the same time. Both a refugee and aristocrat, both a subversive and a conservative […] both a European and a Mediterranean', 'My Right of Return: Interview with Ari Shavit', p.444.
[62] Darwish, 'Edward Said: A Contrapuntal Reading', 176-177. For an interesting analysis of this dialogue, see Judith Butler, *Parting Ways: Jewishness and the Critique of Zionism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), pp. 205-225.

Levantine milieu toward the end of his memoir: 'because being *here* [New York] was not being where I/we had wanted to be, *here* being defined as a place of exile, removal, unwilling dislocation'.[63]

The significance of Said's association of his native language and origin, at the level of his self-representation, can further be illustrated by analyzing the connection he makes between his mother, language and homeland. Therefore, my analysis, in the rest of this section, lends support to Lindsey Moore's observation that '*Out of Place* hints at a mother/homeland link' and Sarah Jilani's point that language for Said designates a power of attachment.[64]

Said, for example, narrates that he 'is proud of his mother conversing in Arabic', the language which she, unlike his father, 'had an excellent command' of.[65] At the same time, Said remembers that his mother speaks 'to me in both English and Arabic', which is something that reinforces the rift in his identity and makes him 'yearn for a stable identity'.[66] Said expresses the same 'unsettling quandary when it came to language' in the first chapter of his memoir.[67] He claims that 'I have never known what language I spoke first, Arabic or English, or which was really mine beyond any doubt'.[68] Said's multilingualism amplifies Said's 'unsettled sense of many identities – mostly in conflict with each other'.[69] While

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[63] Said, *Out of Place*, p. 218, original emphasis.
[64] Moore, 'Ruins, Rifts and the Remainder: Palestinian Memoirs by Edward Said and Raja Shehadah', p. 33, Sarah Jilani, 'Writing Exile: Displacement and Arrival in Eva Hoffman's *Lost in Translation* and Edward Said's *Out of Place*', *Life Writing*, 12 (2015), 59-73 (p.61).
[65] Said, *Out of Place*, p.5. This is not to ignore the fact that Said's mother imposed silence on the subject of Palestine, an issue I will return to later in this chapter.
[66] Ibid, p.4, Moore, p.32, Moore-Gilbert, p.117. Moore also draws our attention to the fact that Said in the aftermath of the death of his mother acknowledges that she 'was even more "out of place" than he was: unable ever to return to her place of origin (Nazareth) and unwilling to take US citizenship, she lived for years without legal papers', p.33. The very fact that Said associates in this context his mother's feeling 'out of place' and her inability to return to her place of origin gives more evidence that 'out of place' has collective significance, something I discuss later in this chapter.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid, p.5.

Arabic is the language in which '[the] experiences that I had […] in a remote environment' are 'absorbed, and recalled', English is the language he associates with Edward, 'a foolishly English name yoked forcibly to the unmistakably Arabic family name Said'.[70] Said seems to say that his mother (tongue), which he identifies as Arabic, as opposite to English, is the medium or the refuge in and through which his Palestinian identity and sense of 'belonging' can be recalled.[71] Said asserts that 'Arabic became' the 'haven […] where we [Arab students in the English schools in Egypt] took refuge from the world of masters'.[72] Thus, Arabic becomes for Said, like Jerusalem and his mother (sometimes), a source of warmth, comfort and a symbol of belonging. Said recollects that 'there was always the feeling that what I missed with my American contemporaries was other languages, Arabic mainly, in which I lived and thought and felt'.[73]

In spite of Said's lingual complexities, Arabic remains the language he associates with his place of origin (Jerusalem) he is trying to capture.[74] After all, Said clearly states in his memoir that his 'translating,' 'speaking' and 'writing' in languages other than his 'native' Arabic are signs of 'my alienation from Arabic caused by education and exile'.[75]

Stein's Voyage Out and Identity Politics

Stein considers her American identity and context as her point of departure to reformulate a distinctive personal narrative through her expatriation. She underscores the importance of her

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[70] Ibid, p. xv, p.3.

[71] Ibid, p.82. Both the figures of the mother and language in Palestinian writing are usually associated with the 'voyage in' of the Palestinian exiled narrator/memoirist or poet to the Palestinian homeland with which he or she has established historical and emotional ties. See, for example, Aziz Shihab, *Does the Land Remember me?* (2007).

[72] Said, *Out of Place*, p. 184.

[73] Ibid, p. 233.

[74] Also, notice that Said had to conceal at CSAC (Cairo School for American Children) that Arabic is his mother tongue to fit in.

[75] Ibid, p. 198.

retention of the link with her American identity before she gets involved in international modernism in Paris. The following anecdote from *The Autobiography* illustrates this:

> One day someone knocked at the door and a very nice very american young man asked if he might speak to Miss Stein. She said, yes come in. He said, I have come at the request of the Grafton Press. Yes, she said. You see, he said slightly hesitant, the director of the Grafton Press is under the impression that perhaps your knowledge of english. But I am an American, said Gertrude Stein indignantly. Yes yes I understand that perfectly now, he said, but perhaps you have not had much experience in writing. I suppose, said she laughing, you were under the impression that I was imperfectly educated.[76]

The questions of the 'very nice very american young man' about Stein's aesthetics were connected to her national identity. This can be interpreted as Stein's intention to say that her stay in Paris, her production of art and her national identity are bound together. Stein's status as an expatriate American in Paris facilitates her attempt to break from standard English that she views as an essential component of creative progress and innovation. Ironically, Stein's innovation was interpreted, as the above passage suggests, as Stein's lack of experience in writing. Stein's interlocutor fails to recognise Stein's innovative writing style and her interest in inventing a new language and literature that are different from English language and literature. That is to emphasise, Stein in the above passage represents the tendency of early twentieth-century American Modernists to create a language and literature that are distinct from the English language and literature. In another context, Stein laments that 'the American language instead of changing remained English, long after the Americans in their nature their habits their feelings their pleasures and their pains had nothing to do with England'.[77] Indeed,

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[76] Stein, *The Autobiography,* p. 76.
[77] Stein continues that 'so the only way the Americans could change their language was by choosing words which they liked better than other words, by putting words next to each other in a different way than the English way, by shoving the language around until at last now the job is done, we use the same words as the English do

Stein was one of the early twentieth-century American writers who 'were grappling with the "American-ness" of their own writing, seeking to understand what could define their literature as a national literature and not simply as the provincial footnote to English literature'.[78]

This is not to say Stein and other American writers of her age take a stand against English language and literature. As Waldo Frank suggests, 'the reaction against English domination in American cultural life [and against English literature] is not an attack on England. It is one way to stress the literature of our own'.[79] Modern(ist) American authors were keen 'to pursue the goal of making a peculiarly American literature'.[80] One can also argue that Stein in the above passage wanted to stress that in her expatriation, writing and her establishment of the literary salon in Paris, she exemplifies the contribution of American Modernists to modern literature and art. That is, Stein probably manifests that American Modernists by being in Paris do not seek only to benefit from European Modernists but also to exchange their literary experiences with them.[81]

At the personal level, Stein claims that her expatriation in France facilitates her quest to feel an insider-outsider American, which is a feeling she needs to create her personal narrative and distinctive identity. Stein glorifies that the French person is concerned only about himself or herself and does not interfere in someone else's business: 'their life belongs to them so

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but the words say an entirely different thing', Gertrude Stein, *Gertrude Stein's America*, ed. by Gilbert A. Harrison (London: Liveright, 1965), p. 96.

[78] Mark Morrisson, 'Nationalism and the Modern American Canon', in *The Cambridge Companion to American Modernism*, ed. by Walter Kalaidjian (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 12-39 (p. 12). For a full discussion on this issue, see Marcus Cunliffe, *The Penguin History of Literature: American Literature Since 1900* (London: Penguin Books, 1993).

[79] Waldo David Frank, *Our America* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1919), pp.180-181.

[80] McDonald, *American Literature and Culture, 1900-1960*, p. 114.

[81] For further discussion on American modernism and its relation with European modernism and English writing, as well as the nativist and cosmopolitan attitudes of Modern(ist) American authors, see McDonald, *American Literature and Culture, 1900-1960* and Cunliffe, *The Penguin History of Literature: American Literature Since 1900*.

your life can belong to you',[82] 'so Americans go to Paris and they are free not to be connected with anything happening'.[83] Stein in this sense represents the (American) Modernist expatriate's idea of the necessity of choosing your own place away from your homeland to get a sense of outsiderness, 'foreignness' or in-between-ness which allows creativity and (re)construction of a new selfhood.[84] As Deborah L. Parsons argues, 'crucial to the connotations of the (American) expatriate perspective' is that 'it is a legitimated form of outsiderness'.[85] Stein contends that the sense of outsiderness that Paris grants her enables her to re-examine her essential identity and reconstruct it; in other words, Stein demonstrates the expatriate's ability to look at identity as a construct that can be reformulated.

Whereas in the US Stein's identity is marked by certain normative components given and inherited, in Paris Stein is involved in a process of negating some aspects of her identity. In 'Estrangement as a Lifestyle', Boym argues:

> Many Modernist autobiographies written in the twentieth century problematize the three roots of the word auto-bio-graphy – self, life, and writing – by resisting a coherent narrative of identity, for they refuse to allow
> the life of a single individual to be subsumed in the destiny of a collective. [86]

Stein's identity in France undergoes a process of reconstruction, whereby some elements of it will be negated. Stein is resistant to some aspects of essential and collective identities, and she destabilises some categories that make fixed identity and identification an obstacle to her personal freedom, choice and formulation of a distinctive personhood.

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[82] Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p. 105
[83] Stein, *What are Masterpieces*?, p.68.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Deborah L. Parsons, *Streetwalking the Metropolis: Women, the City and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 150.
[86] Boym, 'Estrangement as a Lifestyle: Shklovsky and Brodsky', p. 241.

Stein's negation of some elements of her identity can be inferred from the anecdotes that refer to the subject of her sexuality. For instance, in *The Autobiography* Stein refers to her lesbianism and love relation with Alice. She describes Alice as 'my delicious dish, my little wife'.[87] Stein seems to be involved in Paris in a position that entitles freedom of her body and thought. Parsons suggests that 'women undertake a displacement and reterritorialization in order to construct personal and creative identities'.[88] As is well established critically, Stein found Paris, in contrast with the US, conducive to reconstruct and reorient her sexual identity.[89] Paris provided American expatriate authors of the 1920s with new modes of self-fashioning. A Paris characterised by multiplicity, mobility and diverse cultures offered them opportunities for gender and class cross-identification that was not possible in the American context. That is to emphasise, the motive behind the stay of Modernist American expatriate authors in general and Stein in particular in France is their interest in 'the elements of strangeness in it'.[90] The foreign context (Paris) is for Stein the milieu where she can practice what Said called 'exilic imagination'; a certain form of feeling detached from the place of origin, or what Stein terms 'loss'.[91]

In this vein, when Stein described American expatriate authors of the 1920s as 'the lost generation', she did not mean, as Hussain and other critics argue, that they had gone astray or a condition born out of compulsion or a physical loss.[92] Rather, American expatriates of the 1920s, unlike (Palestinian) involuntary exiles (as my next section illustrates), know where their homeland is and they are able to physically return home when they want. The homeland

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[87] Stein, *The Autobiography*, p. 119.

[88] Parsons, *Streetwalking the Metropolis*, p.150.

[89] For more information on Stein's sexuality and expatriation, see Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank*.

[90] Stein, *Paris France*, p. 60.

[91] Quoted in Mark Muhannad Ayyash, 'Edward Said: Writing in Exile', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 30 (2010), 107 – 118 (p. 108).

[92] Hussain, 'The Writer's Struggle', para. 6. See also earlier publications on this issue such as Frederick J. Hoffman, *The Twenties: American Writing in the Postwar Decade* (New York: Free Press, 1965).

of American expatriate authors of the 1920s and they themselves are 'lost' in the *metaphorical* sense, which is a condition, in Stein's view, crucial for the writer to create a masterpiece. The fact that many prominent and disillusioned American authors stayed in the US after World War I supports this observation. McDonald notes that 'although the expatriate "lost generation" makes an excellent tale of American disillusionment, it is important to remember that as many significant writers stayed home and gave literary expression to the immediate surroundings of their native country'.[93] That is, the expatriation of American authors of the 1920s is based on their choice, although it is the result of the bitter feelings they had in America at the time.

This revives my earlier discussion of Stein's account of the 'two countries' that the writer needs to have to be creative and productive. In Stein's view, the writer needs 'the country where you [don't] belong' to and the place of origin to be productive.[94] As Weiss points out, the conjunction 'and' as opposed to 'but' indicates that the two countries are equal and complementary.[95] Stein emphasises in her works that she is a product of two worlds (US and France), although she looks at herself as being imaginatively 'neither here [Paris] nor there [the US]'.[96] Again, feeling 'neither here nor there' is a condition Stein chooses in order to create her personal narrative. The condition of in-betweenness secures Stein the sense of remoteness and detachment she needs to innovate.

Stein's desire for a sense of in-betweenness offers an interpretation for the paradox that Stein wanted to be both interested and detached from nineteenth-century American literature. She

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[93] McDonald, *American Literature and Culture*, p.115.
[94] Stein, *Paris France*, p. 2.
[95] Weiss, *Gertrude Stein and Richard Wright*, p. 47.
[96] Kennedy, *Imagining Paris*, p. 26.

narrates that 'one is always naturally antagonistic to one's parents',[97] and 'perhaps that is the reason', Alice imagines, 'why only very lately Gertrude Stein read Henry James' for whom she has 'a very great admiration'.[98] Even Stein's use of Modernist techniques in her works such as stream of consciousness, repetition and symbolism evince her willingness to reconstruct traditional narrative forms. 'So Paris', Stein narrates, 'was the place that suited those of us that were to create the twentieth-century art and literature, naturally enough'.[99] In this way, Stein's personal and literary voyage out is based on viewing the US as a place of departure, from 'America out into the world'.[100]

True to this Modernist trope, Stein's voyage out of the American context leads to 'becoming at home everywhere', to invoke Deane's description of Modernists' perception of 'exile'.[101] The narrator reiterates in *The Autobiography* that Stein's stay in Paris is a symbolic enactment of her feeling 'at home once more in the world'.[102] Note that Modernist American expatriate authors (as I argued in my previous chapter) felt that they have been uprooted from the US and they therefore are constantly searching for another place to live. However, unlike Said and other exiled Palestinian writers as I show in the next section, these expatriate authors were not actually cut from their roots. Stein, for example, like other expatriates of her generation, will return to the US because she will discover that 'there' (the US) is the place where her roots exist and where she practically belongs (something I expand on in my next chapter). This can be inferred from Alice's comment that 'she [Stein] has no intention of returning to America in the present'.[103] Also, unlike involuntary Palestinian exiles, Stein is

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[97] Stein, *The Autobiography*, p. 87.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Stein, *Paris France*, p. 12.
[100] Goodwin, 'Homes Away from Home', p. 149.
[101] Deane, 'Imperialism/ Nationalism', p.367
[102] Stein, *The Autobiography*, p. 70.
[103] Ibid, p. 175.

not dislocated out of compulsion. Instead, she voluntarily detaches herself from the US, and she does not feel an urgent need to retrieve her link with the US by returning there.

Stein's sense of in-betweenness helps her to hone an independent thought and existence and to have a critical outlook on her American identity and nation. Indeed, this, in Stein's view, can be attained through her constant stepping in and out of the American national narrative and context. This clarification propels me to conclude this section by emphasising that Stein manifests the Modernists' idea that 'uprooting becomes a requirement, because it is the only way of positioning oneself "in relation to," instead of as part of, origin-bounded identities'.[104]

Said's 'Voyage in' and Identity Politics

Stein's voyage out of her home is a necessary act for her as it facilitates her quest to reformulate a distinctive identity and narrative linked with (yet not subsumed in) the national narrative. In parallel, Said aims in his voyage in to Palestine, which 'figures prominently, if intermittently, in the memoir', as Bernard remarks, to capture (his) Palestinian identity shattered by a collective experience of dispossession.[105] It is worth stressing that the difference between the ways in which Stein and Said represent their original identities lies in the fact that each of them signifies a quite different mode of displacement. Whilst Stein illustrates the expatriate's desire for centrifugal motion away from the place of origin (but not renunciation), Said in *Out of Place* represents the exile who seeks centripetal motion towards his place of origin. According to Hall:

> [Identities] seem to invoke an origin in a historical past with which they
> continue to correspond, actually identities are about questions of using the
> resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather

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[104] Ernst Van Alphen, 'A Master of Amazement' in *Exile and Creativity: Signposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backward Glance*, ed. by Susan Rubin Suleiman (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. 220-239 (p. 230).
[105] Bernard, *Rhetorics of Belonging*, p.60.

than being […]. Identities are therefore constructed within, not outside representation.[106]

Hall's insight supports my argument that Said's experience of becoming is connected with the history, language, culture and geography of the place (Jerusalem) where he was born and from where his (extended) family and people were expelled. Said, for example, writes:

It is still hard for me to accept the fact that the very quarters of the city in which I was born, lived, and felt at home were taken over by Polish, German, and American immigrants who conquered the city and have made it the unique symbol of their sovereignty, with no place for Palestinian life.[107]

Said asserts that he has real connections and experiences in Palestine which Israel colonized and turned its inhabitants into exiles, the expulsion he was not fully aware of before the Naksa of 1967.[108] Moore observes that the 1967 Naksa 'is presented [*in Out of Place*] as the catalyst for a [political] beginning', not only an event of physical rupture of a people (Palestinians) from their land.[109] Indeed, Said claims later in his memoir that the 1967 Naksa, which 'brought more dislocations' for Palestinians, 'drove[d] me back to where it had all started, the struggle over Palestine'.[110] This returns us to the point that Said's political awareness of Palestinian experiences of exile flourished in Cairo. Also, Said's consciousness of his identity as a Palestinian living in exile (and of the Palestinian problem) did not come from an immediate experience of dislocation. As Moore nicely puts it, 'more conscious

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[106] Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?, p.4.

[107] Said, *Out of Place*, p.111.

[108] Al-Saleh argues that Said's memoir illustrates the genre of displaced autobiography, the kind of writing 'where Palestinian autobiographies overlap between personal experiences and the creative expression reconstructing such experiences', p.79.

[109] Moore, 'Ruins, Rifts and the Remainder: Palestinian Memoirs by Edward Said and Raja Shehadah', p. 29. Drawing on Said's *Beginnings: Intention and Method* (1975), Moore (and also Bernard) seem to argue that Said's reflection on the significance of the 1967 Naksa, in terms of his political awareness, suggests that his Palestinian 'origins' are transformed into 'beginnings'. That is, Said becomes a Palestinian by conviction. For Moore, 'Palestinian' thus becomes 'a critical category, defined once as an embattled political (non-) status *and* as fundamentally heterogeneous and necessarily contingent', p.30. I understand my sections on Said in this chapter as a sort of dialogue between myself, Moore and Bernard. In fact, my analysis of Said's memoir is, to a great extent, informed by the analysis of Said's memoir by these two critics.

