THE REFLECTION OF ISRAEL'S FOUNDING YEARS 1940- 1949 IN AMOS OZ'S A TALE OF LOVE AND DARKNESS AND ANTON SHAMMAS' ARABESQUES

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ABSTRACT

THE REFLECTION OF ISRAEL'S FOUNDING YEARS 1940- 1949 IN AMOS

OZ'S A TALE OF LOVE AND DARKNESS AND ANTON SHAMMAS'

ARABESQUES

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The aim of this thesis is to analyze how the foundation years of the State of Israel between the years 1940 and 1949 are reflected in Amos Oz's *A Tale of Love and Darkness* and Anton Shammas's *Arabesque.* Both of them are autobiographical novels and two important examples of the Modern Israeli novel. There are three distinctive phenomena from these years. These are the identity conflict or crisis, the trauma of the founding years' generation in Israel and nationalism. These two prominent novels of Modern Israeli literature have been analyzed on the basis of these stated three phenomena. The results of this study show that historical incidences have great impact on novels, their authors, and on literature as a whole. At the same time, with this study the Arab- Israeli conflict has been analyzed from a different perspective, and it presents an understanding of how the Arab- Israeli conflict has been depicted in literature. In this way, it has opened a new field for prospective studies.

Keywords: the Arab- Israeli conflict, the Modern Israeli novel, the founding years of Israel, Amos Oz, Anton Shammas

ÖZ

İSRAİL'İN KURULUŞ YILLARININ: 1940- 1949, AMOS OZ'UN AŞK VE

KARANLIK'A ANTON SHAMMAS'NIN ARABESQUES'A YANSIMASI

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Bu tezin amacı İsrail'in kuruluş döneminin, 1940 ve 1949 yılları özelinde Amos Oz'un *Aşk ve Karanlık* ve Anton Shammas'nın *Arabesque* isimli romanlara nasıl yansıdığını incelemektir. Romanların her ikisi de Modern İsrail romanının önemli yapıtlarındandır ve otobiyografik özellikler taşımaktadırlar. Bu yılların belirgin üç olgusu vardır. Bunlar kimlik çatışmaları ya da bunalımları, İsrail'de kuruluş yılı neslinin yaşadığı travma ve de milliyetçiliktir. İsrail Edebiyatı'nın önde gelen bu iki romanı, belirtilen bu üç olgu bağlamında incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçlar tarihsel olayların romanın, yazarının yani edebiyatın üzerinde çok büyük etkileri olduğunu göstermiştir. Aynı zamanda bu çalışma ile Arap- İsrail meselesi farklı bir açıdan incelenmiş olup, Arap-İsrail sorunun edebiyatta nasıl tasvir edildiğini analiz etme fırsatı elde edilmiştir. Bu sayede, yeni çalışmalar için farklı bir araştırma alanı da açılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Arap- İsrail sorunu, Modern İsrail romanı, İsrail'in kuruluş yılları, Amos Oz, Anton Shammas

To My Family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

IDF   Israel Defense Force

PLAN D   Plan Dalet

UN   The United Nations

UNSCOP   The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine

US   United States

WW I   World War I

WW II   World War II

DDT   Dichloro Diphenyl Trichloroethane

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The world witnessed two savage, brutal and inhuman wars, the First and Second World Wars, in the first half of the 20th century. In those years, the Middle East was one of the most affected regions in the world. After each of these wars, while the Middle Eastern map had changed dramatically, new states and conflicts had emerged as well. Out of them, the Arab-Israeli problem has become one of the most hotly debated contemporary conflicts of the Middle East.

Even if this contemporary Arab-Israeli conflict originally dated back to the First World War years, its culmination occurred with the 1948 War, which lasted nearly twenty months from the United Nations partition resolution in November 1947 to the final cease- fire between Israel and Syria in July 1949. The 1948 War has been so substantial that those twenty months have been regarded as the defining moment for the whole region via the destruction of Arab Palestine and the foundation of a new state, Israel. It was a war that defined not only the future of the Palestinians and the Jews, but also the political situation of other Arab states. Within three years after the 1948 War, the prime ministers of Lebanon and Egypt and the king of Jordan were assassinated, and the president of Syria and the king of Egypt were overthrown by military coups. In this regard, since as a starting point of the Arab- Israeli conflict, those years have carried significant value in terms of regional politics, this thesis

chooses these foundation periods of the Israeli State on purpose, rather than some other years and historical incidents.