[110] Said, *Out of Place*, p.293.

aspects of the author's identity were forged in the context of a privileged Palestinian Christian Arab community in Cairo, where the family relocated permanently in 1947 when Said was 12'.[111]

Growing up in this privileged context, Said points out, in his memoir, 'the difference between his own experience ('whereas for me') and those of Palestinian refugees, whose losses are far more catastrophic than his own'.[112] This difference also manifests itself in Said's recollection that although 'Palestine was where they [his family] were born and grew up', Said's family repressed the subject of Palestinian exile and they seem to shield Edward away from (Palestinian) politics, 'which is explained in terms of the defensive self-fashioning of minority subjects'.[113] 'Politics always seemed to involve other people, not us', Said narrates in his memoir.[114] This is not to say that Said, being a son of a privileged family who lived a luxurious life, does not see his Palestinian identity entangled with Palestinians displaced from their native land. Said narrates that:

> It was also she [Aunt Nabiha] who communicated to me the desolations of being without a country or a place to return to, of being unprotected by any national authority or institutions, of no longer being able to make sense of the past except as bitter, helpless regret nor of the present with its daily queuing, anxiety-filled searches for jobs, and poverty, hunger, and humiliations.[115]

This passage suggests that Said expresses his relation with Palestine and the collective

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[111] Moore, 'Ruins, Rifts and the Remainder: Palestinian Memoirs by Edward Said and Raja Shehadah', p.29. Moore further argues, as I agree, that Said orients his memoir towards the Levantine milieu in which Said's sense of his Palestinian identity grows. Nonetheless, one, as Moore-Gilbert notes, cannot dismiss that 'Said's national identifications are sown early in his life', p.118. Later in his memoir, Said recalls that in 1948 he saw the waves of Palestinian refugees coming to Cairo, yet he was a boy of twelve and half who could not 'comprehend the tragedy that had befallen them', p.114.

[112] Bernard, *Rhetorics of Belonging*, p.46.

[113] Moore, 'Ruins, Rifts and the Remainder: Palestinian Memoirs by Edward Said and Raja Shehadah', p.30.

[114] Said, *Out of Place*, p.117.

[115] Ibid. Said narrates in *After the Last Sky* that his aunt Nabiha, 'a woman of almost superhuman energy and charity' lived in Egypt after the Nakba and began immediately to dedicate a campaign to alleviate the pain of Palestinian refugees in Egypt, p.116.

Palestinian exile at both geographical and positional levels. It seems to me that Said's perception of Palestine as geography, that is the place where he was born, lived and felt at home and cannot return to, reinforces Said's passionate interest and advocacy of Palestine as a cause (this can be interpreted to mean Said's filiation to Palestine produced and reinforced his affiliation to the Palestinian cause).[116] Bart Moore-Gilbert is right to argue that *Out of Place* is the narrative enactment of Said's 'growing sense of Palestinian identity' and that its politics mirror the aspirations of his people for 'an independent identity'.[117] Although he differentiates himself from 'the refugees, those Others' in terms of post-exile life experience, Said shares their aspirations to reclaim the place of origin which is 'no longer accessible'.[118]

Said reflects, in *Out of Place*, on his involvement in the struggle of Palestinians for attaining their national aspirations by his reference to his participation in a conference on Palestine in London in 1991, 'the idea of which':

> Was to try to articulate a common set of themes that would enhance the
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> course of our progress toward self-determination as a people. We came from
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> all over the dispersed Palestinian world – the West Bank and Gaza, the

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[116] The words affiliation and filiation are used in this chapter in accordance with Said's use of them. Said in *The World, the Text, and the Critic* uses "filiation" to refer to the bonds that people have with places and individuals based on their natural culture: biological and geographical ties. In contrast to filiation, Said describes "affiliation" as the bonds that individuals make with institutions, associations and communities by choice, (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1983), p.20. For a further discussion on Said's distinction between filiation and affiliation, see Bernard, *Rhetorics of Belonging*, p.56.

[117] Moore-Gilbert, p.118.

[118] Said at the same time distinguishes his own position from the relative privilege of the expatriate. Even though Said's departure from Palestine was not done by force and he has the agency not to experience the distress of Palestinians in refugee camps, he feels very intensely that returning to Palestine is not an option. In the last interview that was made with him, Said stresses the fact that returning to Palestine is impossible at both the physical and physic levels, something my next chapter discusses. For Said, Israel does not allow Palestinians to return home and also if they return there, their return will be traumatic both physically and emotionally. The Palestine that his memoir recovers, in Said's view, no longer exists: 'it is a different place called Israel', Said, "Edward Said: The Last Interview". In this vein, Said's personal recollections of his visit to Palestine in 1999 interconnect with the shared memory of Palestinian returnees accounted for in the next chapter, Edward Said, 'In Search of Palestine – Edward Said's Return Home' <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6NNuczNFyZM>[accessed 24 January 2016]. Likewise, Najla narrates: 'he [Edward] recalled the porch, the gate. Daddy even pointed up to the window of the room in which he was born … and he resolutely refused to go inside, as if entering would confirm the reality of what happened', *Looking For Palestine*, pp.164-5. In spite of that, Said was born to a wealthy businessman who gained an American citizenship as a reward for military service during World War I. Unlike Palestinian refugees, Said lived a prosperous life in Cairo and the US.

Palestinian diaspora in various Arab countries, Europe and North America.[119]

In 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', Hall writes that 'practices of representation always implicate the positions from which we speak or write – the positions of enunciations'.[120] I suggest that Said's reference above to this conference shows that his position as a representative figure of the Palestinian voice and cause in the West originates from the fact that he is one of the Palestinian people living in diaspora (again, this can be seen to mean that Said's filiation to Palestine reinforced his affiliation to it as a cause). That is, Said not only takes advantage of his material comfort as an eminent professor in the West to articulate the tragedy of Palestinian refugees, 'those, Others', but he also presents himself as one of the Palestinian people dispersed around the world, seeking to 'enhance our progress toward self-determination'.[121]

Said announces his filiation to Palestine in the preface to his memoir. He foregrounds his national and moral responsibilities towards recovering Palestine, his birthplace. He, for example, describes his anger at finding that Palestine is called Israel upon his visit there and his confrontation of the Israeli soldier who names Palestine Israel by stressing the fact that it is Palestine, not Israel.[122] This attitude is significant at the national and historical levels. That is, Said's memoir, in this sense, retrieves pre-1948 Palestine, which Israeli colonialism negated.[123] The following statement from Said's memoir supports my argument: 'no one then

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[119] Ibid, p. 214.

[120] Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (Abingdon: *Taylor and Francis*, 1993), pp. 392-403 (p.392).

[121] Richard van Leeuwn points out that: 'the practice of the memoir (he alternatively calls it autobiography) is essentially an effort to conceive, confirm or stress a certain sense of identity. Anyone who feels the need to write down his memoirs is at least partly urged by the wish to assert his position among others', Richard van Leeuwn, 'Autobiography, Travelogue and Identity', in *Writing the Self: Autobiographical Writing in Modern Arabic Literature* , ed. by Robin Ostie, Ed de Moor and Stefan Wild (London: Saqi, 1998), pp. 27-29 (p.27).

[122] Said, *Out of Place*, p. xiii.

[123] See my reflections in the first chapter of this thesis on the Zionist claims that Palestinians do not exist. Ghada Karmi, who sees her experiences of exile and return as similar to Said's, reflects on her return to Palestine after living in exile in the UK for forty years as follows: 'it was not true that Palestine had gone: it was still there,

knew that Raad's photos [which he uses in his memoir] would become perhaps the richest archival resource for Palestinians' lives until 1948 – "before their diaspora," in Walid Khalidi's phrase'.[124] Said in this context refers to life in Palestine before '1948 [when] my entire extended family had been swept out of the place, and has remained in exile ever since'.[125]

Said views, in his memoir, any place he and his family lived in post-1948 as an exile. For example, he sees both Egypt and Lebanon as sites of reminder of the loss of Palestine: Lebanon for him is a 'reminder of my being an outsider, of not being at home' and 'out of place' and Cairo is 'a city I always liked yet in which I never felt I belonged'.[126] According to Moore-Gilbert, Said's feeling out of place in the Levantine milieu 'derive[s] more obviously and directly' from the fact that his view of it at the time is colonial.[127] Furthermore, in many places in his memoir, Said contrasts his sojourns in the past in Palestine before 1948 and his life in Cairo. 'Until 1947', Said states, 'our off-and-on sojourns in Palestine were entirely familial in character […] in Egypt, it was exactly the opposite; there; because we were by ourselves in a setting to which we had no real connection'.[128] He recalls that although he, before 1947, spends more time in Cairo than in Palestine, 'Palestine acquired a languid,

albeit in others' hands, and to banish it from our lives was to accept the Zionist claim of its ownership', Ghada Karmi, *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (London: Verso, 2015), p.268.

[124] Said, *Out of Place*, p.77. Najla narrates that Said required the American Embassy write on his passport that his place of birth is 'Jerusalem, Palestine', not Israel', *Looking For Palestine*, p.152.

[125] Ibid. He also reiterates that on page 100. The space of this chapter does not allow me to further reflect on how Said's early intellectual life triggered his quest for a Palestinian identity. Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia argue that Said's *Orientalism* marks Said's tendency to 'think about his own identity, to construct himself as a Palestinian' like all Palestinians who needed to stress their own identity to confront the Zionist claims that Palestinians do not exist, Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia, *Edward Said, The Paradox of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1999), p.2.

[126] Said, *Out of Place*, p. 175, p.231, p. 43. Said also narrates that the Lebanese-Palestinian disputes in the 1970s reinforced 'the broken trajectory imposed on so many of us by the events of 1948', p.113. Also note that Said later in his memoir describes that 'my memory of it [Cairo] during my exile in the United States as a place of stability was no longer accurate', p.272. In *The Politics of Dispossession*, Said argues that in order to preserve their own exilic identity, Palestinians 'have memories or show great interest in looking into the past for a sign of coherent community … that mark it off from the rest of the Arab world', p.115.

[127] Moore-Gilbert, p.116.

[128] Said, *Out of Place*, p.19.

almost dreamlike aspect for me […]. I recall that thinking being in Jerusalem was pleasant but tantalizingly open, temporary, even transitory'.[129] Said, in his memoir, also celebrates that his early memories in Jerusalem 'conveyed a sense of warmth and comfort by contrast with the harsh alienation I felt in my New York life'.[130] He is 'reminded' in New York, the place to which his father sent him to join a boarding school, of my alien, insecure and highly provisional identity once again'.[131]

Not only does Said's condition of not having a link with Palestine/Cairo trigger his sense of homelessness in the US ('To this day I still feel that I am away from home'), but it also reinforces his distress.[132] This is embedded in his confusion and wonder at knowing that his mother has no national identity and she instead carries in the US 'an embarrassing document'.[133] The reason behind his mother's problematic identification, Said explains, is 'the collective [Palestinian] experience of dispossession', the subject which his parents repressed as 'part of a larger depoliticization on the part of my parents, who hated and distrusted politics'.[134] In addition, Said expresses his anger for not having a Palestinian national identity and not being protected by a national authority. He describes his 'growing awareness of the desolations of being without a country or a place to return to, of being unprotected by a national authority or institutions'.[135] This is a condition of dismay for Said, which he partly tries to alleviate at the time by retrieving his link with Palestine. Said

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[129] Ibid, pp. 21-22.

[130] Ibid, p.217.

[131] Ibid, p. 217, p.135. As I elaborate later, although Said's separation from his family at the age of fifteen is painful, it enhanced his search for personal liberation and independent thinking, reading and writing. That is, although being in the US at this age triggers his sense of being 'out of place', and his 'long[ing] to be back in Cairo', this rupture turns out to beneficial for him at the intellectual and national levels. It helps him to be 'out of place', out of 'the extreme and rigid regime of discipline and extracurricular education' that his father 'create[d]' and in which '[he] became imprisoned from the age of nine', Said, *Out of Place*, p.19.

[132] Ibid, p. 222. It is important to say that Said makes a strong connection between his stay in Cairo and his national identification with and memory of Palestine. He, for example, writes, towards the end of his memoir, that 'after I lost Cairo, behind which I began to realize more and more was the continuing loss of Palestine in our lives and those of our relatives', p.293.

[133] Ibid, p. 118.

[134] Ibid, p.117.

[135] Ibid, p. 119.

narrates, in *Out of Place*, an episode where he refuses to be identified as *Khawaga* (stranger) by Egyptians and instead he stresses his Palestinian-ness: 'I chafed at it *Khawaga*, partly because my growing sense of Palestinian identity […] refused the demeaning label'.[136]

I therefore argue that Said's experiences of 'exile, removal, unwilling dislocation' reveal that his exilic life can be seen as quintessentially Palestinian.[137] Said describes his displacement as a condition 'that have [has] kept me in motion all these years'.[138] 'Thirteen years ago', Said continues to state:

> I wrote in *After the Last Sky* that when I travel I always take too much with me, and that even a trip downtown requires the packing of a briefcase stocked with items disproportionately larger in size and number than the actual period of the trip. [139]

Said's reflection is crucial. It tempts me to offer an intriguing interpretation of why Said's national identification with Palestinians triggers his feeling of placelessness and being out of place.[140] Needless to say, Said's description above correlates with the understanding of exiled Palestinian writers of their lives as a series of displacements initiated by the Palestinian collective experience of displacements.[141] Mourid Barghouti, for example, argues, in *I Saw Ramallah*, that 'it is enough for a person to go through the first experience of uprooting, to

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[136] Ibid, p. 195. I will explain later that Said sees his other Self buried beneath Edward as a Palestinian Self; Bart Moore-Gilbert asserts that this 'underground Self' is 'first codified ethnically as an 'Arab identity' but 'slowly reconceptualised as a specifically Palestinian one', p.118. Moore also emphasises that 'Said's memoirs indicate a turn from Arab to Palestinian identification', p.34.

[137] Said, *Out of Place*, p. 218.

[138] Ibid, p.217.

[139] Ibid.

[140] This is, however, not to undermine the fact that 'much of the "energy" of Said's memoir is devoted to exploring ideas around being "out of place" […] in what appear to be […] existential and psychological terms', that is, 'out of place' has some 'non-political meanings', Moore-Gilbert p.116. Moore-Gilbert sees 'the author's uncomfortable relationship with his body' as an example of 'the seemingly non-political meanings of being out of place', p.116. The space of this section does not allow me to reflect on them; Moore-Gilbert's article, Bernard's and Moore's are excellent works to look at in this regard.

[141] See my first chapter.

become uprooted forever'.[142] As I have illustrated in my second chapter, the motion of Palestinians in exile reflects their condition of placelessness.[143] The significance of motion in Said's memoir becomes clearer by discussing Said's above allusion to his book *After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives* (1986). Briefly, the title of this book is taken from Darwish's poem 'The Earth is Closing on us'.[144] In the poem Darwish, like Said in the above mentioned book, passionately reflects on the condition of exiled Palestinians who are destined to multiple and constant displacements and relocations, and he laments that their return is out of the question.

Said in the above quoted text perhaps reflects (as does *After the Last Sky*) on 'the dynamic interaction' between his exilic experience and the collective Palestinian experience of dislocation. *In After the Last Sky*, Said writes that 'the stability of geography and the continuity of land – these have completely disappeared from my life and the life of all Palestinians',[145] and for him 'the place [Palestine] is lost' and '[its] identity is retained only in the repeated experience of staying and then moving on. Homecoming is out of the question. You learn to transform the mechanics of loss into a constant metaphysics of return'.[146] Again, Said's words recall my interpretation in my previous chapter of the motion of the Palestinian exile as a sign of feeling no stability in exile and the precariousness of their return.

Said emphasizes, in his memoir, his state of being an exile whose place is 'essentially lost' and who does not fully belong to any other place.[147] Also, when Said was asked about the

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[142] Mourid Barghouti, *I Saw Ramallah*, trans. by Ahdaf Soueif (London, Bloomsbury, 2004 [1997]), p. 131.

[143] Ayyash in general argues that Said in his writings shows a fidelity towards motion, a motion imposed on him as an exile, 'Edward Said: Writing in Exile', pp. 107 – 118.

[144] Mahmoud Darwish, 'The Earth is Closing on us' (1984), in *The Collected Works of Mahmoud Darwish*, ed. by Ali Mawla (Alexandra: The Forum of Alexandra Library, 2014), pp. 861-852. Edward Said was always fascinated by Darwish's poetry, political thought and his conflation of his personal identity and the Palestinian collective identity. See, for example, the following article by Said on Darwish, Edward W. Said, 'On Mahmoud Darwish', *Grand Street*, 48 (1994), 112-115.

[145] *Said, After the Last Sky,* p. 19.

[146] Ibid, p. 149.

[147] Ibid, p. 294, p. xiii.

meaning of his memoir's title in an interview entitled 'My Right of Return' with Ari Shavit, he replied: 'not being able to go back. It's really a strong feeling I have. I would describe my life as a series of departures and returns. But the departure is always anxious. The return always uncertain. Precarious. So even when I go on a short trip, I overpack, on the chance that I won't be able to return'.[148] And before that Said stressed to the interviewer: 'I feel I have no place. I am cut from my origins. I live in exile. I am exiled'.[149] Said in this sense sees himself as a typical exile who is cut from his roots and re-rooting in the context of exile is out of the question.[150]

Moreover, Said's above statement strongly resonates with his argument in '"The Mind of Winter": Reflections on Life in Exile' that exile is 'fundamentally a discontinuous state of being, exiles are cut off from their roots, their land, their past'.[151] Like his Palestinian contemporaries, Said's motion is a sign of his non-belonging to a place in the present after what Ayyash calls being 'thrown into exile'.[152] Said further embodies his sense of lack of belonging by his above symbolic use of the suitcase. The suitcase, as I noted in my previous chapter, 'is a distinctive characterization of the contemporary exile who moves between places as a sign of his non-belonging to a fixed environment'.[153] Said believes that physical

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[148] Gauri Viswanathan, *Power, Politics, and Culture: Interviews with Edward W. Said* (London: Bloomsbury, 2005), p. 456.

[149] Ibid.

[150] In their aforementioned book on Said, Ashcroft and Ahluwalia underlines that for Said 'exile does not mean the total separation from your place of origin but is rather a condition where one never abandons the old nor completely accepts the new. It is not a state in which one can become complacent, comfortable and secure. Rather, it is a state that hones your skill for survival', p.139. Also, Said's description should remind us of the following words of the Palestinian intellectual, who lives in Washington, DC, 'I never cut my roots from the homeland and I did not start a new life. Until today I am a stranger in this country in which I spent the most part of my life […] the reality I have been living here forty years is not in my possession. I am like the traveler [who] lives a transitory life, his suitcase is always packed', quoted in Helena Lindholm Schulz and Juliane Hammer, *The Palestinian Diaspora: Formation of Identities and Politics of Homeland* (London: Routledge, 2003), p.96.

[151] Edward Said, '"The Mind of Winter": Reflections on Life in Exile', *Harper's Magazine* (1984), 49-55 (p.51).

[152] Ayyash, 'Edward Said: Writing in Exile', p. 101.

[153] Quoted in Gannit Ankori, 'Dis-Orientalisms': Displaced Bodies/Embodied Displacements in Contemporary Palestinian Art', p. 84.

return to his homes(s) is uncertain and simultaneously there is no place where he can have a certain sense of stability. Said's possibility of return to the region of his home(s) becomes infused with uncertainty or inability, turning him into a person who feels that 'it does not seem important or even desirable to be "right" and in place'.[154] Thus, Said's ' prefer[ence of] being not quite right and out of place' carries the implication of the absence of immediate attachments.[155]

This current analysis of Said's memoir recalls my argument in my first chapter that Palestinians living in the US (or Palestinian-American authors) understand their stay there as a reluctant submission to the state or force of homelessness, what Turki describes as 'statelessness becomes your state'.[156] Therefore, Said's declaration for 'being not quite right and out of place' 'endorses a dislocated mode of "residence on earth"'.[157] I think the above interpretation also adds to our understanding of what Karmi calls Said's 'will to dispossess'.[158] Karmi asserts that '[Said's] writings are properly situated in the politics of dispossession whose roots are firmly planted in his Palestinian origins', therefore 'to understand his significance properly is to understand the recent history of Palestine'.[159] Said often combines his condition of placelessness and the history of his Palestinian people in his works. In addition to the examples that I have already provided in this chapter, Said writes in

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[154] Said, *Out of Place*, p. 294.

[155] Ibid, p.295.

[156] Turki, *Soul in Exile*, p.6.

[157] Danuta Fjellestad, 'Writing Affiliation and Dislocation in the Memoirs of Ihab Hassan and Edward Said', *Prose Studies* 31 (2009), 202-213 (p.209).

[158] Karmi 'Edward Said and the Politics of Dispossession', para 4.

[159] Ibid. it is worth mentioning here that we cannot separate Said's writings from his Palestinian identity, and Said attacked the authors who do so. See, for example, Said's introduction to his book *Reflections on Exile: And Other Literary and Cultural Essays*. Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia also note that 'the significant thing about Said's work is that we cannot separate this political concern for the state of Palestine, this concern with his own identity and the identity of Palestinians in general, from the theoretical and literary analysis of texts and the way they are located in the world', Ashcroft and Ahluwalia, *Edward Said, The Paradox of Identity*, p.3. See also Moustafa Bayoumi's and Andrew Rubin's argument that 'Said has had to reckon with his life as an exile, and the pain of exile has been a grounding philosophy of all his work […]. Said – like the vast majority of Palestinians – was displaced and dispossessed of his home and homeland by the cataclysmic event of the 1948', *The Edward Said Reader* (London: Granta Books, 2000), p. xii.

The Politics of Dispossession that 'our truest reality is expressed in the way we cross over from one place to another [there is no] situation in which we find ourselves. This is the deepest continuity of our lives as a nation in exile and constantly on the move'.[160]

It might be argued that Said's condition of being out of place is an indication of Said's fidelity to physical detachment (like expatriates) from the place of origin, instead of attachments, possibly by drawing on the fact that Said's favorite quotation is Hugo's statement:

> The man who finds his homeland sweet is still a tender beginner; he to whom every soil is as his native son is already strong; but he is perfect to whom the entire world is a foreign land. The tender soul has fixed his love on one spot in the world; the strong man has extended his love to all places; the perfect man has extinguished his.[161]

In my view, these arguments are not precise. It is true that Said looks at physical detachments from the place of origin as emancipatory, but Said also interpret them as unexpected and unwelcome loss (and as I elaborate in detail later in this section Said argues that voluntary detachments lead in the end to metaphysics of re-attachment). Said follows his above citation of Hugo by explaining that 'exile is predicated on the existence of, love for, and bond with, one's native place; the universal truth of exile is not that one has lost that love or home, but that inherent in each is an unexpected, unwelcome loss'.[162] It is also true that Said might celebrate voluntary detachments, but that does not mean he substitutes exile or placelessness for his place of origin.

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[160] p.112.
[161] Quoted in Said, *Reflections on Exile*, p. 185.
[162] Ibid.

I agree with Sarah Jilani's argument that it is a pity that some critical readings of *Out of Place* take Said's reflection on the critical possibilities that detachment (or being out of place) offer as Said's ultimate reading of exile. Such readings of Said's view of exile probably aim to 'prove their existing qualms about Said's position as a cosmopolitan intellectual [who] utilises a discourse of displacement that renders exile a condition of the soul: a Euro-American, Modernist aestheticisation'.[163] Aijaz Ahmad is exemplary of critics who do not acknowledge the fact that Said never sees exile merely as a condition of the soul. In Ahmad's perception, diasporic intellectuals and Third World literary figures (he names Salman Rushdie and Said for particular scrutiny) employ displacement in a way that makes exile appear as a condition of the soul, which is something that characterizes the Euro-American and Modernist writing.[164] Bryan S. Turner is another example of critics who claim that 'being out of place [for Said] is an ethical status through which one can achieve the necessary stoical detachment to embrace humanity'.[165] He contends that 'broadly speaking, anybody who takes the calling of an intellectual life seriously cannot be comfortably at home in their home'.[166] For this reason, Turner suggests that 'the persistence of the themes of homelessness and nostalgia' in Said's works, including *Out of Place*, should not be interpreted 'as actual states of affairs, but as moral and even aesthetic conditions of the soul'.[167]

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[163] Sarah Jilani, 'Writing Exile', p. 66.

[164] Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London, Verso, 1992), p. 86. It is interesting to note that Rushdie in his conversation with Said on Palestinian identity states that 'In the West, everyone has come to think of exile as a primarily literary and bourgeois state. Exiles appear to have chosen a middle-class situation in which great thoughts can be thought. In the case of Palestinians, however, exile is a mass phenomenon: it is the mass that is exiled and not just the bourgeoisie', *The Politics of Dispossession*, p.111. Although we elicit from Ahmad's overall critique a useful reminder of the risks of the rhetorical conflation of emigration and exile, Ahmad does not acknowledge that Said warns against viewing exile only as a condition of the soul. For a discussion on Ahmad's criticism of the conflation of emigration and exile in Euro-American discourse of displacement, see Kaplan, *The Question of Travel*.

[165] Bryan S. Turner, 'Edward Said and the Exilic Ethic: On Being Out of Place', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 17 (2000), 125-129 (p.126).

[166] Ibid.

[167] Ibid.

By contrast to the above two critics, I argue that Said profoundly warns against looking at exile or being out of place merely as an emblem of the displaced intellectual and a condition of the soul unrelated to the facts of material life. Said believes that this narrow view of exile will mitigate the catastrophic force of exile that dispersed peoples like Palestinians have experienced.[168] Said writes that 'exile, is not, after all, a matter of choice: you are born into it, or it happens to you'.[169] Said's view of 'exile' as a condition of transcendence and an enabling act stems from his belief that the exile should not spend his or her life in exile mourning his or her fate or 'falling victim to the concrete dangers of exile'.[170] Said opines that 'provided that the exile refuses to sit on the sidelines nursing a wound, there are things to be learned: he or she must cultivate a scrupulous (not indulgent or sulky) subjectivity'.[171] Exile in this sense, Said argues, becomes 'convert[ed] from a challenge or a risk, or even from an active impingement on the selfhood' 'into a positive mission' whose 'success [that] would be a cultural act of great importance'.[172] Nevertheless, Said contends that although exile can be turned into an enabling condition and critical standpoint, its pain can never be vanquished. Said further asserts that even though there are 'pleasures of exile, those different arrangements of living and eccentric angles of vision that it can sometimes afford, which enliven the intellectual's vocation', those pleasures are far from 'alleviating every last anxiety or feeling of bitter solitude'.[173]

Equally importantly, Said applies the notion of 'exile' as an enabling condition in his memoir to his transcendence of the restrictions imposed by his family over him, but not to his relation

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[168] Said, *After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives*, p.120.
[169] Said, *Reflections on Exile*, p.184.
[170] Said, *The World, The Text, and The Critic*, p.6. Said discusses this idea with a particular reference to Erich Auerbach's exile in Istanbul and his writing of *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (1953) under this exilic circumstance.
[171] Said, *Reflections on Exile*, p.184.
[172] Said, *The World, The Text, and The Critic*, p.7.
[173] Said, 'The Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals', p.122.

with Palestine. Said's 'parents were at the heart of the entire administered system that determined my time minute by minute'.[174] His father, in particular, represents 'a devastating combination of power and authority, rationalistic discipline, and repressed emotions'.[175] Even his mother who 'was certainly my closest and most intimate companion for the first twenty-five years of my life', and who reciprocates love and interests in art and music with him, 'could also turn away quite suddenly, producing in me a metaphysical pain I can still experience'.[176] Said's mother also helped his father to 'create [for him] a world very much like a gigantic cocoon'.[177] Because of these family's practices, Said claims, in the first chapter of his memoir, that he sometimes 'seemed to myself [himself] to be nearly devoid of any character at all, timid, uncertain, without will […] always being out of place'.[178] Said's 'exile' from his family therefore liberates him from their power and control. Said's detachment from his family allows him to hone 'my [independent] identity [that] depended on' 'resistance' to 'the sense of being infantilized, the helplessness'.[179] Importantly, Said claims that his distance from his family benefited him in terms of his national identification. It allowed him to re-establish his connection with Palestine, which his father 'hate[d]', and to seek his national/Palestinian identity.[180]

Drawing on Benedict Anderson's theories of the nation is a pertinent way to reinforce the above argument and preface my final note. According to Anderson, the national self emerges from the destabilisation of a unified, coherent subjectivity; it comes out of an "estrangement"

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[174] Said, *Out of Place*, p.28.
[175] Ibid, p.12.
[176] Ibid, p.12, p.13.
[177] Ibid, p.12.
[178] Ibid, p.3.
[179] Said, *Out of Place*, p.295.
[180] Ibid, p.6.

from one's self. Anderson explains that 'nationality is necessarily an effect of the narratives we tell in the face of an incoherent sense of one's self, a literal alienation from one's self'.[181]

Said's identity politics and his relation with Palestine, as referred to in his memoir, illustrate this formula. He, for example, narrates:

> The only hope for me as a man was in fact to be cut off from my family. My search for the freedom, for the self beneath or obscured by "Edward," could only have begun because of that rupture, so I have come to think of it as fortunate, despite the loneliness and unhappiness I experienced for so long. [182]

The rupture that Said refers to here is his detachment from his family (not Palestine) who imposed on him its own discipline and views, as well as forcing silence on the subject of Palestine. Note that Said frequently expresses in his memoir his dissatisfaction with his father's discipline and his father's reference to the loss of Palestine as 'what is past is past and irrevocable'.[183] Indeed, Said, in his memoir, frequently expresses his disappointment and anger at his family's attempt to distance him from Palestine as a cause and a location. That is to argue, Said's estrangement from the Self (Edward) that his family imposed on him facilitates and allows him to retrieve and dynamically interact with the Palestinian context and identity and resurrects 'the Palestine I grew up in', and the 'country [that is] lost' in 1948, 'the Palestine of remote memory'.[184] What comes 'out of this estrangement', Anderson writes, is 'a conception of personhood, identity, which because it cannot be 'remembered,'

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[181] I am quoting Stein P. Davis's paraphrase of Anderson, Stein P. Davis, 'Subjectivity and the Aesthetics of National Identity in Gertrude Stein's *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 45 (1999), 18-45 (p.26).

[182] Said, *Out of Place*, p. 294.

[183] Ibid, p.115.

[184] Ibid, p. 142, p.140. Note that Said prefers to experience himself as a 'cluster of flowing currents … [that] require no reconciling, no harmonising', that is, Said does not prefer 'the idea of a solid self' but one self, which he formed and which estranges itself from the other self that his father imposed on him, Said, *Out of Place*, p.295.

must be narrated'.[185] The conception of personhood in Said's memoir is the final product of his search and discovery of the self that has 'nothing to do with "Edward"', which is 'a false, even ideological identity' – 'devalued and doomed self, not, no never quite right, and indeed very wrong and out of place', but '[one that relies] on the slowly forming identity of another self beneath the surface'.[186] This search and discovery were inextricably bound with the constant revival and resurrection of his Palestinian memories, cause, identity and context.

Tom Thomas contends that Said's memoir 'documents the politics of [this reformulated] identity and tells the story [of Palestine] to keep it alive, to fight oblivion'.[187] Notice that Said argues, in *The Politics of Dispossession*, that the 'voyage in' of the Palestinian in exile, including himself, to the Palestinian context allows a 'transition from being in exile to becoming a Palestinian once again'.[188] Priscilla Wald notes that the 'dynamic interaction' between the lost nation and the seeker for it produces an imagined and re-constructed national/positional identity.[189] He adds that the output of the dynamic interaction between national and personal narratives is that 'national narratives actually shape personal narratives'.[190] One can extend Wald's argument to argue, as well, that in Said's case and in the case of Palestinians in general and peoples who were exposed to deracination, personal narratives contribute to a (re)construction of a national narrative.

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[185] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 204.

[186] Said, *Out of Place*, p.90, p.87, p.230.

[187] Tom Thomas, 'Edward Said and the Margins', *Text Matters - A Journal of Literature, Theory and Culture*, 2 (2012), 155–168 (p.163).

[188] Said, *The Politics of Dispossession*, p.4.

[189] Priscilla Wald, *Constituting Americans: Cultural Anxiety and Narrative Form* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 4.

[190] Ibid. Bernard refers to the collective significance of feeling of being 'out of place' in her book chapter that I am citing in this chapter. She interestingly suggests that 'we might understand Said's description of his personal liberation as tied to an unrealized Palestinian liberation', p. 50.

One of the distinctive features of modern and contemporary Palestinian writing, including Said's, is that the narrative of the (exiled) Palestinian employed, to quote Said's words in his memoir, 'contribute to the construction of a Palestinian national identity'.[191] Said's displacement from his father, in particular, enabled him 'to open myself to the deeply disorganised state of my real history and origins as I gleaned them in bits, and then try to construct them in order'.[192] Indeed, Said's detachment from his family enables him to 'reconstruct remote time and experience' he had in Palestine (or in the Levantine milieu), and 'piece together all the different narrative fragments to understand what had really happened in Palestine [in 1948],' the story which his father did not want him to fully realise; nor could he understand in the past because he was an 'unknowing witness'.[193]

A Final Note

Whereas Stein chooses the condition of disconnection (and of being neither in the US nor in France by her resistance to the French influence), Said, bearing an exilic identity, lived some kind of half-life, neither here (in the US) nor there (in Palestine and Egypt). Stein uses the artistic function of this sense of outsiderness or she assumes the persona of the 'exile' to reformulate her personal identity and construct her own narrative. Stein represents the attitude of Modernist American expatriate authors whom Said describes in *Reflections on Exile* as people who tend to leave their homeland 'for personal or social reasons' with the belief that return is always possible.[194] Analogously, Said represents the exile who, in his own words, 'exists in the median state, neither completely at one with the new setting nor fully disencumbered of the old, beset with half involvements and half detachments'.[195]

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[191] Said, *Out of Place*, p.114.
[192] Ibid, p.6.
[193] Ibid, p. xvi, p. 114, p.118.
[194] p.181.
[195] Said, 'Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals', p.114.

This is, however, not to say that Said does not find the condition of in-betweenness productive. Said, like Stein, in the words of Bernard, celebrates 'a configuration [of exile] more commonly associated with Euro-US modernism, in which the social alienation of the individual is the enabling condition for independent thought and existence'.[196] And as Moore also argues, Said's condition of alienation yields double awareness and contrapuntal thinking of two settings, two environments.[197]

In addition, Said shares 'exiles the difficulty [that] consists not simply in being forced to live away from home, but rather, given today's world, in living with the many reminders that you are in exile', to quote his words.[198] In *The Question of Palestine*, Said also asserts that 'one must never minimise the effect of exile upon even the most successful bourgeoisie'; 'for despite everything', Said illustrates, 'the Palestinian does not construct his life outside Palestine'.[199] In *Out of Place*, Said further laments that '[I have] no sense of cumulative achievement. Every day is for me like the beginning of a new term at school, with a vast and empty summer behind it' and 'the fact that I live in New York with a sense of provisionality despite thirty-seven years of residence here accentuates this disorientation that has occurred to me, rather than the advantages'.[200]

That is to recapitulate, while Said represents the exile whose place of origin was taken away from him by a colonial force and cannot be returned, Stein represents the expatriate who decides to leave her place of origin with the belief that she can return to it. My next chapter continues to demonstrate that Modern(ist) American expatriate writers and characters, in the words of Wolfe's character, 'haven't been driven out of' the US by force and their 'going

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[196] Bernard, *Rhetorics of Belonging*, p.48.
[197] Moore, 'Ruins, Rifts and the Remainder: Palestinian Memoirs by Edward Said and Raja Shehadah', p.34.
[198] Said, 'Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals', p.114
[199] p.167, p.154.
[200] p.12, p.222.

back to live there' is a matter of 'intention' and 'desire'.[201] By contrast, exiled Palestinian writers and characters do not, in Barghouti's words, 'choose to distance themselves' from their land and it is not in 'in their power to return to their home country whenever they decide and desire'.[202]

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[201] Thomas Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again* (New York: Scribner, 2011 [1940]), pp. 327 -8
[202] Mourid Barghouti, *I was Born There, I was Born Here*, trans. by Humphrey Davies (London: Bloomsbury, 2011 [2009]), p. 80

Chapter Four

Possible/Impossible Returns: The Questions of Roots and Routes in Thomas Wolfe and Mourid Barghouti

It was all so wrong that Randy lost patience with him: "for Christ's sake, George, what's the matter with you? You're talking like a fool!" he said. "You haven't been driven out of anywhere! […] The truth is that for the first time in your life you've managed to get a foothold in the thing you want to do. […] No doubt all those threatening letters have made you feel like an exile from home, but hell, man! […] You know you've had no intention of ever going back there to live. But just as soon as they started yelling for your scalp, you fooled yourself into believing you'd been driven out by force!". (Thomas Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again*, 1940)[1]

They remind me that the world is wider and more beautiful than 'our villages' and 'our families'. I understand this beautiful sense of the vastness of the world. Like them, I love movement, journeys, and living in new places. What these friends forget is that it is they who choose to distance themselves [and] it is in their power to return to their home country whenever they decide and desire. (Mourid Barghouti, *I was Born There, I was Born Here*, 2009)[2]

Our people went to America because that was the place to go then. It had been a good country and we had made a bloody mess of it and I would go, now, somewhere else as we had always had the right to go somewhere else and as we had always gone. You could always come back. (Ernest Hemingway, *Green Hills of Africa*, 1935)[3]

This chapter offers a comparative analysis of narratives of return written by Modern(ist) American expatriate writers and contemporary exiled Palestinian authors. In so doing, this chapter examines and engages recent intriguing but under-elaborated thoughts made by Susan Winnett. Through developing Winnett's suggestion that exiles and expatriates represent the crisis of homecoming differently, this chapter argues that Modernist American expatriate authors and Palestinian intellectuals illustrate homecoming in different ways. It shows that

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[1] Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again*, pp. 327 -8.
[2] Barghouti, *I was Born There, I was Born Here*, p. 80.
[3] Ernest Hemingway, *Green Hills of Africa* (London: Arrow Books, 2004 [1935]), p. 193.

Modernist American expatriate writers differ in their representations of return to a place they call 'home' from exiled Palestinian authors.

This chapter articulates that while Modernist American expatriate writers represent their return (or the return of their protagonists) to the US as something possible and depends on their choice, intention and desire, Palestinian exiled writers describe homecoming as something they (or their protagonists) have no control over. Indeed, Modernist American expatriate writers chronicle in their narratives of return the possibility of their (or their protagonists') physical homecoming to the US and their ability to reconnect with their American roots. Therefore, the routes Modernist American expatriate writers or their protagonists decide to follow afterwards – whether to remain in the US or return to Europe – are voluntarily chosen. In contrast, contemporary exiled Palestinian authors reflect on the impossibility of their or their protagonists' repatriation and their inability to reconnect with their original roots. Therefore, the subsequent routes followed by exiled Palestinian authors or their protagonists (return to exile) after this failure of repatriation are not voluntarily chosen. The involuntary return of exiled Palestinian authors or their protagonists to their exile mirrors the initial disconnection of Palestinians from their roots, their coercion into exile and the ongoing prevention of their permanent return.