Additionally, this study directs the lens of literature as politics to the foundation years of the Jewish State rather than just using historical lenses and providing historical data or the theories of international relations. In this regard, this thesis provides possible way to survey the Arab-Israeli conflict from an unusual perspective by showing how historical incidents shape the way of thinking of novelists, and by highlighting a new angle and creating a new field for Middle Eastern Studies, namely the correlation between history and literature. Although there have been studies focusing on the relationship between literature and history, studies regarding this relationship in the survey of the Israeli and Palestinian issue are not so common. In this sense, this thesis tries to take a picture of the most common issue of the Middle East, the conflict of Arab-Israel with unusual lens by studying history, politics and literature at the same time.

This thesis is also significant in terms of its future implications since it aims at contributing to prospective studies regarding the issue of Israel- Palestine and the different historical periods or substantial incidents of by showing that this conflict can be examined by means of different novelists' point of view. Namely, the methodology and the idea of literature as politics used in this thesis will be beneficial in understanding and examining other important issues in the region through literary eyes and the novelists' lenses. To be more specific, whereas this thesis concentrated on the foundation of Israel and the 1948 War, one of the main themes of the fourth generation writers in modern Israeli literature, prospective studies can focus on other

themes of this generation such as the Holocaust and the destruction of the European Jews.[1] In addition to its bringing together history, politics and literature at the same time in a study and creating a new field and perspective for studying the Arab-Israeli conflict, this survey is of importance thanks to its future implications for prospective studies.

The main aim of this thesis is to create and form literary points of view by looking at selected modern Israeli novelists' perspective on this hotly debated contemporary issue, the Arab-Israeli Conflict. By means of literature, this survey will show how the founding years of the Israel are understood and reflected in their writings. That is, it will emphasize the reflections of the historical sequences and information about Israel in the 1930s and 1940s in literature, specifically the writings of modern Hebrew novelists. Rather than giving and focusing on the whole historical sequence of this conflict, this thesis will be concerned with the founding years of the Jewish State, 1930s and 1940s due to significance of this period and the 1948 War for regional politics as stated above.

This thesis is composed of four main chapters, including this introduction and conclusion at the end. The second chapter of this thesis deals with the historical background of the foundation years of Israel. In the analysis of the reflection of the founding years of the Israeli State in Amos Oz' *A Tale of Love and Darkness* and Anton Shammas' *Arabesques*, devoting the second chapter to the objective study of the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict is necessary to distinguish the historical reality

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[1] Gershon Shaked, *Modern İbrani Edebiyatı Tarihi: Nesir (1880- 1980)*, Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2007. p. 12

and fact from propaganda and foundational myths of the states which can be found abundantly in the state formation process. To refrain from these foundational myths, preliminary works of various historians studied the founding years of the Israeli State are benefited in this study. Additionally, since the late 1980s a new group of Israeli critical scholars, called "new historians"[2] whose studies led to a huge debate within Israel, criticized and studied mainly Israel's foundational myths after the release of governmental documents as a result of liberal archival policy which made a large amount of the 1948 War documents accessible. It should be emphasized here "that while writing the historical background of this study, the literature of not only new historians, and Arab historians, but also the critics of new historians, have been benefited in order to present the most objective historical background. In this chapter, initially the emergence of Zionist ideology whose main objective was the national revival of the Jews in Palestine[3] and the struggles of the Zionists to declare the Jewish State in Palestine will be described. Then, the effects of the World War I years on Palestine and the Zionist movement will be covered. Next, after an analysis of the British Mandate years in Palestine, the United Nations Partition Resolution and the 1948 War will be presented as both a final focus of the second chapter and a road to the foundation of Israel. All of these historical developments have been significant and should be included not just because they have influenced and inspired Hebrew authors and their works, but also because they have been the watershed of the history of Israel and the Middle East as well.

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[2] The prominent historians of this new group are Ilan Pappe, Avi Shlaim and Benny Morris.

[3] Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000), p.1, 2

The third chapter of this thesis is concerned with how these founding years have affected modern Israeli novelists' thought. This chapter is organized around four major topics. First, a brief history of modern Hebrew literature will be given. Then, background information regarding two Israeli authors, Amos Oz and Anton Shammas will be clarified. The reason why these writers and their novels, respectively *a Tale of Love and Darkness* and *Arabesques,* were selected rather than other modern Hebrew novels and authors will be presented. The fact that Amos Oz is one of the most famous Israeli authors not only in Turkey, and but also all over the world, as well as his being most probably the best known of writer of his generation[4] cannot be the only reason for choosing his novel to analyze in this thesis. Rather, the fact that both of these novels contain autobiographic elements which reflect the reality in the best way, instead of just being fiction has contributed to the selection process of these novels in addition to other reasons that will be covered in this chapter. As well as presenting the reason why the founding years of Israel rather than some other period have been focused on in this thesis, the first part of this chapter also aims at presenting convincing reasons for the selection of these two novels and authors. This is followed by a brief history of the modern Israeli Novel, in the second part of this chapter, the reasons why three prominent themes, namely, the issue of identity conflict, the trauma of the founding years' generation and the issue of nationalism have been selected as the three key points of view from which these two novels are going to be analyzed. Finally, in the following sections of this chapter, the

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[4]Ruth Franklin, Should Novels and Politics Mix?, 2 November, 2011, http://www.tnr.com/article/the-read/96940/irmgard-keum-nazi-germany-amoz-oz-israel accessed on 30 March, 2012.

analysis of these two novels from these three perspectives of prominent themes of that period will be discussed.

The fourth and final chapter will end with a conclusion of this thesis. In the conclusion, not only will the main ideas of this thesis be re-emphasized, but also the main conclusions reached at the end of this study will be included. At the end of this chapter, the value of this work and whether it can be applied to other time periods in the Arab-Israeli conflict will be emphasized.

CHAPTER 2

THE FOUNDING YEARS OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL (1897- 1949)

2.1. THE BIRTH OF ZIONISM

The roots of Political Zionism date back to the late 19th century and political conditions in central and Eastern Europe. Zionism emerged as a national revival and solution to the problems of the Jews. The Jewish problem resulted from basically two facts: the Jews were spread throughout the world, and in each country they were in a minority status, living under bad socio-economic conditions and exposed to assimilation policies. The unbearable living conditions of the Jews and the Zionist solution had shaped the Jews' way of thinking to a great extent. The Zionist answer to these problems was ultimately political independence and founding a state in Zion, the biblical name of Jerusalem.[5] Accordingly, Russian and Eastern European Jews adopted this ideology, since they cannot rescue themselves individually, but collectively by concentrating in Palestine and achieving nationhood.[6] They could achieve this only by accomplishing two phases. The first one was mobilizing the Jews by making them accept Zionism. The second phase could be accomplished after the first one, it was the ultimate Zionist solution, creating an independent Jewish State by means of waves of immigration to Palestine. At this point, it is apparent that

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[5] Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000), p.1, 2

[6] Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist Arab Conflict, 1881- 2001*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2001), p. 19

the initial phase of the Zionism revolved around mobilizing the Jewish masses in Russia and Europe and creating more institutional organizations. This enthusiasm and passion for founding a state was combined with the fear of extermination due to Russian anti-semitic policies. In that context, immigration from Russia and Europe appeared as the only solution to many Jews who had two options-the US or Palestine. Even if Zionism appealed to the masses of Russian Jews, some preferred migration to the US. On the other hand, there were also some Russian Jews who started to think about immigration to Palestine and much of starting impetus for action came from students known as Hovevei Tzion (Lovers of Zion)[7]. They created independent unions in many towns in 1881 and 1882 by discussing the nature of the Jewish existence in Palestine.[8] One of the first and most active groups that originated within this framework was named *Bilu*[9]*,* and the very first attempts of modern Zionism to colonize Palestine dated from the entrance of *Bilu* into Palestine[10]. They were the ones who could achieve the first immigration to Palestine in 1882, a phenomenon called *Aliyah*.[11]

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[7] Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 42

[8] Ibid, p. 42

[9] An abbreviation derived from the text of Isaiah 2:5 that reads "Bet Ya'acov lechu ve nelcha" (O' House of Jacob, come ye, and let us go) the Bilu group was formed by high school and university students in Kharkov in 1881; they immediately sent a small group to immigrate to Palestine and were the initiators of the First Aliyah., Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, p. 42