For this chapter's comparison, contemporary Palestinian writers are taken as an example of exiled writers, to refer to Winnett's classification. This chapter posits that exiled Palestinian writers can be seen as an archetype of exiled authors to whom Winnett generally refers in her study but does not exemplify. That is, Winnett only mentions in *Writing Back: American Expatriates and Narratives of Return* (2013) that Modernist American expatriate writers'

view of return 'stand[s] in stark contrast' to exiles' vision of it.[4] This thesis on the whole introduces contemporary Palestinian exiled writers as exemplary of contemporary authors who represent a different mode of exile from the form of 'exile' represented by Modernist American expatriate writers. Therefore, in this chapter exiled Palestinian writers are exemplars of Winnett's category of exiled authors whom she uses in contrast with Modernist American expatriate writers.

In the course of this chapter I initially explore the differences between the notions of return introduced by Modernist American expatriate authors and contemporary exiled Palestinian writers. In the remaining parts of this chapter, I investigate whether the protagonist's (American expatriate's/ Palestinian exile's) journey home means his or her repatriation or whether it triggers another/other kind(s) of estrangement and exile. I invoke James Clifford's treatment of roots, which he associates with origin, residence and belonging, and routes, which he relates to travel, mobility and transition. Clifford uses these two tropes (roots and routes) to describe culture and its motion in late twentieth century and diasporic and postcolonial identities. I conclude this chapter by placing more emphasis on the fact that through studying the nuances of the homecomings of Modernist American expatriate authors and their protagonists, compared with those of their Palestinian counterparts, we discover that expatriates and exiles represent different forms of departure and return.

In this chapter I concentrate on Thomas Wolfe's novels, adding him to an already existing set of Modernist American expatriate authors involved in this study. Thomas Clayton Wolfe (1900–1938), born in Asheville, North Carolina, was one of the major early twentieth-century American expatriate novelists. Throughout the 1920s Wolfe sailed several times to many

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[4] Winnett, *Writing Back*, p. 46.

European countries – including England, France and Germany – where he stayed for short periods and wrote some of his works. He eventually returned to the US a few years before his death. Wolfe wrote four autobiographical novels: *Look Homeward, Angel* (1929), *Of Time and the River* (1935), *The Web and the Rock* (1939), and *You Can't Go Home Again* (1940). Wolfe's works are invaluable resources for my chapter's comparison. All of his novels exhibit themes of return, as his protagonist Eugene Gant in *Look Homeward, Angel* seeks to return to 'the leaf' and 'the stone' of Catawba, George Webber in *The Web and the Rock* yearns for the city of New York, George Webber in *You Can't Go Home Again* returns to Libya Hill, and Eugene Gant in *Of the Time and the River* undertakes a pilgrimage to Europe in search of the ancestral lost heritage of the Old World.[5]

Of all Wolfe's novels, I will concentrate my analysis on *You Can't Go Home Again* (1940) as it thoroughly treats the subjects of departure and return. This novel revolves around Wolfe's protagonist George Webber's quest to publish a book in Europe. The book published in the end proves to be successful; however, in making frequent references to his hometown of Libya Hill George triggers the anger of its residents. They feel that Webber does not represent them in a proper way, and as a result they send him many threatening letters. These letters make George worried about his homecoming. As the story evolves, we discover that George also feels confused about his homecoming after meeting Judge Bland who addresses him: 'do you think you can really go *home* again?'[6] In the novel Wolfe asks whether these incidents mean that George should be considered an exile who cannot go home again. Wolfe uses George's story to explore a variety of notions of return, in particular possible and impossible returns. Moreover, Wolfe reflects in this novel, as in many other novels he wrote, on the rise of fascism in Europe and on America's societal and economic aspects of the

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[5] Thomas Wolfe, *Look Homeward, Angel* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006 [1929]), p. 240.
[6] Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again*, p. 72, original emphasis.

1920s/30s, particularly the condition of America after the stock market crash in 1929. To enhance my analysis of this novel, I refer briefly to Wolfe's autobiographical account *The Story of a Novel* (1936), which is one of his most important works. Wolfe explores in this work the role that one's milieu plays in his or her creativity. He also shows in this work his opposition to the majority of his fellow-American expatriate authors' views that the US in the 1920s/30s is not a suitable place for writing and living, urging these authors to return from Europe to the US.

While discussing the perspective of Modernist American expatriate authors on homecoming, I also refer more briefly to Stein's *Everybody's Autobiography* (1937), which is a sequel to *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, the text I analysed in the previous chapter of this thesis. In *Everybody's Autobiography* Stein places a great deal of emphasis on showing how her return to the US after a thirty-year absence contributes to her preservation of her American roots, and how her choice of the routes she follows depends on the existence and accessibility of her American roots. Stein's account will enrich my chapter's analysis of the treatment of roots and routes in Modernist American expatriate writing. Also, I bring Stein to my discussion in order to explore the differences between her vision of return and treatment of roots and routes and Wolfe's. I explain why it is important to understand these differences.

I will also make further occasional references to Hemingway's *Green Hills of Africa* (1935) to further expand my analysis of the notion of return in Modernist American expatriate writing. In this non-fiction work Hemingway presents real characters who are passionately involved with searching for rural places. The characters in this book talk about their fascination with the hills of Africa and their love of hunting animals there. Typically for Hemingway, he discusses in this work issues related to literary life, war, and the blessings of

natural landscapes. Also, the author tells us the reasons for his intention not to return to the US at the time and choosing instead to camp and hunt in Africa.

With respect to the Palestinian material I look at in this chapter, I have chosen Mourid Barghouti's memoirs as the main focus of my analysis. Barghouti is a Palestinian poet and memoirist born in 1944 near Ramallah. He was doing his undergraduate studies in Cairo when the 1967 war began, and as a result he was prevented by the Israeli occupation from returning to Palestine. In 1977, Barghouti was expelled from Egypt to his Budapest exile because of his criticism of the visit of the Egyptian president, Anwar Sadat, to Jerusalem on that same year, and he was not allowed to return to Egypt for seventeen years. The first time Barghouti was able to return to Palestine temporarily was in 1996, after thirty years of exile, and the occasion of writing his first memoir *I Saw Ramallah* (*Raa'ytu Rāmallāh*). Mourid's second journey to the West Bank was in 1998 with his son Tamim. Mourid weaves the significances of this second trip into his second memoir *I was Born There, I was Born Here* (*Wūldtu Hunaka Wūldtu Huna*).

In *I Saw Ramallah*, first published in Arabic in 1997, Barghouti describes the overwhelming sense of dislocation and feeling of permanent displacement upon finding that Ramallah, the city he left in the 1960s, barely resembles the city he confronts now. He also reflects on the dire circumstances of Palestinian lives under Israeli occupation, especially the Israeli military restrictions on Palestinian mobility. *I Was Born There* is the sequel of *I Saw Ramallah*, and it was published in Arabic in 2009. Barghouti similarly reflects in this text on the admixture of feelings evoked by his journey to Ramallah. He reflects on the emotional and national bonds his family has to Ramallah and the effects of Israeli occupation on these links. Barghouti emphasises the Palestinians' sense of alienation, including himself, both inside and outside

Palestine, and he elaborates why Ramallah looks strange to him and why he has become a stranger to it. He focuses on the ever-increasing constructions of Israeli settlements and the Separation Wall which, according to him, have profoundly changed the identity of Palestine. This new reality in Palestine, Barghouti seems to suggest, obstructs his return at both physical and psychic levels.

To bring the analysis of the issue of return in exilic Palestinian writing right up to date, I will also make frequent reference to Ghada Karmi's *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2015). Karmi, a doctor, author, essayist and academic, was born in 1939 in Jerusalem and grew up in the UK following exile from Palestine in 1948. Since then she has rarely had the chance to return to Palestine. In *Return*, Karmi chronicles her journey to the West Bank to work as a consultant to the Ministry of Media and Communications of the Palestinian Authority, aiming to contribute to building a Palestinian state. In her book, Karmi articulates the immense impact of the Israeli occupation and power over Palestinian lives, and she portrays the 1948 catastrophe as the fundamental watershed in the lives of all Palestinian families, including hers. Having experienced the bitterness and grief of Palestinian diaspora and chronicled fragments of Palestinian history in *Return* and other texts, notably *In Search of Fatima* (2002), Karmi sees herself as one of the custodians of the Palestinian history and national narrative. Karmi continues, in *Return*, her search for her family's maid Fatima, the search upon which she embarked in *In Search of Fatima*, discovering that Fatima was doomed to live in a refugee camp in the West Bank after the flight of Karmi's family from Palestine in 1948. For Karmi, Fatima is a remainder (and reminder) of her original homeland. Therefore, the impossibility of finding Fatima (due to her death), as the memoir tells, further complicates Karmi's search for her Palestinian roots.

Finally, I will also refer more briefly to Ghassan Kanafani's 'Return to Haifa' ('Ā'id ilā Ḥayfā), which is one of the first Palestinian works on the subject of return from exile. This short story will inform my chapter's analysis of the treatment of roots and routes in exilic Palestinian writing. Kanafani whose *Men in The Sun*, originally published in Arabic in 1962 as *Rijāl fi ash-Shams*, firmly secured his international reputation, was born in 1936 in Akka, in the north of historical Palestine. He was a prominent spokesman for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, before his assassination by the Israeli Mossad in 1972 in Beirut. In 'Return to Haifa', first published in 1969, Kanafani's Palestinian couple return to Haifa in search for Khaldoun, their baby whom they left behind upon their flight from Palestine in 1948. To their surprise, the parents find that Khaldoun has grown up to be a Jewish soldier who refuses to acknowledge his Palestinian family.[7] In this story Kanfani, in similar fashion to Karmi, associates the loss of Khaldoun with the inability of his original family to reconnect with its Palestinian roots.

'Possible'[8] Physical Return in Wolfe, Stein and Hemingway

> 'O here, O here, Eugene. Here, Eugene. The way is here, Eugene. Have you
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> forgotten? The leaf, the rock, the wall of light. Lift up the rock, Eugene, the
>
> leaf, the stone, the unfound door. Return, return'.[9]

Critics usually explore the notion of return in Modernist American expatriate writing in one or more of the following ways. Winnett, for example, relates it to the parable of the Prodigal Son. In this story, the younger son of a father of two sons returns home with regret after leaving and wasting all his money (his share of the estate) he asked his father for before his

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[7] Kanafani's "Return to Haifa" is the seed of the novel of the Palestinian-American author Susan Abulhwa (born in 1970) *Mornings in Jenin*, which she published in 2010. This is something the author acknowledges in her note on the novel, Susan Abulhawa, *Mornings in Jenin* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), p.326.

[8] 'Possible' in this context bears its donative meaning 'able to be done or achieved', *Oxford Dictionary of English*, p.1375.

[9] Wolfe, *Look Homeward, Angel*, p. 240.

departure.[10] Mary McCarthy studies the material circumstances that triggered the movement of Modernist American expatriate authors or their protagonists from Europe back home, such as the precipitous fall of the dollar and rise of fascism in Europe.[11] John Gawelti, Caren Kaplan and Winnett, on the other hand, focus on the actual process of the Modernist American expatriate protagonist's return home. They show how the protagonist feels a stranger in the US upon his or her return due to the socio-political and economic changes that happened in the US in the early twentieth century, or they focus on the protagonist's dual perspective on his or her homeland yielded from the expatriate experience in Europe – what Henry James called in his preface to *The American Scene* 'the freshness of eye'.[12]

This chapter focuses instead on the ways in which Modernist American expatriate authors project the *possibility* of their physical return in relation to their mode of departure from the US (expatriation). This section in particular argues that the physical homecoming of modern American expatriate authors and their protagonists from Europe is something possible and its achievement depends on whether they desire or intend to return to the US or not.

Wolfe exemplifies the possibility of the Modernist American expatriate protagonist's physical homecoming by showing his and his protagonists' intentions and desires to return to the US and their achievement of it. Unlike some Modernist American expatriate authors, such as Stein and Hemingway, as I show below, Wolfe glorifies return to the US, the country which, in the words of his protagonist in *You Can't Go Home Again*, is 'young' and 'still the New World of mankind's hope'.[13] As the epigraph to this section also typifies, Wolfe deploys

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[10] Winnett, *Writing Back.*

[11] McCarthy, 'A Guide to exiles, expatriates, and internal émigrés'. See also Gluzman, 'Modernism and Exile: A View From the Margin'.

[12] Henry James, 'Preface', in *The American Scene* (London: Pupert Hart-Davis, 1968 [1907]). See Gawelti, 'Eliot, Joyce and exile', Susan Winnett, *Writing Back*, Kaplan, *Question of Travel*.

[13] Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again*, p. 625.

in his novels protagonists who believe that their return to America is their means of self-fulfilment and discovery, and their means for success and prominence.[14] This is, however, not to undermine the fact that Wolfe and his protagonists joined the American expatriate community in Europe. Rather, this is to illustrate that Wolfe and his protagonists prefer returning to the US over an extended expatriation in Europe. His desire and his protagonists' desire to return to the US, Wolfe claims, emanates from their faithfulness to the US, which is, paradoxically, intensified by their expatriate experiences in Europe for some years. In *The Story of a Novel*, Wolfe explains:

> I had found out during these years that the way to discover one's own country was to leave it; that the way to find America was to find it in one's heart, one's memory, and one's spirit, and in a foreign land.[15]

The above words indicate that it was not the departure from the US but the return to it that mattered most to Wolfe. Wolfe hypothesises that attachment to place is either inherent or comes from choice. Therefore, he believes that the American expatriate's 'authentic' attachment to America – that is whether he or she intends to return to it after departure from it – is gauged upon that departure. Wolfe, for example, illustrates his strong and 'authentic' attachment to the US by writing in *The Story of the Novel*: 'I had been to Europe five times now; each time I had come with delight, with maddening eagerness to return […] I had felt the bitter ache of homelessness, a desperate longing for America, an overwhelming desire to return'.[16]

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[14] For a full discussion of the symbolism of the door, leaf and stone in Wolfe's *Look Homeward, Angel*, see Richard Gaither Walser, *Thomas Wolfe; an Introduction* (New York: Barnes, 1961) & John M. Burger, '"A Stone, a leaf, and unfound door": Thomas Wolfe's Platonic Search',<http://lib.dr.iastate.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article =1124&context= rtd> (1988) [accessed 17 November 2015].

[15] Thomas Wolfe, *The Story of a Novel*, in *Thomas Wolfe Reader* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962), pp. 11 - 52 (p. 24).

[16] Wolfe, *The Story of the Novel,* p. 25.

Wolfe in the same context claims that his longing and feelings of homesickness, loneliness and desire to come back from Europe to the US inform his representations of his fictional characters. He, for instance, narrates:

> During that summer in Paris I think I felt this great homesickness more than ever before, and I really believe that from this emotion, this constant and almost intolerable effort of memory and desire, the material and structure of the books I now began to write were derived.[17]

Wolfe's declaration shows that he shares with his fellow American expatriate authors the view that the expatriate experience in Paris is both emotionally and materially rewarding as it triggers creativity and offers better life opportunities. Nonetheless, Wolfe, as the quotation below suggests, contests the claim of Modernist American expatriate authors that the American author's creativity and his or her better life and work opportunities can only be animated by staying in Paris, not in the US.[18] He remarks in *The Story of the Novel*:

> I had gone through the whole experience [expatriation] and now I was almost done with it. I had come to Paris first six years before, a youth of twenty-four, filled with all the romantic faith and foolishness which many young men at that time felt when they saw Paris […] I really thought one could work far better there than anywhere on earth; that it was a place where the very air was impregnated with the energies of art; where the artist was bound to find a more fortunate and happy life than he could possibly find in America. Now I had come to see that this was wrong.[19]

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Stein, for example, wrote: 'America is now early Victorian, she is rich and well nourished home but not a place to work. Your parents' home is never a place to work it is a nice place to be brought up in. Later on there will be place enough to get away from home in the United States', *Gertrude Stein's America*, p. 68.

[19] Ibid.

Wolfe's narrator in *You Can't Go Home Again* shares the above view with his creator (Wolfe). This narrator also 'judges' American expatriates in Europe (whom he alternatively calls the 'Lost Generation') as follows:

> These were the Americans who had gone beyond even the pretence of being nature-lovers and earth-discoverers and returners to the simple life of native virtue in rural Yankeedom. These were the ones to whom nothing was left except an encyclopaedic sneer – a sneer at everything American […]. For these people had nothing left but drink and sneering, the dreary round of café life with its endless repetition of racked saucers – nothing left but a blurred vision of the world, a sentimental fantasy of "Paris," or of "England," or of "Europe".[20]

This passage in *You Can't Go Home Again* precedes Wolfe's introduction of George as a character who has decided to be different from the typical American expatriate in Europe. George resists being ensnared by the lures of 'the expatriate moment' in Paris, and determines instead to be one of the 'returners to the simple life of native virtue in rural Yankeedom'.[21] The land imagery Wolfe uses in the above passage aims to sharpen the contrast Wolfe makes between George and the other American expatriates he met in Europe. It signifies George's desire to re-attach himself to America instead of seeking the 'café life' in Paris.[22] The way Wolfe presents George during the funeral of his aunt reinforces the contrast Wolfe makes. During the funeral of his aunt in his village in America, George encounters Delia Flood, an old friend of his family, who reminds him '"your Aunt Maw

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[20] Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again*, p. 517.

[21] For more research on the connection of Wolfe's characters with the natural world, see Robert Taylor Ensign, *Lean Down Your Ear Upon the Earth, and Listen: Thomas Wolfe's Greener Modernism* (Colombia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003). The land imagery Wolfe uses dominates exilic Palestinian literature. Aziz Shihab for example introduces the following passage in his memoir *Does the Land Remember me?: A Memoir of Palestine*: "son, do not sell the piece of land. Come home and walk over the earth, sit on its rocks and plant some of your tears there. Your tears will grow into tall trees and will bear fruits and on the branches your name will be recorded for eternity', p. 3.

[22] Of course, the café in this context, as I argued in my second chapter, is a metonym of the lifestyle of modern American expatriates and their Modernist experimentations in Europe.

always hoped that you'd come home again. And you *will*!' she said. "there's no better or more beautiful place on earth than in these mountains – and some day you'll come home again to stay"'.[23] Clyde Clements offers a similar reading to my own. He believes that Wolfe in this context of the novel wants to reveal an attitude towards land that is directly opposite to the perspective of other American expatriates: the feeling of a person who conceives land as a place to live and work on.[24]

Indeed, implicated in the above passage and in *You Can't Go Home Again* on the whole, is Wolfe's contrast between George's interest in returning to his village and other American expatriates' preference to remain in Europe. In making this contrast, Wolfe wants to say that the stay of Modernist American expatriate authors outside the US expresses disinclination and lack of interest to return to the US, not impossibility of return.