[10] Ibid, p. 42

[11] This first immigration wave was called as the First 'Aliya' in the Zionist historiography of which meaning is 'ascent' and is used since immigration to Palestine was perceived as an event that upgraded the Jew to a higher form of living., Ilan Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, (Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 38

It is both significant and interesting to highlight that while on the one hand there was an ideology, political Zionism which appeared as a solution to the problems of the Jews living in Europe and Russia, by creating independent Jewish State in Palestine, on the other hand, there were the local inhabitants of Palestine. Since this ideology emerged as a European phenomenon, it was not paying attention to the inhabitants of Palestine as Europeans did.[12] European travelers wrote more than 3.000 books about Palestine during the 19th century, and all of them depicted Palestine as primitive and waiting to be rescued by Europeans.[13] In line with this, the Zionist thinkers perceived Palestine as being under occupation of 'foreigners' and had to be repossessed. Howeveri Palestine was neither 'occupied' land nor 'empty' and the inhabitants of Palestine were either invisible to them or they seemed among nature's hardship.[14] Since the affairs between local Palestinians and the Zionists were seen in this way, some Palestinian leaders regarded Zionism as a political movement which aimed to buy land and power in Palestine; nevertheless, its destructive potential was not completely perceived in 1905 and 1910. On the other hand, some Palestinian notables and intellectuals may have comprehended the coming danger, because they made some efforts to convince the Ottoman government to limit Jewish immigration and settlement, if not completely prevent it. [15] All in all, the affairs between the Zionists and the local Palestinians in late 19th century were not as complex as in the 1930s during the British Mandate Period. The Zionist movement was waiting for a

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[12] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 35

[13] Ibid, p. 34

[14] Ilan Pappe, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2006), p. 11

[15] Pappe, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, p. 13

leader towards the last decade of the 19th century to completely change the fates of two nations.

2.1.1. Theodor Herzl, as the Father of the Political Zionism

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the Zionist movement was maturating without a prominent leader until Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), a Hungarian born Jew, attracted by current of Zionism. He was commonly thought as the political father of Zionism although the ideology was not first asserted by him. In line with this, he also stated in the preface of his famous book, *Der Judenstaat*, his idea of the foundation of Jewish state was not new; anti-Semitic politics made this necessary and urgent. [16] Accordingly, the rise of anti-Semitism in Europe also motivated Herzl in part to be interested in the Jewish problem. What differentiated Herzl from previous scholars, attracted by the Jewish problem, was his sense of urgency and his success in putting Zionism on the international agenda. [17] According to him, the problems of the Jews in Europe would not come to an end. His solution was so simple and clear-abandoning Europe to create a new life in Palestine. Not only did he warn the Jews on these issues, but he also wrote *Der Judenstaat (The Jewish State)* in 1896. In his book he outlined a roadmap for the prospective Jewish State. When his request for Palestine from the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II was not accepted, he looked for and investigated every possible alternative for the Jewish State, such as Argentina. [18]

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[16] Ritchie Ovendale, *The Origins of the Arab Israeli Wars*, (Great Britain: Pearson Education, 2004), p. 5

[17] Theodor Herzl, *Yahudi Devleti*, (İstanbul: Ataç Yayınları, 2009), p. 12

[18] Ibid, p. 41- 42

However, he did not give a definite answer to the dilemma of whether Palestine or Argentina should be the location. In addition to this, in case the Jewish State were to be founded in Palestine, he did not make any open reference to the fate of the local Arab population of Palestine, in spite of his awareness of their existence and the forthcoming potential problems. [19]

The publication of *Der Judenstaat* is generally regarded as the beginning of the history of Zionist ideology. The publication of his book resulted in its author's name being associated with political Zionism, the view that the Jewish problem was a political question with international roots; therefore, it had to be solved through international politics, which was different from Hovevei Zion[20]. Herzl also took the empty leadership position of political Zionism.

2.1.2. The First Zionist Congress in Basel

As a leader of nascent political Zionism, Herzl arranged the First Zionist Congress in August 1897 in Basel, Switzerland. The agenda of Basel Program resulted in two important consequences. The first one was the emergence of the World Zionist Organization, a national flag and a national anthem, and the Jewish National Fund[21] which might have been the most important one given its efforts of supplying funds. The second consequence was the clarification of a solid aim for Zionism, the creation of a 'home' for the Jews in Palestine. The usage of 'home' was deliberately preferred since this word was less provocative than 'state'. Whichever word was used, the

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[19] Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist Arab Conflict, 1881- 2001*, p. 21

[20] Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, p.3

[21] Ovendale, *The Origins of the Arab Israeli Wars*, p. 6

Zionist movement had a concrete aim after the First World Zionist Congress, creating a Jewish State in Palestine. Herzl summarized this by emphasizing the significant consequence of the Basel Program, and noted in his diary these sentences: "At Basel I founded the Jewish State. If I said this out loud today, I would be answered by universal laughter. Perhaps in five years, and certainly in fifty, everyone will know it."[22]

Zionism, with the exception of a few marginal groups, had a tendency towards neglecting the Arabs living in Palestine. Instead, the Zionists focused on their principal concern, the Jewish problem and the Jewish presence in Palestine, rather than facing the reality in Palestine. Being ambiguously aware of this reality and the potential problems, the Zionists did not pay much attention to its seriousness and hoped that a solution could eventually be found. Bypassing the inhabitants of Palestine was actually a trend in the Zionist movement. [23] In addition to this, Herzl was obsessed with great power support for the movement and he carried out unsuccessful negotiations with the leaders the Ottoman Empire and Germany. If the great powers did not support the Zionist ideology, the Jews would not be successful in pushing out the Ottoman rulers and founding a state by means of their immigration waves.[24] Till the end of his life, Herzl relied upon the belief that Zionism could not be successful without the favor of the European powers. Today it can be clearly seen that this was a correct assessment; choosing Britain he could find an appropriate ally

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[22] Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, p.3

[23] Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, p.3, 4

[24] Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist Arab Conflict, 1881- 2001*, p. 21

for his movement. [25] Being allied with the great power of the time became a central theme in the Zionist strategy. The dominant great power of the Middle East changed over time. The first was the Ottoman Empire, after World War I (WW I), it became Britain, finally, in the wake of World War II (WW II), it was the US. Even if the great powers changed over time, the Zionists' seeking great power support in the struggle for statehood remained constant. [26] This was going to be a fundamental feature of political Zionism throughout its history.

2.2. THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

At the very beginning of the 20th century, while the Zionist ideology was taking shape, defining its political strategy and concrete goal, the political scene of not only the Middle East, but also the world would witness significant events. The first one was the British-Zionist Relations and the second one was WW I and its consequences. Both Britain and the Zionists would experience a totally different era. As Britain increased its role in Middle Eastern politics in that period, the Zionism began to look for British support. Therefore, it is time to mention the roots of British and Zionist rapprochement and how it affected the future of the coming Jewish State in Palestine.

2.2.1. The Origins of the British-Zionist Relations and Chaim Weizmann

Herzl died in 1904 and his successor Chaim Weizmann, a Russian Jew born in 1874, settled in Manchester, deliberately choosing Great Britain to live in, as it was the one

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[25] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 35

[26] Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, p.5

country likely to have sympathy with the Zionist movement.[27] As Herzl is regarded as the father of political Zionism, similarly Weizmann can be thought of as the master architect of the alliance between Zionism and Britain.

When Weizmann's contributions to the Zionism are taken into consideration, two important efforts become apparent. Firstly, he was successful in resolving of the ongoing disagreements between political Zionism and practical Zionism. As portrayed before, political Zionists were the followers of Herzl by highlighting international favor and practical Zionism focused on Jewish immigration to Palestine, acquisition of land, construction of Jewish settlement and economy in Palestine. Weizmann became the person who presented a new concept, "synthetic Zionism" by stressing that the two approaches were actually two sides of the same coin at the 8th Zionist Congress.[28] In this way, he could combine two fractions of the Zionism. Secondly, he struggled for British favor and only after Weizmann persuaded Arthur James Balfour that they could mobilize Jews all over the world, the powerful sympathy of Balfour for the Zionist ideology[29] were galvanized into solid political action.[30] Before giving special space to the Balfour Declaration, surveying the WW I years is necessary to understand the road to this Declaration.