Perhaps Stein's reluctance to go back to the US exemplifies Wolfe's above point. Stein narrates in *Everybody's Autobiography*:

> As I say I am a person of no initiative, I usually stay where I am […]. So it
> used to be Paris and Spain and then it was Paris and Bilignin and what was I to
> do in America when I got there. After all I am American all right. Being there
> does not make me more there.[25]

I explained in the previous chapter of this thesis the paradox that Stein believes that her creativity and identity thrive on her displaced and dialectical encounter with the US. Therefore, it is not surprising to find out that Stein in the above context is not that inclined to go back to the US.[26] In *Green Hills of Africa* Hemingway provides another example of

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[23] Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again*, p. 94
[24] Clyde C. Clements, 'Symbolic Patterns in *You Can't Go Home Again*', *Modern Fiction Studies* 11 (1965), p. 289.
[25] Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, pp. 114-5.
[26] I expand later on Stein's explanation of how her temporary visit to the US contributes to her preservation of her American roots.

Modernist American expatriate authors' lack of intention to return to the US at the time. To Hemingway, America 'had been a good country and we had made a bloody mess of it'.[27] As he implies in his text, the machine and capitalism have destroyed the country in America and made it very different from how it used to be before the arrival of his forebears of "wilderness".[28] Therefore, it is not comfortable for Hemingway to return to America and live there. He instead 'would go, now, somewhere else as we had always had the right to go somewhere else'.[29] The American expatriate, according to Hemingway, 'could always come back', therefore Hemingway does not need to seek homecoming at the moment.[30] He instead intends to hunt animals in the hills of Africa, and tour coastal sites, like the Palestinian city, Haifa.[31]

Key to this discussion, however, is Wolfe's idea that the American expatriate's return is impossible at the psychic level. While Wolfe believes that the Modernist American expatriate can physically return to the US, he, like his fellow-American expatriate authors, particularly Stein, James and Cowley, contends that the American expatriate cannot psychically return home.

For example, Stein in her works expresses her inability to adjust or fully integrate into her home culture upon her homecoming. In similar fashion to Cowley and James, Stein

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[27] Hemingway, *Green Hills of Africa*, p. 93.
[28] Ibid, see the second chapter of this thesis.
[29] Ibid Suzanne del Gizzo and Patricia Ross speculate that Hemingway's comparison of America and Africa produces an imperialistic aura. See Suzanne del Gizzo, 'Going Home: Hemingway, Primitivism, and Identity', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 49 (2003), 496-523 & Patricia Ross, *The Spell Cast by Remains: The Myth of Wilderness in Modern American Literature* (London: Routledge, 2006).
[30] Ibid
[31] Ibid, p. 199. Towards the end of his book, Hemingway tells that he stayed in Haifa with some friends: 'a month later P.O.M., Karl, and Karl's wife who had come out and joined us at Haifa, were sitting in the sun against a stone wall by the Sea of Galilee eating some lunch and drinking a bottle of wine and watching the grebes out on the lake'.

associates her return with what she calls the 'shock of recognition and nonrecognition'.[32] Stein uses this phrase to describe her feeling when she confronts her American community and landscape upon her return to America. As she depicts, she has been rendered unfamiliar and she and her native people seem strangers to each other. 'What they are to say to me and what I am to say to them those who make in my native land my native land. What will they say to me and what will I say to them', she writes in 'Meditations on Being About to Visit my Native Land'.[33]

The above example from Stein supports Wolfe's belief that if the American expatriate physically returns to the US, his or her return will be accompanied by a sense of disillusionment and alienation. That is to emphasise, although Wolfe's phrase 'you can't go home again' does not necessarily implicate the Modernist American expatriate's physical impossibility of return, it does connote his or her psychic inability to integrate into the US upon return. The following words of Wolfe's narrator in *You Can't Go Home Again* reflect Wolfe's belief that the return of modern American expatriates is not possible at the psychic level:

> The phrase [you can't go home again] has many implications for him [George]. You can't go back home to your family, back home to your childhood, back home to romantic love, back home to a young man's dreams of glory and fame, back home to exile, to escape to Europe and some foreign land, back home to lyricism, to signing just for singing's sake, back home to aestheticism […] back home to places in the country, to the cottage in Bermuda, away from all the strife and conflict of the world, back home to the father you have lost and have been looking for, back home to someone who

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[32] Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p. 180. On James, see Susan Winnett, *Writing Back*.
[33] Gertrude Stein, 'Meditations on Being About to Visit my Native Land', *Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas Papers* (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, 1935), p.1-2.

can help you, save you, ease the burden for you, back home to the old forms

and systems of things which once seemed everlasting but which are changing

all the time – back home to the escapes of Time and Memory.[34]

Wolfe, like his fellow-American expatriate writers, implies in the above passage that the expatriate (George in this context) would not be able to restore an irrevocable space and time upon his or her return to the US – what his narrator calls 'the old forms and systems of things'.[35] As Simone Weil reminds us, 'the past once destroyed never returns'.[36] 'No return to the past is without irony', Edward Said condenses, 'or without a sense that a full return, or repatriation, is impossible'.[37] In other words, Wolfe reiterates the Greek philosopher Heraclitus's famous saying 'no man ever steps in the same river twice, for it's not the same river and he's not the same man'.[38] Indeed, Wolfe and many of his characters in *You Can't Go Home Again* (and *Look Homeward, Angel*) believe that nobody can re-live the past and any attempt to do so will be futile.[39]

Nevertheless, Wolfe contests the interpretation of the phrase 'you can't go home again' as an implication of the physical impossibility of the homecoming of the Modernist American expatriate authors.[40] This is embedded in the dialogue that occurs between Randy and George in *You Can't Go Home Again*. Wolfe gives Randy the role of telling George that 'feeling like an exile' does not mean to 'fool yourself into believing you'd been driven out by force', and

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[34] Wolfe, p. 602.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Simone Weil, *The Need for Roots*, p. 49.
[37] Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile*, p. xxxv.
[38] Hagopian Institute, *Quote Junkie: An Interesting Collection of Quotes from the Greatest Greek and Roman Philosophers and Leaders* (London: Createspace Independent Publishing Platform: 2008), p. 29.
[39] For more analysis of the theme of return in *Look Homeward, Angel*, see Morris Beja, 'Why You Can't Go Home Again: Thomas Wolfe and "The Escapes of Time and Memory"', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 11 (1965), 297-314. Wolfe's input probably illustrates James Clifford's point that 'perhaps there's no return for anyone to a native land – only field notes for its reinvention', James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*: *Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Harvard, Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 173.
[40] See Chapter Two.

you cannot go home again.[41] Randy proposes that the physical inability of the exile to return home is essentially attributed to the fact that he had 'been driven out by force'.[42] That is, Randy differentiates between two forms of departure from home and return to it. The first, in Randy's view, is 'involuntary exile': it happens when the exile is 'driven out by force', and consequently he or she 'can't go home again' physically, as is the case of Palestinian exiles accounted for in the next section of this chapter.[43] The second form of exile, Randy suggests, is voluntary exile – what Wolfe's narrator calls later 'self-imposed exile'.[44] The Modernist American expatriate, according to Randy, manifests this mode of exile. The American expatriate, in the words of Wolfe himself, leaves his or her country for Europe 'to find a more fortunate and happy life than he could possibly find' in the US, and he or she, in Randy's words, has '*no intention of going back there* [the US] *to live*'.[45] In summary, Randy encapsulates his creator's view (Wolfe) when he addresses George 'you haven't been driven out of anywhere! The truth is that for the first time in your life you've managed to get a foothold in the thing you want to do […] *You know you've had no intention of ever going back there* [the US] *to live*'.[46]

The following section of this chapter explains that modern American expatriate writers and contemporary exiled Palestinian authors represent different notions of homecoming. I show that the homecoming of contemporary exiled Palestinian writers is not as possible as that of modern/Modernist American expatriate writers.

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[41] Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again*, p. 327.
[42] Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again*, p. 327.
[43] Ibid.
[44] There is an implicit agreement between Wolfe and Barghouti as we will see later about these forms of departure and return. Also, Randy has come to this knowledge after meeting involuntary exiles (Negroes and Jews).
[45] Wolfe, *The Story of the Novel*, p. 25, my emphasis.
[46] Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again*, p. 327, my emphasis.

'Impossible'[47] Return (*A'wdah*) in Barghouti and Karmi

Some aspects of the difference between the homecoming of Modernist American expatriate authors and that of contemporary exiled Palestinian writers are embedded in the following passage quoted at length from Barghouti's *I Was Born There, I Was Born Here*, where Barghouti distinguishes between the Palestinians' views of attachment to homeland, detachment and return to it and that of their (non-Palestinian) friends:

> Many of my friends around the world express surprise at this Palestinian attachment to place of origin and concern of family ties. Some even scoff at it with their open-armed acceptance of adventure, discovery, a nomadic lifestyle and residence in places that they choose and change according to their fancy, without the slightest regret at leaving family or even homeland behind. They remind me that the world is wider and more beautiful than 'our villages' and 'our families'. I understand this beautiful sense of the vastness of the world. Like them, I love movement, journeys, and living in new places. What these friends forget is that it is they who choose to distance themselves. They are the ones who take the decisions and make plans and then present passports (recognized everywhere) and get on planes and trains and cars and motorcycles and go to places where three conditions that the Palestinians cannot meet are fulfilled: first, that it is their preference and choice to go to specifically these places; second, that these places always welcome them; and third and most important, that it is in their power to return to their country whenever they desire and decide […]. The Palestinian is forbidden to enter his own country by land, sea, or air, even in a coffin. It is not a matter of romantic attachment to a

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[47] The word 'impossible' in this context bears the dictionary meaning 'not able to occur, exist, or be done', *Oxford Dictionary of English*, p.870.

place but of eternal exclusion from it […]. This is the difference. This is the

story.[48]

Barghouti's passage embeds two notions of 'return' – possible and impossible returns – that
Modernist American expatriate authors and contemporary exiled Palestinian writers
represent. The first form of return (possible return), in Barghouti's perspective, is the return
that one achieves as a result of his or her own desire. Barghouti associates this form of return
with the perspective of cosmopolitans on departure from home.[49] As I explained in the first
section of this chapter, Modernist American expatriate authors and their protagonists embody
this notion of return (possible return). 'It is in the power' of modern American expatriate
authors and their protagonists, to quote Barghouti's words, which resonate with the
aforementioned Hemingway's statement, 'to return to their country whenever they desire and
decide'. The second form of return (impossible return), according to Barghouti, happens
when one 'is forbidden to enter his own country by land, sea, or air, even in a coffin'.[50] The
Palestinian exile, Barghouti exemplifies, manifests this second form of return. Barghouti
associates the Palestinian's inability to return home – 'eternal exclusion' from it – with the
form of departure from home he or she manifests (involuntary exile).[51] 'The Palestinian',
writes Barghouti, is 'forced to become a refugee, to emigrate, and to go into exile from his
homeland in the sixty years since the Nakba of 1948, or the forty since the June 1967 War'.[52]

Barghouti, like other exiled Palestinian authors quoted in this section, is at pains to show that
'return' in the exilic Palestinian context has specific historical and political implications.

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[48] Barghouti, *I Was Born There, I Was Born Here*, pp. 80-81.
[49] See the second chapter of this thesis where I showed how Modernist American expatriate authors, whom can
be seen as cosmopolitans, view departure as a form of freedom, self-fashioning and independence.
[50] Ibid.
[51] There is an implicit agreement between Wolfe and Barghouti that there are two forms of return: the first form
is associated with the involuntary exile 'who was driven out by force', to quote Wolfe, and the other is
associated with the expatriates/voluntary exiles/self-imposed exiles 'who choose to distance themselves', and
'decide whenever to return' to quote Barghouti.
[52] Barghouti, *I Was Born There, I Was Born Here*, p. 80-81.

Barghouti is, particularly, concerned to inform his non-Palestinian friends of the fact that the permanent return of the Palestinian exile is in principle not a personal choice, nor a matter of an intention or desire, as it is in the case of other expatriates. It is, rather, impossible, or a collective, historical and national right not given yet to Palestinians expelled from their land after 1948.

Against the above background, Barghouti, in *I Saw Ramallah*, which chronicles his temporary return to Ramallah, expresses rage at Israeli attitudes that aim to deprive Palestinians their right to return (*haq al-'awdah*). He writes: 'after how many more thirty years will the ones who never came back return? What does my return, or the return of any other individual mean? It is their return, the return of the millions, that is the true return'.[53] Israeli leaders have always refused to implement United Nations General Assembly Resolution 194 which approved that Palestinian refugees 'wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at their earliest practicable date'.[54] Yitzhak Rabin, the fifth prime minister of Israel, for instance, emphasised that 'Israel would not allow more than a few thousand 1967 refugees to return'.[55] He added that if the PLO 'expect[s] tens of thousands [of refugees to return], they live in a dream, an illusion'.[56] Karim Mattar rightly argues that Barghouti in the above words intertwines his individual temporary return with the Palestinian collective right to return, because Barghouti finds it not only an ethical imperative to do that but also a 'political imperative for a justice to come'.[57] For Barghouti, the true return, as opposed to either his temporary return to

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[53] Barghouti, *I Saw Ramallah*, p. 38.
[54] Quoted in Joseph Massad, 'Return or Permanent Exile? Palestinian Refugees and the Ends of Oslo', *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, 8 (1999), 5-23, (p. 7).
[55] Quoted in Massad, p. 12. It is worth noting that Benjamin Netanyahu, the current Israeli leader, has recently asked the Palestinian authority to sacrifice Palestinians' right of return < http://www.wattan.tv/ar/news/150276.html> [accessed 13 October 2015].
[56] Ibid.
[57] Karim Mattar, 'Mourid Barghouti's "Multiple Displacements": Exile and the National Checkpoint in Palestinian Literature', *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 50 (2014), 103-115, (p. 107). This reminds me of the

Ramallah, any individual return, or the return of only some Palestinian refugees, is 'the return of the millions': that is, the millions of Palestinians scattered in 'refugee camps bearing the names Jenin, Sabra and Shatila, Burj al-Barajneh, Tall al-Za'tar'.[58]

Like Barghouti, other exiled Palestinian authors show, by privileging Palestinian refugee protagonists who claim their right to return, their belief that justice can be done to Palestinian refugees only when their right to return is given.[59] For example, in *Return*, which is a very recent Palestinian memoir on the subject of return to Palestine, Karmi narrates that for Palestinian refugees, including herself, return is 'no fantasy, but a solid belief in the inevitable recognition of the justice of their cause'.[60] Impoverished Palestinians living in refugee camps, Karmi continues, 'spoke not of their present hardship but of the return to the homeland, their right to reclaim their native turf and live there, and hoped it would not take too long to happen'.[61]

Palestinian refugees, Karmi demonstrates, refuse to adopt or identify themselves with the countries where they sought refuge. They view their residence in the host countries and even in refugee camps inside Palestine as a temporary condition; in Karmi's words, they live in their camps with a 'sense of impermanence'.[62] Karmi illustrates that 'it was for that reason that she [her mother] was against making any improvements to the house we lived in; she did

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following words that Darwish says about Ibrahim abu Lughod, who demanded his dead body to be buried in Jaffa, 'Ibrahim attained his right of return in his particular way; what lies at the heart of his individual return is an ethical imperative and a sign of Ibrahim's staunch commitment to his people and its collective cause', quoted in Adel Osta, 'Will your Return be a Return to another Exile?', *al-Ayyam* (2016) <http://www.al-ayyam.ps/ar_page.php?id=10701af8y275782392Y10701af8> [accessed 26 January 2016], my Translation.

[58] Barghouti, *I Was Born There*, p. 141.

[59] Unfortunately, I do not have space in this chapter to argue that return is the subtext of most of Palestinian fiction and memoirs.

[60] Karmi, *Return*, p. 169.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid, p. 18.

not want central heating, for example'.[63]Although they have been detached from Palestine for many years, Karmi asserts, Palestinian refugees still have faith in the prospect that one day they will go back to their original homes.

Karmi, precisely, wants to say that Palestinian refugees ideologically and historically define themselves in relation to their homeland, 'however fragmented and shadowy, and still knew it as their real country. Nowhere else could take its place'.[64] As Clifford confirms, diasporic people experience a tension of 'living here and remembering, desiring another place'.[65] That is, in desiring Palestine, Palestinian refugees show unwillingness to assimilate into their new homes in exile. The refusal of Palestinian refugees to assimilate is understood in Palestinian society and culture as a form of resistance to Israeli colonialists' attitudes that aim to debilitate Palestinian refugees' commitment to their right to return to their original homes. Israel has always wanted Palestinian refugees 'dismantled', 'scattered' 'dispersed' and ultimately turned from political refugees into 'immigrants' in 'the various countries that would take them', Karmi argues, as this facilitates its overarching plan exclusively to possess Palestinian land.[66] Jews are one of the peoples, Karmi explains, who 'had pinned their dreams and delusions on its land [Palestine], seen it as their salvation, and tried to make it exclusively their own'.[67] In order to implement their plan of exclusive possession of the Palestinian land, Jewish Zionists, by using Biblical and Zionist myths, claimed that Palestine is 'a land without people for a people without a land' that God promised them after their exodus from Egypt.[68] As Jo Carruthers interestingly argues in her article 'Nationalism', 'nationalism owes much of

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[63] Ibid.
[64] Karmi, *Return*, p.19.
[65] Clifford, *Routes*, p. 255.
[66] Karmi, *Return*, p. 169. See my first chapter, particularly where I differentiate between the terms 'refugee' and 'immigrant'.
[67] Karmi, *Return*, p. 250.
[68] See, for example, Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, 'Territorially-Based Nationalism and the Politics of Negation', in *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question*, ed. by Edward W. Said and Christopher Hitchens (London: Verso, 1989), pp. 193-206 (p.200).

its narrative and rationale to essentially religious concepts' and 'the specific mythic constituency of nation-states are indebted to religious narrative'.[69] To achieve their plan of expropriation of the Palestinian land, Jewish Zionists claimed that God had chosen them to live in Palestine. Therefore, they had to negate the existence of the native inhabitants of this land, who are today's Palestinian refugees, expel them from their original homes and establish the state of Israel. Since that time (the aftermath of the Nakba of 1948), Palestinian refugees have been shuttling between refugee camps. One can argue that they exchanged roles with Israeli Jews: Israeli Jews ended their homelessness by building a homeland in Palestine, and in turn caused Palestinian refugees' state of homelessness.

In recognition of this politics of dispossession and loss of homeland, Karmi believes, Palestinian refugees are able to offer an interpretation of why they live outside Palestine and they cannot return. They offer the authentic version of how Israel has come into existence and how Palestine disappeared from the map. This knowledge, according to Karmi, empowers Palestinian refugees and grounds their struggle for their right to return. For this reason, Karmi asserts:

> It was we, the 1948 generation, who were the proper custodians of our national
> history, the vital witnesses to the dispossession and loss of the homeland which
> lay at the root of the bitter conflict that had blighted all our lives. Without that
> knowledge, the conflict today was incomprehensible. And what would we be
> without a national narrative of our past, still alive in memory and on record?[70]

Karmi contends that the dispossession of Palestinians in 1948 by Jewish Zionists is the root of the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Barghouti agrees, began with that dispossession, the Palestinian narrative of which Israel continues to subvert

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[69] Jo Carruthers, 'Nationalism', in *The Blackwell Companion to the Bible and Culture*, ed. by John F. A. Sawyer (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 480-496 (p.484).