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[27] Ovendale, *The Origins of the Arab Israeli Wars*, p. 7, 8

[28] Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, p.6

[29] For further discussion see: Jehuda Reinharz, *Chaim Weizmann; the Making of a Statesman*, (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) p. 12, 13

[30] Ibid, p. 152

2.2.2. The First World War and Uncompromising British War Time Promises

In August 1914 WW I broke out and Britain, France and Russia were against the Central Powers, Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire. As a result of British war-time politics, three substantial, uncompromising promises appeared. Britain made promises to both the Arabs and Jews regarding their political aspirations in Palestine. Therefore, in war-time Britain wanted both sides' support for its own cause. The famous exchange of letters between Sir Henry Mc Mahon, the high commissioner in Egypt and Husayn, the Sharif of Mecca, known as Mc Mahon-Husayn correspondence promised independence to the Arabs. [31] On the other hand, the Balfour Declaration pledged to the Zionists 'a national home' in Palestine. Furthermore, there was a secret agreement between Great Britain and France with the promise of the division of the Arab Middle Eastern between them. At the end of the war, Middle Eastern politics would be more chaotic with these three confronting promises. Without analyzing them, it is not possible to understand the results of war time politics and its influences over the Middle Eastern region.

2.2.2.1 Sharif Husayn and the Mc Mahon Correspondence

Firstly, during the war Great Britain supported the Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire and initial contacts were started by the Arabs after Sharif Husayn secretly sent his son to meet with Lord Kitchner in Cairo in 1914. The contacts continued in 1915 by giving way to a formal agreement between Sharif Husayn and Mc Mahon, successor of Kitchner, and Britain pledged to favor the independence of the Arabs.

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[31] Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,* p. 145, 146

They exchanged ten letters in which their agreements were specified. [32] The origin of

the dispute between the Arabs and the British dates back to these letters, since Britain

promised initially, and then renounced the agreement. [33] In the letters, the most hotly

debated topic was the border issue.[34] In accordance with their agreement, by means

of strong support both financially and militarily by British liaison officers, one of

whom was T. E. Lawrence, the Arab revolt started in June 1916 against the Ottoman

Empire under the leadership of Faysal, Husayn's son. In the beginning, the revolt and

their plan seemed to be working; however, the uncertainty of the border issue and the

disagreement over whether Britain referred to Palestine or not were going to make

the situation more complex when a second pledge concerning Syria was given to

France in a secret agreement. All in all, Sharif had concrete reasons in asserting

rights over in the Arabian Peninsula, Syria, Iraq and Palestine when Mc Mahon's

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[32] For further discussion and full text of Sharif Husayn and Mc Mahon letters see: http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/hussmac1.html, accessed on 22. 11. 2013

[33] Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,* p. 146

[34] Husayn wanted all the territory east of Egypt where the Arabic language was spoken. This area was composed of Syria, including Lebanon and Palestine, Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula. On the other hand, Britain did not accept all of this by rejecting the regions of Damascus, Aleppo, Homs and Hama, and it also asserted that this region was not purely Arab. They could not come to an agreement, so it was postponed to the end of the war; nonetheless, Sharif Husayn insisted on Syria by stating that he would never give up it. After both sides made some concessions - Britain would accept the Arabic presence in some parts of Iraq and Syria since it would be resolved after the war, and Sharif would accept British occupation in Iraq till consistent administration was founded there - Britain promised that Great Britain was ready to recognize and protect the Arab independence in the region offered to Sharif Husayn. For further discussion see: Cleveland, *Modern Ortadoğu Tarihi*, p. 176, 177, 178

letters were taken into consideration; [35] however, Britain wanted to be loyal its second pledge given to France.

2.2.2.2 Sykes-Picot Agreement

The second war-time pledge was given to France in the Sykes-Picot Agreement secretly signed in 1916 between France and Britain. According to this, Britain and France were to divide much of the Arab Middle East. Under this arrangement, France would assert her rights over the coastal and northern regions of Syria; on the other hand, Britain was to have authority in Transjordan, Haifa and Acre and some parts of Palestine would be under the control of an international administration.[36] However, this secret agreement was revealed in 1917 by a former war-time ally, Russia, after the Bolshevik Revolution.[37] The division of the region in this way meant Britain's not fulfilling its promise to Sharif Husayn.[38] Nevertheless, to reassure the Arabs, Britain sent two telegrams and affirmed once more their promises arguing that the Sykes-Picot agreement was the reflection of background talks and not a formal treaty. All in all, after this secret treaty Sharif Husayn thought that an ample portion of the land that was expected to be part of the future Hashemite Kingdom was gone. In addition, many scholars share the view that Sharif Husayn was deceived.[39] Although Britain did not represent its intentions correctly, they were sufficient

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[35] Cleveland, *Modern Ortadoğu Tarihi*, p. 179

[36] Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,* p. 148

[37] Arthur Goldschmidt JR. and Lawrence Davidson, *Kısa Ortadoğu Tarihi*, (İstanbul, Doruk yayınları, 2008) p. 285

[38] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 66

[39] Ibid, p. 66

enough to persuade the Arabs to carry on their revolts against the Ottoman Empire upon their rejection of the Turks' peace proposal. [40]

2.2.2.3 The Balfour Declaration

In the beginning, these two pledges seemed as if they were not relevant to the future of Palestine. However, their relevancy was completed with the third war-time pledge given to the Zionist movement, the Balfour Declaration. The success of this declaration can be mainly attributed to Weizmann's continuing endeavors to gain the support of a great power, Britain. He succeeded in leading to change in British policy via the structure of lobby groups, and Jewish and non-Jewish families, primarily the Rothschild family.[41] Considering his attempts to meet with Lord Balfour to gain his favor, his diplomacy was appropriate. He built the concrete structure of the Jewish State. On the other hand, what motivated Britain in changing its policy and giving a third irreconcilable pledge? Britain had its own interests in declaring their favor for Zionism. Britain was actually aware of Jewish influence on Russia and knew that without Russia, Britain could not defeat Germany. Hence, Britain hoped that the Jews would become their agent for British propaganda to persuade Russia. [42] Hence, in November 1917 the Zionists received the most significant international statement of support they had ever received in the form of a letter written to Lord Rothschild, who was the head of Britain's Zionist Federation by Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour, granting British favor for a Jewish national home in Palestine:

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[40] Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,* p. 148

[41] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 67

[42] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 67

> ….His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country… [43]

The famous Balfour Declaration can be regarded as a great victory for Zionist diplomacy. Nonetheless, this declaration had such uncertainty and complexity that even the sides mentioned in the report were to become perplexed.[44] To be more specific, at that time the Jewish population in Palestine was 56,000 and the Arab population was 600,000. In short, the Jewish population was less than 10 percent of the total population. The fact that 90 percent of the total population was comprised of Arabs was taken into consideration, but the declaration neglected the majority's political rights. Furthermore, Britain's promise to the Zionists conflicted with its earlier pledge to Sharif Husayn. Nevertheless, according to Weizmann, the Balfour Declaration gave the Jews the golden key to Palestine and made the Jews the masters of Palestine in spite of the lack of clarity and limitations.[45] These irreconcilable pledges given during the war troubled Britain after the Allied Powers' victory. Each pledge conflicted with the other two because of their uncertainty and each disputable issue was postponed by leading to more complicated post war diplomacy.

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[43]For the original form of The Balfour Declaration, November, 1917 see: http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Peace/Guide/Pages/The%20Balfour%20Declaration.aspx, accessed on 23. 11. 13

[44] Cleveland, *Modern Ortadoğu Tarihi*, p. 271

[45] Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, p.7

2.3 THE MANDATE PERIOD IN PALESTINE, TOWARDS THE REAL CONFLICT

The end of the WW I brought success to the Allied Powers in 1918 and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The war time pledges over the same region given to Sharif Husayn, France and the Zionists at the same time prevented settlement in the Middle East for a long time. This led to important conflict over the boundaries of Syria, Palestine and Lebanon. In addition to this, Palestine's not having distinctive borders during Ottoman rule [46] made the issue more complicated. It was not certain whether these countries were to be divided or not, if it was to be divided who was to rule these regions? Faysal, Sharif's son, declared himself as leader of the Syrian state after his entrance into Damascus in 1918 based upon the war-time pledge. In March 1920 the General Syrian Congress highlighted its demand for unity and independence and these were not accepted by Britain. Next month at San Remo, in Rome a conference of the Allied prime ministers was convened and there an agreement was reached. Upon this agreement, the French took Damascus by dethroning Faisal. The Hejaz region in the Arabian Peninsula was declared an independent kingdom both to reassure the Arabs and to show Britain's 'loyalty' to its war time pledge. Lebanon was under the control of the French as well. On the other side, Iraq and Palestine became the mandate of Britain and its king was to be Faysal. Finally, all of these mandates were formally approved by the League of Nations. [47]