[70] Karmi, *Return*, p. 144.

and occlude.[71] 'Wasn't the beginning that a land was occupied and has to be reclaimed? And that a people was expelled from its land and has to return?', Barghouti asks at the end of *I Was Born There, I Was Born Here*.[72]

Karmi and Barghouti emphasise that the dispossession of Palestinians in 1948 triggered the ongoing and multiple displacements and 'misplace[ments]' of Palestinians, to quote a word from Said's forward to *I Saw Ramallah*.[73] Said uses the word 'misplacement' to refer to the way in which Palestinian refugees describe their existence after they were expelled in 1948 from their original homes by Jewish Zionists and prevented from returning. Said argues that Barghouti's *I Saw Ramallah* is written against this background. He maintains that Barghouti reflects on the circumstances of 'the stateless Palestinians' who 'still bear the onus of being displaced and hence, misplaced. Barghouti's text', Said continues, is 'laced with problems related to where he can or cannot stay, where he may or may not go, for how long and in what circumstances he must leave'.[74]

It is obvious that Said intends to relate Barghouti's individual experience of misplacement to the collective Palestinian experience of dispossession in 1948. He asserts that 'no matter how gifted and artistically endowed Palestinians are [including their authors]', they 'suffer' from the consequences of their 'misplacement' – what he calls in another context, which is crucial

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[71] Karmi's words resonate with Said's words in *Culture and Imperialism*: 'the power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism'; however, narratives have also emerged as 'the method colonized people use to assert their own identity and the existence of their own history', p. xiii.

[72] p. 214.

[73] Edward Said, 'Forward', in Mourid Barghouti, *I Saw Ramallah* (London: Bloomsbury, 2004), pp. vii-xi (p.ix).

[74] Ibid. This description reminds me of Leila Abdelrazaq's following description of her character Ahmad in her novel *Baddawi* 'as a Palestinian refugee, he [Ahmad] was a stateless person. He had no citizenship or passport, just a refugee card. His visa granted him permission to enter the United States, but not necessarily to return to Lebanon. Nothing was certain except he was leaving' (Charlottesville: Just World Books, 2015), p.115. For a further discussion on the limitations on the travel and mobility of Palestinians in diaspora, see Schulz and Hammer, *The Palestinian Diaspora*, pp. 227-229.

to recall in this section, the 'rigid proscriptions' of exile.[75] In *Reflections on Exile*, Said highlights the 'rigid proscriptions' of Palestinians in exile by showing their lack of the privileges of residence and travel that expatriates possess. To illustrate this, Said compares the mode of involuntary exile Palestinians embody and the mode of voluntary exile Modernist American expatriates manifest. He writes: 'Hemingway and Fitzgerald were not forced to live in exile. Expatriates may share in the solitude and estrangement of exile, but they do not suffer under its rigid proscriptions'.[76] The 'rigid proscriptions' of Palestinians in exile, which Said relates to the lack of the privileges of 'travel and residence', are what Barghouti refers to in the long passage with which I started this section and which is worth repeating in part:

> They [his foreign friends] are the ones who take the decisions and make plans and then present passports (recognized everywhere) and get on planes and trains and cars and motorcycles and go to places where three conditions that the Palestinians cannot meet are fulfilled: first, that it is their preference and choice to go to specifically these places; second, that these places always welcome them; and third and most important, that it is in their power to return to their country whenever they desire and decide.

In this vein, Said is right to argue that Palestinian exiled writers lack the advantages of travel and residence that Modernist American expatriate authors possess. Nevertheless, Said does not elaborate this point. Nor does Said make a comparison between the representations of homecoming by Palestinian exiled writers and Modernist American expatriate authors. To me, the issues of *travel* and *residence* that Said discusses in his comparison of American expatriates and Palestinian exiles are inextricably connected to the forms of return each group projects. Therefore, the next half of this chapter accounts for the implications of the nuances

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[75] Said, 'Forward', (p.x).
[76] Said, *Reflections on Exile*, p. 144.

between the forms of homecoming represented by Modernist American expatriate authors and exiled Palestinian writers, with emphasis put on the issues of travel and residence in these contexts. It shows how possibility or impossibility of the expatriate/exiled protagonist's reconnection with his or her original *roots* upon his or her homecoming, which relates to *residence*, influence the *routes*, which relates to *travel*, that he or she takes afterwards.[77]

Roots and Routes in Stein and Wolfe

> 'Home is where one starts from'.
>
> T.S. Eliot.[78]

The possibility of Modernist American expatriate writers (or their protagonists) to reconnect with their American roots enable them to choose the routes they decide to follow afterwards ; that is, whether to remain in the US or return to Europe. Their possibility to remain or leave again upon their return home mirrors the voluntary departure they undertake in the first instance. I begin this section by suggesting that Stein posits her return to the US as a transitional stage during which she reconnects with her American roots, before leaving again for Paris. In the second part of this section, I explore the implications of the substitution of Wolfe's characters of repatriation with expatriation.

In a conversation with John Hyde Preston, the Canadian author of *Revolution, 1776*, Stein tells her interlocutor:

> I think I must have had a feeling that [I lost my roots] or I should not have come back […]. I went to California. I saw it [her root] and felt it and it had a tenderness and a horror too. Roots are so small and dry when you have them and they are exposed to you. You have seen them on plant and sometimes they

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[77] See Clifford, *Routes*.

[78] T. S. Eliot, *Four Quartets* (London: Faber and Faber, 1944), p. 22.

seem to deny the plant if it is vigorous […] Well, we're not like that if you

think about it, we take our roots with us. I always knew that a little and now I

know it wholly. I know it because you can go back where they are […]. Don't

worry about roots. The essential thing is to have the feeling that they exist, that

they are somewhere. They will take care of themselves, and they will take care

of you, too.[79]

It is noticeable from this passage that while Stein puts an emphasis on the significance of her

return to the US to reassure her roots, she perpetuates an endless cycle of departures. Stein's

attitude invokes Clifford's formulation: 'roots always precede routes'.[80] Stein realises that her

route to Paris thrives on her roots in the US 'where we had been born and had always been'[81]

and the country that 'made me'.[82] I mean to recall in this context Stein's famous statement in

What Are Masterpieces?: 'I am an American and I have lived half my life in Paris, not the

half that made me but the half in which I made what I made'.[83] Stein's roots and routes are

intertwined and complementary, she claims. America is the place where her roots are and that

'made me', and the Parisian milieu is where she needs to be to make what she makes. 'No use

for Stein to fly to Paris and forget it [her roots]', William Carlos Williams asserts.[84] Indeed,

Stein's physical contact with her roots is a prerequisite for her routes to flourish.

Stein also speaks of this relation between her roots and routes in *Everybody's Autobiography*,

but in a different way from the one accounted for above. This is embedded in her following

narration:

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[79] Quoted in John Malcolm Brinnin, *The Third Rose: Gertrude Stein and Her World* (Gloucester: P. Smith, 1968), p. 339.
[80] Clifford, *Routes*, p.3.
[81] Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p. 175.
[82] Stein, *What Are Masterpieces*?, p. 62
[83] Ibid.
[84] Quoted in Jessica G. Rabin, *Surviving the Crossing: (Im)migration, Ethnicity, and Gender* in Willa Cather, Gertrude Stein and Wella Larsen (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 65.

> Alice Toklas wanted to come back to live there [the US]. She wants to come
>
> back to live not everywhere but in Avila and in New York and New Orleans
>
> and California, I preferred Chicago and Texas but I did not want to come back
>
> to live there. I like Paris and I like six months in the country but I like Paris.
>
> Everybody says it is not very nice now but I like Paris and I like to live there.[85]

Iain Chambers posits that the liminal return of the expatriate home echoes the expatriate's perception of return. The expatriate, in Chambers' configuration, needs to reconnect and then disconnect from the determinants into which he or she was born. The expatriate believes that his or her route is related to those determinants and originates from them, therefore he or she needs to maintain connection with them. Yet, he or she also intends to seek a route not bound by them.[86] Chambers' thought correlates with Stein's treatment of roots and routes. Stein comes back to the US to make sure that her roots in the US – the site of her departure – exist, but not to reside there forever. She planned in advance of her return to the US to leave it again for Paris. In this sense, the US, in Stein's perception, takes both real and symbolic configurations where centripetal and centrifugal forces inside Stein are simultaneously operating.

According to Winnett, Stein, in seeking distance from her "roots" manifests an American attitude. Winnett suggests that Stein, typical of Americans, 'is most American when she is not planted in her home soil'.[87] I think Winnett tries to say (although she does not elaborate her point) that Stein in her representation of roots and routes invokes broader implications of

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[85] Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p. 234.
[86] Iain Chambers, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity* (London, Routledge, 1994), p. 5.
[87] Winnett, *Writing Back*, p. 226. Stein insists on differentiating between Americans and Europeans. She, for example, begins *The Making of Americans*, the book where she tells "a history of family's progress", with her confession of the origin of American culture as European. Yet she claims that Americans are supremely of the present. She writes: 'it has always seemed to me a rare privilege, this, of being an American, a real American, one whose tradition it has taken scarcely sixty years to create. We need only realize our parents, remember our grandparents and know ourselves and our history is complete. The old people in a new world, the new people made out of the old, that is the story that I mean to tell […] ." (Illinois: Dalkey Archive Press, 1995 [1925]), p.3.

these constructs in American tradition and culture, which is worth discussing in this context. While reflecting on her interest in cubism in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, Stein claims that '[Americans] have no close contact with the earth such as most Europeans have. Their materialism is not the materialism of existence, of possession, it is the materialism of action and abstraction'.[88] Stein, I think, reflects in these words on the proclivity of Americans, specifically American Modernists, for mobility (routes) – 'the action and abstraction' – as it promises independence, physical freedom, progression, innovation, self-fashioning and understanding the world – the issues treated in the second chapter of this thesis.[89]

When Stein, for example, confronts her "roots" – the valley of 'the California [she] had come from' – she says the following:

> I like that [big trees]. The thing that was most exciting about them was that they had no roots did anybody want anything to be more interesting than that the oldest and the solidest and the biggest tree that could be grown had no foundation, there it was sitting and the wind did not blow it over sat so well. It was very exciting. Very beautiful and very exciting.[90]

Implicated, I think, in Stein's portrayal of the tree's detached existence from its roots as very beautiful, very exciting, the oldest, solidest and biggest, is Stein's willingness to compare her existence away from her "roots" and those of the tree. Notice that in her aforementioned conversation with Preston, Stein implicitly describes herself as a vigorous plant, which

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[88] Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, p. 100. Cubism was an early twentieth-century Avant-grade visual art movement created by Pablo Picasso and George Braque. It flourished in Paris between 1907 and 1914, and inspired European music, literature and architecture.

[89] Stein invokes another American trait implicated in American history and intertwined with mobility, that is, the need to possess a place to live – the materialism of existence. Although Stein claims that '[Americans'] materialism is not the materialism of possession', she herself said in another context, where she reflects on her desire for material independence and describes the pioneers as 'land-crazy', 'owning a place of your own is what gives you independence and lets you stand on your own feet'. Stein, *Gertrude Stein's America*, p.82.

[90] Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p. 295.

although detached from its roots, it shares with them reciprocal recognition. Stein in the same conversation opposes Preston's assumption that staying in Paris for over thirty years 'without sight of her native earth' could mean that Stein 'had torn up roots'.[91] Stein insists that her existence away from her roots, like the tree's, is not only possible, but also very beautiful, exciting, and it gives physical benefits. In this sense, Stein represents what Wallace Stegner describes as 'the displaced person whose [American] culture urged motion in him as a form of virtue'. [92]

One can also argue that in showing a desire not to root the tree/herself in a particular location – she says 'our roots can be anywhere and we can survive' – Stein retrieves an American ancestral value.[93] I suggest that the route taken by Stein (to Paris), although in opposite direction to the pioneers, mirrors a crucial element in American movement westward. She echoes the approach of westward settlers to mobility and living. Many pioneers sought physical freedom, progression, independence and self-determination provided by the western frontier.[94]

Stein argues that detachment from her American "roots" allows her to achieve material and immaterial freedom; freedom of body and thought. Detachment liberates Stein from restrictive social codes and sexual norms imposed on her by her place of origin. Detachment also allows Stein to find an opportunity for financial development and independence. Most importantly, Stein's distance from the US enables her intellectual and creative senses to proliferate. As Shari Benstock posits, Gertrude Stein's expatriation from America allowed

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[91] Simon, *Gertrude Stein Remembered*, p. 157.
[92] Stegner, 'The Sense of Place', para 17.
[93] Simon, *Gertrude Stein Remembered*, p. 157.
[94] Needless to say, deep in American history is the fact that the vastness of America has motivated citizens for actions, devising different routes, innovation, adventure, freedom and independence. For further discussion on the potential historical implications in Stein's works, see Sarah Jackson Meroni, 'Gertrude Stein and Expatriation', *Comparatisticae Studi Culturali*, II (1995), 25-34.

her to overcome the constraints that were put on her life, and thereby granted her the chance to cultivate a distinguished American personality.[95] Expatriation facilitates the route for Stein to emerge as different from other Americans but also as representative (if not superior to) them, on which basis she returns to the US.[96] Stein writes in *Everybody's Autobiography*:

> I used to say that was long ago in between I never had the thought of going, I
>
> used to say that I would not go to America until I was a real lion a real celebrity
>
> at the time of course I did not really think I was going to be one. But now we
>
> were coming and I was going to be one […]. I was more than others.[97]

During her seven-month journey to America to deliver a series of lectures, Stein claims to be a genius who is 'more than others' and who is qualified and responsible for representing and rendering America into a particular position. This Steinian aptitude lies at the heart of the act of writing *Everybody's Autobiography*. Like Wolfe in *You Can't Go Home Again*, Stein forges in *Everybody's Autobiography* a vision of a 'country which is forming itself to be what it is'.[98] The version of America Stein advances is a place shared by all Americans inhabiting it, regardless of their ethnicity or sexual orientation. Stein projects:

> Everybody is as their air and land is everybody is as their food and weather is
>
> and *the Americans* and the *red Indians* had the same so how could they not be
>
> the same how could they not, the country is large but somehow it is the same if
>
> it were not somehow the same it would not remain our country and that would
>
> be a shame. I like it as it is.[99]

In using the conjunction 'and' Stein puts 'red Indians' and white Americans in a close, equal and direct correlation. Perhaps this juxtaposition indicates Stein's tendency to re-write

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[95] Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank*, p. 13.
[96] Winnett, *Writing Back*, p. 226.
[97] Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p. 173.
[98] M. Lynne Weiss, *Gertrude Stein and Richard Wright: The Poetics and Politics of Modernism* (Mississippi: Mississippi University Press, 1998), p. 86.
[99] Ibid, p. 204, my emphasis.

America as a democratic country that does not exclude or marginalise some ethnicities, nor supress ancient histories beneath modern American history.[100] Stein probably writes back to the popular myth of the 'vanishing Indian', as a figure belonging to the past, in the name of American 'progress'.[101] M. Lynne Weiss supports my argument, yet she takes it further. She asserts that Stein, feeling displaced in America for being a Jew and lesbian, expresses an intellectual stance that opposes 'a society that would contain its members in rigid definitions of race, ethnicity, or sexuality'.[102]

There is no doubt that Stein, like James, aims by her return to America to render America into a particular form. This is something Winnett undermines. Winnett argues that, Stein, unlike James who uses the occasion of return to America to render it into a particular state, uses her journey back for 'ruminations on Gertrude Stein, Americans, and "everybody"'.[103] As mentioned above, Stein, by contrast to what Winnett claims, also uses the occasion of her trip to America to write an autobiography in the space of which she proposes a different version of America. Stein's America equally accommodates everybody and, most importantly, it is free of any essential categorisation of human beings.[104]

Like Stein, Wolfe uses the occasion of return from Europe to America to reassess and provide a vision of America based on the perspective he gained from his expatriation. Unlike Stein,

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[100] Stein's attitude can be connected to the politics and different movements in America in the 1920s and 1930s. For example, America in the 1920s and 30s witnessed the Harlem Renaissance.

[101] There is a growing interest in literary scholarship in the representations of Native Americans by both White American Modernists and by Native American writers from the 1920s and 1930s. See, for example, Rebecca Tillett, 'Native American Literary Modernism: The Novels of Mourning Dove, John Joseph Mathews, and D'Arcy McNickle', in *American Modernism*, ed. by Catherine Morley and Alex Goody (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholarship Publishing, 2009), 117-142.

[102] Weiss, *Gertrude Stein and Richard Wright*, p. 86.

[103] Winnett, *Writing Back*, p. 204.

[104] The space of this chapter does not allow me to continue this discussion and multiply the examples from Stein's works. For partial treatment of this issue in Stein's works, see Weiss, *Gertrude Stein and Richard Wright*. Also, future research could connect this Steinian perspective to Stein's demonization of wars in *Mrs. Reynolds* (1952) and *Wars I have Seen* (1945).

however, Wolfe argues that reassessment of America and rendering it into a particular position is closely associated with the permanent integration of American expatriates into America. Wolfe therefore employs returnee protagonists who try to understand why 'America went off the track somewhere [and] has turned into something ugly – and vicious'[105] by closely 'see [ing] what caused it, and then to speak the truth about it'.[106]

Wolfe reinforces his vision of the difference between returning to America and extended expatriation in Europe by differentiating between America, which he describes as the New World, and Europe, which he views as the Old World. For example, Wolfe's narrator in *You Can't Go Home Again* says: 'America was not like this old and worn-out Europe which seethed and festered with a thousand deep and uncorrected ancient maladies. America was still resilient and responsive to a cure'.[107] Wolfe's contrast between Europe and America re-enacts the following Cushing Strout's views:

> For much of their history Americans have defined themselves through a deeply
>
> felt sense of conflict with Europe. In the American imagination the New World
>
> has stood in symbolic antithesis to the Old. Whether they condemned Europe's
>
> vices or yearned for its virtues, Americans agreed that it was a polar opposite
>
> of the New World.[108]

Wolfe, unlike many of his fellow-American expatriate authors including Stein, refuses to see Europe, by contrast to America, as a land of virtues and refuge, or as a site of substance and

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[105] Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again*, p. 335. Wolfe makes some references to Street Wall Crash, the Civil War and lynchings in America.

[106] Ibid, p. 730. There is a direct opposition between Stein and Wolfe in terms of the view of each for modern America. For example, while Stein believes that 'America [perhaps] since the depression will never be so young again', and it is 'a land of failure. Most of the great men in America had a long life of early failure and long life of later failure', Wolfe believes the reverse. His narrator in *You Can't Go Home Again* writes: 'America was young, America was still the New World of mankind's hope' and all his protagonists want to return to America to realise themselves', Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again*, p. 625, Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, p.108, p. 88.

[107] Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again*, p. 625.

[108] Cushing Strout, *The American Image of the Old World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963).

self-realisation. In this sense, one can argue that Wolfe projects America as a new 'route', which, although derived from European roots, exceeds Europe's routes. For example, in George's perspective, 'there can be no return to the illusory place [Europe] that promised identity and purpose for the writer'.[109] Wolfe presents George as an American writer who escapes from the Nazi regime to America where 'to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity […] the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him'.[110]

Implicit in Wolfe's prospect (and in his restoration of the ideals of the American Dream) is a tendency to retrieve the old image of America as a land of refuge, 'Mother of Exiles', to refer to "The New Colossus" – the sonnet by American poet Emma Lazarus (1849 -1887), written in 1883 and engraved in 1903 on the Statue of Liberty. Wolfe celebrates America for being the place that accommodates interwar immigrants and rootless people that came to it, escaping persecution and seeking identity and purpose. For this reason, Wolfe's George likens his return from Europe to America to the return of rootless and exiled people who sought America after many years of wandering and tyranny by different forces including Nazis. Reflecting on his stay in South Brooklyn, the place where the Statue of Liberty is located, Wolfe describes George as follows:

> His neighbours, he will tell you, are for the most part Armenians, Italians,
>
> Spaniards, Irishmen, and Jews – in short, Americans. They live in all the

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[109] Clements, 'Symbolic Patterns of Return in You Can't Go Home Again', p. 294.

[110] Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again*, p. 432. Wolfe refers here to the ideals of the American Dream. James Truslow Adams in *The Epic of America* states that the American dream is 'that dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for everyone, with opportunity for each according to ability or achievement. It is a difficult dream for the European upper classes to interpret adequately, and too many of us ourselves have grown weary and mistrustful of it. It is not a dream of motor cars and high wages merely, but a dream of social order in which each man and each woman shall be able to attain to the fullest stature of which they are innately capable, and be recognized by others for what they are, regardless of the fortuitous circumstances of birth or position', (London: Routledge, 1938), pp. 214-215.

shacks, tenements, and slums in all the raw, rusty streets and alleys of South

Brooklyn.[111]

Interestingly, Wolfe above places George in an all-embracing circle that includes refugees

from all over the world. In the view of Wolfe's narrator, this is the promise of America. 'The

Promise of America' is both the title of one of the chapters of *You Can't Go Home Again* and

of the piece that Wolfe authored around the end of his career. The piece 'combined his

[Wolfe's] feeling about the American earth and his faith in the American dream of

opportunity and included a vision of a Negro, a Jew, and a boy from the South, each of them

addressed as brother, achieving their success in American life'.[112]

'The Promise of America' that Wolfe advances has been recalled recently by the Palestinian

exiled writer Fawaz Turki whose texts I analysed in my first chapter. Turki tells in *Exile's*

Return: The Making of a Palestinian-American, that he eventually left refugee camps in the

Arab world, where he lived with his family for many years after their disconnection from

their roots and being unable to return, for the US. In his memoir, Turki identifies his return to

America with the return of Thomas Wolfe's characters to America, and their search for a

refuge.[113] He also revives Wolfe's image of America as 'Mother of exiles' – the place where

millions of immigrants came at the cusp of the twentieth century, many of them through Ellis

Island at the port of New York:

> I need not live in Nablus or Jericho or Gaza. I could live anywhere I am with
>
> my people – those from any part of the world with whom I share a
>
> commonality of values and a certain way of life […] especially New York,
>
> because New Yorkers are like Palestinians in many ways. They too are born of

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[111] Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again*, p. 342.
[112] Richard S. Kennedy, 'Thomas Wolfe and the American Experience', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 11 (1965), 219-233 (p. 232).
[113] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p.5.

tragedy. Their ancestors landed at Ellis Island […]. Like Palestinians, New

Yorkers are a little mad, a little lonely, a little disgruntled. They […] stare with

murder in their eye if you dare to suggest that there is any place better than

where they come from.[114]

After they were cut off from their "roots" in 1948 and their many attempts to return to their

original homes were thwarted by Israel, Palestinian refugees and intellectuals sought different

routes to different countries around the world. In many cases, as Turki and other Palestinian

intellectuals suggest, their destination was America. They are still 'looking for Palestine

while living the American dream in America', to quote a title of an article written by a

Palestinian-American author (Karmah Elmusa) whose 'father was born in Palestine and

raised in refugee camps' before going to America.[115]

Roots and Routes in Karmi and Barghouti

'[Because exile] is fundamentally a discontinuous state of being, exiles are cut off

from their roots, their land, their past' (Edward Said, '"The Mind of Winter"':

Reflections on Life in Exile').[116]

The return of exiled Palestinian authors or their protagonists to their exile after their inability

to reconnect with their roots mirrors the initial disconnection of Palestinians from their homes

after the establishment of Israel and the prevention of their permanent return until now. Both

American expatriates and Palestinian exiles return in search of their roots in order to reaffirm

and perform their heritage, or to find out more about themselves and their ancestry or

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[114] Turki, *Exile's Return*, p. 273.

[115] Karmah Elmusa, 'I am Looking for Palestine While Living the American Dream' (2015) <http://www.elle.com/culture/career-politics/a31572/essay-on-being-palestinian-american/> [accessed 10 November 2015]. For a further discussion on how Palestinian-Americans look for Palestine while living the American dream in the US and how they reflect on their belonging to Palestine and their relation with the US, see, Nir Yehudai, 'Two Trends of Cultural Activity Among Palestinian-Americans', in *The Arab Diaspora: Voices of an Anguished Scream,* ed. by Zahia Smail Salhi and Ian Richard Netton (London: Routldge, 2006), pp. 108-126.

[116] Edward Said, '"The Mind of Winter"', p.51.

extended families. However, while Modernist American expatriate authors are able to reconnect with their roots which still exist, according to Stein, Palestinian exiled authors cannot reconnect with their roots. They have to confront the reality of '[their] world [Palestine is] vanishing and another [Israel is] forming in its place beyond the control of the displaced', to quote Barghouti's words.[117]

One of the distinctive features of Palestinian narratives of return is that the returnee protagonist is almost always in search of a named person in that 'vanishing place', as in Karmi's search for Fatima or Kanafani's Said's search for Khaldoun, or a hometown like Deir Ghassanah for Barghouti. These are all figures of recognition and belonging that the exiled protagonists need to find in order to reconnect with the roots from which they were torn after the 1948 Nakba. As the narratives proceed, we encounter the protagonists' tones of loss and deracination. Instead of a successful reunion between the protagonists and the figures of belonging, we notice that these figures become more estranged from the protagonists or less visible to them.

There is no mutual recognition between the protagonist and his or her destination 'not just because my geographical memory has faded during the years of exile', nor because the native place of the protagonist has normally changed with the passage of time which could make '[me] no longer know the geography of my own land'.[118] Rather, the absence of reciprocal recognition between the protagonist and his or her destination is mainly due to the transformation of the protagonist's native land from Palestine into Israel.[119] This

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[117] Barghouti, *I Was Born There*, p. 175.
[118] Ibid, p.10.
[119] Supplementary discussion on the distance between Barghouti and his country might attribute the distance between Barghouti and his home to the fact that Barghouti has also cultivated an exilic consciousness in exile, which further complicates his full repatriation. Barghouti can never undo the distance created by his expulsion from Palestine. His exile is now both physical and a state of mind. The exile always performs what Said called

transformation has changed 'the Palestine' Karmi, for example, knew in the past into a new place with 'new landscape, new alien language, new inhabitants'.[120] Exiled Palestinian protagonists claim that due to the colonial transformation and reconstruction of their place, they cannot recognise it; similarly, the place does not acknowledge them. For example, Kanafani's narrator, like Fawaz Turki, despairs upon his return: 'I felt as though I knew Haifa, yet the city refused to acknowledge me'.[121] And Barghouti illustrates that the Ramallah he and his son confront upon their return is surrounded by Israeli settlements and the Separation Wall, which reflect, according to Barghouti, 'the Palestinian diaspora itself'.[122] In both of his memoirs, Barghouti explains that Israeli colonial activities in the Palestinian land eventually turned Palestine into Israel, which caused his displacement both inside and outside Palestine.

Of all these Palestinian narratives of return, the most engaging and haunting is Karmi's. In *Return*, Karmi recalls the Nakba of 1948 that caused the involuntary departure and displacement of mass Palestinians from their roots while she is aching 'to find my roots and a

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in *Reflections on Exile* contrapuntal thinking about two environments (home and exile). In *I Was Born There, I was Born Here* Barghouti, for example, writes: 'the word 'here' takes me to everything that is 'there'. It takes me to the houses of exile. It takes me to times that overlap in my mind. It flies with me from 'my' room here and Tamim's silence to searching in 1963 for a place to rent in the Agouza district of Cairo ....', p.89. Said writes in *Reflections on Exile* that 'for an exile, habits of life, expression or activity in the new environment inevitably occurs against the memory of things in the other environment', p.148. 'Because the exile sees things both in terms of what has been left behind and what is actual here and now,' Said suggests, 'there is a double perspective that never sees things in isolation', 'Intellectual Exile', p.121. The space of this chapter will not allow me to develop this discussion. On this front, see Anna Bernard's fruitful and insightful reading of Barghotui's *I saw Ramallah*. Anna Bernard, '"Who Would Dare to Make It Into Abstraction": Mourid Barghouti's *I Saw Ramallah*', in *Rhetorics of Belonging*, pp. 67-89.
[120] Karmi, *Return*, p.7.
[121] Ghassan Kanafani, "Returning to Haifa", in *Palestine's Children: Returning to Haifa and Other Stories*, trans. by Barbara Harlow and Karen E. Riley (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 149-188 (p. 173). The original story was published in 1969.
[122] Barghouti, *I Saw Ramallah*, p.30. He also describes the immense change that the Separation Wall had made to the topography of Palestine in *I Was Born There* as follows: 'it is the wall of silent transfer. This wall puts houses in prison. Prisons the world over are designed for individual criminals who, justly or unjustly, have been found guilty. This wall has been designed to imprison an entire human community', p. 128.

credible identity' in the present.[123] She refers to this historical cataclysm though the following portrayal of her loss of her physical contact with Fatima:

> I clung to her by the taxi, unwilling to let go or accept that she would come no further with us. To leave her was to leave all that I knew as home, its comfort and security, and for what? A journey to an unfamiliar place and unfamiliar people I did not want to see. When I was eventually persuaded to let her go and made to settle back into the taxi, a silent emptiness descended on me, as if my whole life had ended on that terrible day.[124]

Karmi establishes above a powerful dichotomy between home and exile; familiarity and strangeness; here and there; the past and the present; memory and reality; roots (place) and routes (departure). Karmi does not only want to say that her return to Palestine invokes the tension between the elements of these binaries; she also intends to emphasise that inherent in her departure from her home are memories of loss and distress. Karmi reflects on those memories by closely associating her departure with her loss of contact with Fatima. Throughout her memoir, Karmi implies that Fatima embodies the version of the Palestine that existed before the establishment of Israeli to which she really belonged and the spot she needs to discover to be able 'to find my roots and a credible identity'.[125]

Therefore, Fatima's death signifies the impossibility of Karmi's reconnection with her roots (the death of historical Palestine). The death of Fatima indicates Karmi's persistent inability to 'feel connected to a past' and find 'a context in which I belonged and could claim as truly mine', and restore the coherence and wholeness of 'that I knew as home'.[126] The impossibility of finding Fatima thus reflects the continuity of Karmi's displacement even

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[123] Karmi, *Return*, p.13.
[124] Ibid, p. 265.
[125] Karmi, *Return*, p.13.
[126] Ibid, p.52.

when she is inside today's Palestine. Karmi, for example, narrates that in modern-day Ramallah, 'anomalous and artificial as it was, distorted by four decades of Israeli military occupation', she feels 'something of a tourist, an observer of a scene I was not part of', and not 'enough to restore my sense of self and heal the other rifts in my life'.[127]

Karmi's descriptions of her sense of incoherence and fragmentation in Ramallah correlates with Barghouti's reflections on his return to the same city Karmi mentions. Barghouti puts a great deal of emphasis in his second memoir on the fact that Israel has radically changed the Palestinian topography to the extent 'this Ramallah that I recall in my imagination is just a mirage now'.[128] Due to Israel's transformation of Palestinian reality, Barghouti does not feel involved in the Palestinian scene. For example, while referring to the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, which is the locus of the struggle between Palestinians and Israelis over land and carries myriad of religious, historical and political significances, Barghouti writes:

> Think of the fact that today it is you who is the stranger. You are a stranger to it
> – you, its son, its rightful owner; you who, by virtue of eye and of memory, of
> documents and of history, of inscriptions, colors, trees, Qur'anic verses, poems,
> and age tombstones, are its possessors.[129]

In *Strange Encounters*, Sara Ahmed writes that 'strangers are not simply those who are not known in this dwelling, but those who are, in the very proximity, already recognized as not belonging, as being out of place'.[130] 'Out of place' is the defining feature of Barghouti's presence in Palestine at the time. Barghouti claims that because of his involuntary extended disconnection from his community and historical place, he, upon his return, felt a transition from being a familiar and fully incorporated part of it to being stranger and distanced from it.

[127] Ibid, p.85.
[128] Barghouti, *I Was Born There*, p.66.
[129] Barghouti, *I was Born There*, p.72.
[130] Sara Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-coloniality* (New York, Routledge, 2000), p.21.

While Michael Seidel argues that the return of the exile 'transforms[s] the figure of rupture into a figure of connection', Barghouti, like Karmi, illustrates that his return invokes his initial rupture from his roots and reinforces it.[131]

Karmi contends that 'for us [Palestinian refugees] the past is still the present'.[132] She implies that the temporary returns of exiled Palestinian authors or their protagonists to Palestine trigger the stories of their involuntary departure in 1948, not successful repatriation and reconnection with their roots. Their stories of involuntary departure in 1948 are embedded within the following reflections of exiled Palestinian protagonists on their encounter with Israeli Jews who have taken their homes after their expulsion. 'Naturally we didn't come to tell you [Jewish families] to get out of here', says the protagonist in Kanfani's 'Return to Haifa'.[133] 'What I'm really asking you', Karmi expands:

> is if you feel comfortable being in a country which came into being like that?
> Which had to get rid of people like me and take their place to build its state?
> Which keeps me from returning, from getting my house back? I mean, you can
> see the result: you're physically occupying a house which belonged to other
> people. And you feel nothing about that?[134]

Explicit in the above questions is the wish of exiled Palestinian authors to retrieve the fundamental story which discloses that Israel has come into existence at the expense of expelling Palestinians from their land. As Seidel observes, 'if the exile is the result of the contingent political circumstances […] its victim claims to possess the values of his native place […] he is the truer version of the place from which he is barred'.[135] The Palestinian protagonists use a language that expresses the injustice that has been done to them and their

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[131] Seidel, *Exile and the Narrative Imagination*, p.ix.
[132] Karmi, *Return*, p. 269.
[133] Kanafani, "Returning to Haifa", p. 164.
[134] Karmi, *Return*, p.119.
[135] Seidel, *Exile and the Narrative Imagination*, p. 9.

people by Zionists and they provide a critique of their misuse of power. They shed light on the fact that the need of the Israelis to create a place to live in Palestine caused displacements of Palestinians from their homes and prevented them from returning.

The most intriguing aspect of the above reflections is the attempt of exiled Palestinian protagonists to gauge the possibility of their return to their homes occupied by Israeli Jews. That is, one can argue that implicit in the above passage is an examination by the Palestinian protagonists of the possibility of the co-existence of Israelis and Palestinians in Palestine if Palestinian refugees ever do return. In his last book *Humanism and Democratic Criticism*, Said argues:

> The struggle over Palestine […] cannot really be simply resolved by a technical and ultimately janitorial rearrangement of geography allowing dispossessed Palestinians the right (such as it is) to live in about a zero percent of their land […] nor on the other hand would it be morally acceptable to demand that the Israelis should retreat from the whole former Palestine, now Israel, becoming refugees like Palestinians all over again.[136]

Said does not see Palestine as a place exclusive to Palestinians or Israelis. He believes that any solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict should consider the rights of both peoples to live and let live in Palestine.[137] Also, Said, like Kanafani's protagonist Said, argues in the same context referred to above that 'the conquest of Palestine' by Zionists and expulsion of its people was not 'a necessary one'.[138] Like Said the intellectual and Said the character,

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[136] Said, *Humanism and Democratic Criticism*, p.143.
[137] See also Edward W. Said, 'Bases for Coexistence', in *The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After* (London: Granta, 2000), pp. 205 – 209.
[138] Said, *Humanism and Democratic Criticism*, p.143.

Karmi believes that Israel did not have the right 'to get rid of people like me and take their place to build its state' and 'keeps me from returning, from getting my house back'.[139]

Employing the same logic, Karmi prioritises the issue of the return of Palestinian refugees home in order for justice to come to Palestinians. 'For me', Karmi writes, 'return was at the heart of the issue. Without it, the injustice that had blighted our lives for generations would never cease'.[140] She continues: 'I never once doubted the rightness of my position, or that the crime committed against us in 1948 would somehow be redressed. I could not have lived with myself if I had thought differently'.[141] Karmi in the context of her memoir, like Said in other contexts, puts a particular emphasis on the struggle of the Palestinian people inside Palestine.[142] She relates herself to them as she sees herself as one of custodians of Palestinian history and its national narrative. But she materially differentiates herself from them in the sense that:

> What future we all had lay with those who lived here, in the West Bank, Gaza
>
> and Jerusalem under Israel's occupation, at the mercy of their success or failure
>
> to rebuild our cause. And if ever we went back, it would be through them, and
>
> no one else.[143]

The terminology Karmi uses above shows that she views the return of Palestinian refugees including herself in the future as something uncertain and precarious, although she strongly believes it is a fundamental Palestinian right. Israel, Karmi contends, 'succeeded in fragmenting us beyond recall' in the 1948 Nakba and we 'were scattered all over the world,

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[139] Karmi, *Return*, p.119.
[140] Ibid, p.315.
[141] Ibid.
[142] See Edward W Said, 'Dignity, Solidarity and the Penal Colony', *Counterpunch*, 25 (2003) <http://www.counterpunch.org/2003/09/25/dignity-solidarity-and-the-penal-colony/>[accessed 15 November 2015].
[143] Karmi, *Return*, p. 316.

never to return'.[144] 'The temporal displacement or dispossession' of Palestinian refugees, their exclusion 'from past and future time', as Mattar calls it, has irrevocably obstructed Palestinians from returning to their roots.[145] Their return is not only 'impossible' because Israel obstinately refuses to acknowledge their *haq al'awdah* (right of return), but also due to the fact that 'the gap in time of over fifty years in our collective history since then', as Karmi asserts, 'had made us different people, with new lives and new identities'.[146]

The involuntary absence of Palestinian refugees from their past home for more than half a century is a substantial force that could obscure the link between Palestinian refugees and their native place. Richard van Leeuwen asserts that 'conceptions of space are a unifying, structuring force that is fundamental to our sense of identity and our relationship with the material world. Consequently, a disruption of the ties with the environment inevitably leads to various forms of fragmentation'.[147] Physical and psychic fragmentations are the defining features of the lives of Palestinians expelled from their land in the 1948 Nakba (and 1967 Naksa) and the prevention of their return. Karmi remembers looking down on a night-time Tel Aviv from the windows of a plane taking her back to London 'and thinking hopelessly, "Flotsam and jetsam, that's what we've become, scattered and divided. There's no room for us or our memories here. And it won't ever be reversed"'.[148]

Karmi's above reflection resonates with Said's following comment in *After the Last Sky,* which is worth recalling in this context:

> All of us speak of *awdah,* 'return', but do we mean that literally, or do we
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> mean 'we must return ourselves to ourselves?' The latter is the real point, I

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[144] Ibid, p.314.
[145] Mattar, 'Mourid Barghouti's "Multiple Displacements"', p.109.
[146] Karmi, *Return*, p.314
[147] Van Leeuwen, 'A journey to reality: Mourid Barghouti's *I saw Ramallah*', p.199.
[148] Karmi, *return*, p.1.

think, although I know many Palestinians who want their houses and their way of life back, exactly. But is there any place that fits us, together with our accumulated memoirs and experiences?[149]

Palestinian refugees sustain an image of home that is irreconcilable with the real home they confront or will confront upon return, as Barghouti vividly tells us in his memoirs; the image of home that 'the exile is unable to substitute for another without giving up part of himself'.[150] Whereas the return of Palestinian exiles is supposed to turn their disconnection 'from their roots, their home, their land', into a connection with them, the practical circumstances of their return thwart their repatriation and instead convert them into nomadic people.[151] Unlike the expatriate, the Palestinian exile has to grapple with the fact that return is out of the question and his or her life outside Palestine is subjected to discontinuity. The fact that he or she is an exile unsettles his or her routes and subjects him or her to involuntary relocations. As Barghouti describes it:

> [The Palestinian] suffers miseries trying to obtain a document by which he will be recognized at borders. He suffers miseries trying to obtain a passport from another state because he is stateless and has to go through Kafkaesque interrogations before being granted an entry visa to any place in the world, even the Arab states […]. The Palestinian stripped of an original identity is like a palm tree broken in the middle.

A Final Note

In *Existentialism and Humanism*, Jean-Paul Sartre states that 'existence precedes essence', and he explains that 'we mean that man first of all exists, encounters himself, surges up in the world – and defines himself afterwards […]. Man is nothing but that which he makes of

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[149] Said, *After the Last Sky*, p. 33.
[150] van Leeuwen, 'A journey to reality: Mourid Barghouti's *I saw Ramallah*', p. 202.
[151] Said, '"The Mind of Winter"', p.51.

himself'.[152] I think it is appropriate to suggest that Sartre's formulation correlates with the treatment of roots and routes by my authors and my engagement of Clifford's phrase 'roots always precede routes' in this chapter.[153] For example, Stein's words 'I am an American and I have lived half my life in Paris, not the half that made me but the half in which I made what I made' echoes Sartre's last line quoted above.[154] Stein is keen to say that she chooses what she wants, that is she determined her essence by means of choice. Paris, Stein asserts, is the context where she wants to be as in Paris she is able to make 'what I made'. Implied in Stein's words is what Sartre calls, in the same book quoted above, "subjectivity".[155] According to Sartre, this stage occurs 'after we have made ourselves what we are', which for Stein happened in America. America is what 'made me', Stein emphasises.[156] It is the place where her roots are or the foundation of her existence is – an existence that preceded her voyage out/route to Paris to hone her essence.

In the context of Palestinian exile, the existence of the protagonist, as Barghouti observes above, is controlled by forces outside the control of the Palestinian protagonist. The Israeli control of Palestinian lives makes the Palestinian protagonist vulnerable. Barghouti laments:

> Israel has decided to put us in cans. Every crossroads is a cement can that we are stuffed into. Our movements, on the spot or in any direction, are hostage to a signal from their hand […] yes! One of the things for which the occupation will not be forgiven is its narrowing of its victims' ambitions. It hurls them, or most of them, into an abyss of small wishes and simple dreams.[157]

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[152] Jean-Paul Sartre, *Existentialism and Humanism*, trans. & intro. by Philip Mairet (London: Methuen, 1948), p.28.
[153] Clifford, *Routes*, p.3.
[154] Stein, *What Are Masterpieces?*, p. 62.
[155] Sartre, *Existentialism and Humanism*, p.28.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Barghouti, *I Was Born There*, p.130.

Said has also reflected on the harsh circumstances that Palestinians experience under Israeli occupation and the effects of that even on Palestinians living outside Palestine (something Barghouti's memoirs account for). Against this background, Said asserts that Barghouti's *I Saw Ramallah* is an 'existential account'.[158] Said is right to classify Barghouti's text in this way because Barghouti himself sees his Palestinian people as a people who know nothing but 'existential crises'.[159]

However, the juxtaposition of exiled Palestinian authors and American expatriate writers has revealed some contradiction in Said's application of his theory of exile to expatriates and exiles, particularly Palestinian exiles. At one point, Said suggests that the writer in 'exile' (by which he means both the expatriate and exile) 'must cultivate a scrupulous (not indulgent or sulky) subjectivity'.[160] As I explained previously, Said in this context argues that the exile should not spend his or her life in exile mourning his or her condition of exile; rather, he or she should turn exile (tragedy) into an enabling condition. Whilst Said sometimes applies this theory to Palestinian exiled authors, he concedes in other contexts that the historical and political specificities of Palestinian exile thwart the attempts of Palestinians in exile to do that. For example, Said, in *The Question of Palestine*, writes: 'the Palestinian does not construct his life outside Palestine; he cannot free himself from the scandal of total exile; all his institutions repeat the fact of his exile'.[161] While I find Said's reference to the Palestinian exile as scandal confusing, I think he wants to refer to the existential loss – loss of roots – that haunts Palestinian exiles – which is a loss visible to the world. In another context Said contends that 'one must never minimize the effect of exile upon even the most successful bourgeois', as 'the achievements of exile are permanently undermined by the loss of

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[158] Said, 'Forward', p. vii.
[159] Barghouti, *I Was Born There*, p.130.
[160] Said, *Reflections on Exile*, p.184.
[161] Ibid, p.154.

something left behind forever'.[162] Said writes that 'how rich our mutability, how easily we change (and are changed) from one thing to another, how unstable our place – and all because of the missing foundation of our existence, the lost ground of our origin, the broken link with our land and our past'.[163] And he associates the fragile 'presence' of Palestinian intellectuals, to use Sartre's word, with loss and inaccessibility of roots and grounds: 'do we exist? What proof do we have? The further we get from the Palestine of our past, the more precarious our states, the more disrupted our being, the more intermittent our presence'.[164] Said wants to say that the presence of Palestinians after they lost their homeland has become vulnerable, fragmentary and easily broken. For Heidegger, having a place to dwell is a fact of being, a human condition and sign of presence.[165] Having lost their roots and place in Palestine, unable to return to it and exposed to a life of placelessness, the Palestinian exile does not feel that his or her existence is complete.

While Modernist American expatriate writers view their roots as a foundation from which their essence originates, and accordingly they choose to reside in a certain spot in the world, changing it voluntarily, for exiled Palestinian authors roots and foundation are lost and the relocations of their routes happen involuntarily. Whilst the expatriate decides when to return, the exile has to wait for a change in the country from which he or she was exiled that allows him or her to come back. This condition of waiting for a change means that the exile's whole existence is concentrated on the land he or she was expelled from. If Stein, Wolfe and Hemingway have 'the right to go somewhere else as we had always gone' and 'they could always come back' in the words of Hemingway's protagonist, Barghouti and Karmi embody

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[162] Said, *Reflections on Exile*, p.173.
[163] Said, *After the Last Sky*, p.26.
[164] Ibid, p.34.
[165] Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, p. 145.

the deprivation of these human values.[166] I conclude this chapter with the suggestion that one could possibly argue that whereas exiles are deprived of the following human values provided by Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 13, expatriates possess them:

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.[167]

The Modernist American expatriate author represents one's right to move freely between his or her place of origin and different countries around the world, but the exiled Palestinian writer manifests the lack of this human right.

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[166] Hemingway, *Green Hills of Africa*, p.193
[167] United Nations General Assembly, 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights' (Paris 10 December 1948).

Conclusion

In 1990 John Glad edited a book out of papers submitted to 'a conference of writers in exile', held on December 2-5, 1987 in Vienna by the Wheatland Foundation of New York.[1] Glad elicits from the arguments of the authors who participated in this conference – among whom were the Palestinian poet Anton Shammas (b. 1950), the Czech poet Jan Vladislav (1923 – 2009) and the Russian poet Joseph Brodsky (1940 – 1996) – that exile, unlike expatriation, 'is a political rather than an artistic concept. Exile is when you can't go back'.[2] Glad remarks that the distinction between exile and expatriation can be made by examining 'the circumstances under which' the writer in 'exile' departs from his or home, and whether he or she could 'return' to it. Glad, therefore, wonders: 'did not Hemingway return to the United States? Was Gertrude Stein an "exile"'?[3]

Glad's study underscores that there is a growing interest in finding the differences between the exile and the expatriate. However, the desire to understand these differences has, to the best of my knowledge, not previously come to fruition. While some scholars in comparative, postcolonial and diaspora studies have invoked, like Glad, the difference between the exile and the expatriate, none of them has conducted a rigorous study that examines this difference. Expanding on insights from those scholars, most notably Said and McCarthy, I have substantially and in a comparative framework suggested ways in which we can differentiate between the exile (in this case the Palestinian) and the expatriate (in this case the American).

In Chapter One, I argued that one aspect of the difference between the exile and the expatriate lies in the different circumstances that trigger their departures from home. I

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[1] John Glad, *Literature in Exile* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), p.vii.
[2] pp.viii-ix.
[3] Ibid, ix.

showed that the departure of post-1948 exiled Palestinian writers from their homeland, as represented in Turki's memoirs, is imposed by a colonial situation and that Palestinians are in search of a refuge from war catastrophes. By contrast, the departure of Modernist American expatriate authors to Europe, as chronicled in Cowley's memoirs, is elective and that Modernist American expatriate authors represent the Modernist experience of crossing boundaries in defiance of national enclosure.

In Chapter Two, I suggested that another aspect of the distinction between the exile and the expatriate manifests itself in the ways in which they represent the notions of placelessness and mobility. I demonstrated that Hemingway's expatriate characters are engaged in a voluntary centrifugal movement away from home that increases their sense of freedom, while Jabra's exiled Palestinian characters are involved in a centripetal mobility towards their native land that expresses their desire to return to it.

In Chapter Three, I proposed that we can tease out the nuances between exiles and expatriates by looking at their different representations of their relationships with their places of origin. I argued that Said uses his 'voyage in' to the Palestinian context to identify with his Palestinian people and to contribute to the (re-)construction of a Palestinian national narrative, while Stein performs a displaced relation with the US and views her voyage out of the American context as a precondition for creating a distinctive personal narrative out of the collective national narrative.

My final chapter explored other aspects of the difference between the exile and the expatriate by examining a range of exilic Palestinian and modern American expatriate works. I suggested that nuanced differences in the representations of 'roots' and 'routes' by Modernist

American expatriate authors and post-1948 exiled Palestinian writers echo the various forms of departures and returns they represent. That chapter articulated that Modernist American expatriate writers represent their return (or the return of their protagonists) to the US as something possible and depends on their choice, intention and desire. This in turn reflects that they represent voluntary exile or expatriation. By contrast, post-1948 exiled Palestinian writers view homecoming as something they (or their protagonists) have no control over, which shows that their departure (exile) was imposed on them by an external force.

The distinction this thesis has made between exilic Palestinian and expatriate American literatures will hopefully pave the way for more future studies on the connections between expatriate American and exilic Israeli (and Palestinian) writing. The representation of the Jew/the American by Modernist American expatriate authors, as a wanderer or a displaced figure and a rebel who is searching for a place to live, should remind us of the fact that the colonization of Palestine by Israel was the culmination of finding a place they claimed to be vacant and therefore could be peopled by Jews scattered around the world. In this sense, one can aim to interrogate the connection between the expatriation/travel of American authors and the colonization of Palestine by Jewish Israelis. One can investigate whether the expatriation/travel of American (and also British) authors to Palestine has involved an imperialist attitude that facilitated the colonization of Palestine by Jewish Israelis. Postcolonial studies tends to investigate how travel writing, of which expatriation is a form, can support the discourses of imperialism.[4] A postcolonial study should therefore consider

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[4] Justin D. Edwards refers to David Spurr's *Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourses in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (1993) and Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992) as exemplars of postcolonial studies that investigate how travel writing 'often supports the discourses of imperialism', *Postcolonial Literature* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 14. See also the following words of Said in the preface to *Culture and Imperialism* '[the novel is] immensely important in the formation of imperial attitudes, references, and experiences'. I earlier suggested that Hemingway's seeing Africa as home can also be seen as an imperialist attitude and of course his description of Palestine might be indicative.

the travels of the British author William Makepeace Thackeray and the American writer Mark Twain to Palestine and their comments on Palestine and the Palestinians in *Notes of A Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* (1846) and *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), respectively. In his introduction to *Palestinian Walks: Notes on a Vanishing Landscape* (2007), Raja Shehadeh argues that Palestine in the works of these two travel authors has been 're-invented, with devastating consequences to its original inhabitants'.[5] Twain, taken as an example, claims that '[Palestine] is a hopeless, dreary, heart-broken land […] Palestine sits in sackcloth and ashes […] Palestine is desolate and unlovely'.[6] And of its Arab inhabitants, Twain writes, they were 'all abject beggars by nature, instinct and education'.[7]

Twain's derogatory descriptions of the Palestinian land and people have been propagated by Israeli governments and US propagandists for Israel and they facilitated Israeli colonialism of Palestine.[8] This attitude can be seen as not only orientalist but also as imperialist. One, of course, thinks of Edward Said's statement that orientalism is 'the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it'.[9] Of the imperialism, Said writes: 'the main battle in imperialism is over land, of course […] who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it, who kept it going, who won it back, and who now plans its future'.[10] Zionism can be seen as the continuity of US (or Western) imperialism/neo-imperialism. As Kathleen Christison remarks, 'U.S sights fastened on Palestine – the Holy Land – as the place where the ancient kingdom of Israel must be restored and repossessed

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[5] Raja Shehadeh, *Palestinian Walks: Notes on a Vanishing Landscape* (London: Profile Books, 2007), p.xii.

[6] Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* (Dorset: Element Books, 2008 [1869]), p.606.

[7] Ibid, p.504.

[8] On this issue, see Robert Mackey, 'Netanyahu's Embrace of Mark Twain', *The New York Times*, 20 May 2009.

[9] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2006 [1978]), p.3.

[10] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. xiii.

from Muslim intruders'.[11] Also, early twentieth-century policy makers in the United States thought about the Palestinian situation 'within an orientalist framework in which Palestine stood forth as a holy land destined by divine writ for reclamation by Christians and Jews and in which the native Arab inhabitants were unimportant'.[12]

Additionally, this thesis might facilitate another comparative study between Modern(ist) American literature and contemporary Israeli Writing. Modern(ist) American authors seem to depict in their works that the colonisation of America by the Puritans was premised on myths glorifying a foreign land they need to live in, ignoring the existence of its native inhabitants.[13] One therefore might suggest that some American expatriate characters and their creators feel placeless in the US due to their feeling that 'America' was seized by a colonial force. In similar fashion to what Zionists did in Palestine in 1948 and afterwards, the Puritans claimed the American land and 'subjugate[d it] in a cartographic as well as military sense'.[14] The American author Williams Carlos Williams, in *In The American Grain* (1925), revises American history and gives voice to the native Americans silenced and marginalised by the Puritans; he writes that 'I do believe the average American to be an Indian, but an Indian robbed of his world'.[15] The Puritans attempted to encode a version of American history that views them as first citizens coming into the New World. As such, they impose a narrative that

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[11] Kathleen Christison, *Perceptions of Palestine: Their Influence on U.S. Middle East Policy* (California: California University Press, 2001), p.19.

[12] Ibid, p. 25.

[13] With the following words Frederick Jackson Turner opens *The Frontier in American history*: 'American history has been in large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development', Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: R. E. Krieger Pub. Co., 1976 [1893]), p. 1.

[14] Paul Giles, *The Global Remapping of American Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), p.7. This potential project would lend support to Salaita's project *The Holy Land in Transit* in which he examines the similarities between rhetoric employed by early colonialists in North American and that employed by Zionist immigrants in Palestine.

[15] William Carlos Williams, *In the American Grain* (New York: New Direction Books, 1956 [1925]), p. 128.

negates the existence of America's native people before they conquer their land.[16] Analogously, a few Israeli novelists cautiously tend to acknowledge that Palestinians existed in what is now Israel before the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 and the tragedy of Palestinian exile. An example is David Grossman (b. 1954) in *The Yellow Wind* (1988). Grossman argues that Palestinians who were exiled from their homes in 1948 try to 'make use of the ancient Jewish strategy of exile' by stressing their right to exist in their homeland and their refusal to adapt to any other place in their exile.[17]

Williams' above words also bring to my mind the crisis of identity that the protagonist of the Palestinian-American author Susan Abulhawa's *Mornings in Jenin* (2010) represents. Ismael was born to a Palestinian family, and during the Nakba he was stolen from his Palestinian family and raised by an Israeli family. As the novel evolves, we discover that the baby Ismael grows up as David 'who will unwittingly fight against his own people [Palestinians] in wars to come'.[18] This probably indicates that the touchstone of Israeli homeland (and identity) is the Palestinian root that was snatched and reconstructed by Jewish Israelis. This colonial imposition is comparable to that of the colonisation of Native Americans by the Puritans, I think.

These issues will perhaps be at the heart of my future research and teaching classes at An-Najah University in Nablus, where I am supposed to be the director of their Minor in American Studies. The subjects this thesis hoped to cover and its wider implications will inform my teaching of most of the courses offered in this minor, namely modern American

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[16] It is interesting to refer in this light to the 1991 novel *Almanac of the Dead*, a narrative that attempts to redefine the history of America from the standpoint of Native American voices. In *The Global Remapping of American Literature*, Giles notes that the author of the novel Leslie Marmon Silko herself 'has described the U.S. government as an illegitimate enterprise founded on land stolen from Native American peoples', p.20.

[17] David Grossman, *The Yellow Wind*, trans. by Haim Watzman (London: Jonathan Cape, 1988), p. 7.

[18] Susan Abulhawa, *Mornings in Jenin* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010 [2006]).

literature, postcolonialism, orientalism, Arab-American literature, translanticism, American autobiography and comparative literature.[19] My organisation of these courses will probably be informed by a comparative/contrapuntal methodology not only because comparativism has emerged as 'the natural site' around which to organise cross linguistic, cultural and national literatures and courses, but also because I will be teaching these courses in the West Bank.[20] Tom Sperlinger's *Romeo and Juliet in Palestine: Teaching Under Occupation* (2015) has alerted me to the fact that students' reading of literary texts in the West Bank (and possibly their teachers) could be driven by a comparative methodology. The life of Palestinian students and teachers under occupation and the fictional world they navigate in the classroom can be read contrapuntally.

My research on exile and expatriation at Lancaster University has also reinforced my contrapuntal perspective on life and literature. Not only do I simultaneously think of two literatures but also of two environments: one I associate with physical insecurity (Palestine/the Arab world/the exile) and one with 'security' (UK/the West/the expatriate). I feel like an exile who, in Said's words, 'never sees things in isolation' and his or her 'habits of life, expression or activity in the new environment inevitably occur against the memory of things in the other environment'.[21] While living here (in the UK) I recall my memories there (in Palestine) and once I am back there in Palestine I will probably be thinking of my life experience here in the UK.

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[19] Minor in American Studies, (Nablus, An-najha National University, 2015) http://www.najah.edu/print/node/33517 [accessed 08 Jan 2016].
[20] Ali Behdad and Dominic R. D. Thomas, 'Introduction', in *A Companion to Comparative Literature*, p.10.
[21] Said, 'Intellectual Exile', p.121; Said, *Reflections on Exile*, p.148.

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