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[46] Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,* p. 159

[47] Ibid, p. 156, 157

With Britain's occupation of Jerusalem in December 1917 by General Allenby, the Commander in Chief of the British Expedition Force from Egypt, Ottoman sovereignty over there came to the end.[48] In September 1918, the northern part of Palestine was captured and upper Galilee was taken from French Syria in 1919, in this way, the geography of Palestine began take its shape as known today and became a part of the British Empire. [49] The issue of borders became stable in the years after the war and the San Remo Conference made Transjordan and Palestine British mandates. The League of Nations in July 1922 officially approved its mandatory charter; as a result, Transjordan would have a separate political identity in the future [50] under King Abdullah and Palestine was to be an exception to the Wilsonian principle of self-determination. The reason for this was that the Great Powers wanted protect their interests due to the strategic significance of the region. [51] In particular, Britain regarded Palestine as a connecting bridge between its two colonies, India and Egypt. After the British Mandate was approved officially by the League of Nations, Britain declared the White Paper of 1922 with the aim of explaining its future plans and policies in the region, namely, it became a roadmap

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[48] The recent British interest began with a colonialist interest in the region, occupation of Egypt in 1882, one of the most significant colonialist events in the modern age. For further discussion see: Cleveland, *Modern Ortadoğu Tarihi*, p.118

British colonialist activities there would not end with this occupation. In contrast, Britain turned its face to Palestine after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The pro-Zionist inclination in Britain's Middle Eastern policy in the late 19th century, combined its colonialist ideology and old theological concepts connecting the return of the Jews to Palestine with the second coming of the Messiah.

[49] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 72

[50] Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,* p. 164

[51] Ovendale, *The Origins of the Arab Israeli Wars*, p. 58

for the Mandate rule. This paper showed how Britain balanced between the demands of the Arabs and the Zionists. [52] On one hand, Britain asserted that the foundation of '*a* national home' for the Jews did not mean '*the* national home' for the whole population to relieve the Arabs. On the other hand, in the White Paper of 1922 Britain stated that it would continue to support the Zionists' cause. [53] Additionally, throughout the British Mandate years in Palestine, four important developments were apparent. Two of them were the developments on the Zionist Organization in Palestine and on the Palestinians' side, leadership and nationalism. The others were about the conflict between the Arabs and the Jews, the Wailing Wall Riot in 1929 and the 1939 Rebellion. Without a survey of these four significant developments, it is impossible to draw an accurate picture of the British Mandate of Palestine.

2.3.1. The Wailing Wall Riots in 1929 and the 1930 Passfield White Paper

The Wailing Wall is Judaism's holiest site. On the other hand, according to the Palestinians, it was the part of the Harem al Sherif, also a holy place for Muslims. Small incidents regarding Jewish prayer arrangements at the Wailing Wall flamed violence in Jerusalem, and later spread throughout Palestine in 1929. This incident resulted in the death of 113 Jews and 116 Arabs. [54] The quick spread of the rebellion to other parts of Palestine showed that this was not a planned event with a leader. Instead, it was ignited by uprooted Palestinians losing their land after Jews' purchase of the land. These Palestinians who had to live in the slums of Palestine by leaving

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[52] Cleveland, *Modern Ortadoğu Tarihi*, p. 274

[53] Ovendale, *The Origins of the Arab Israeli Wars*, p. 58, 61

[54] Ovendale, *The Origins of the Arab Israeli Wars*, p. 71

their villages participated in political activities for the first time[55] and this showed the Palestinians' desperate living conditions. The same situation was to become one of reasons underlying another important rebellion of that time, the 1939 Revolt.

At the end of this rebellion, due to the excessive violence during the revolt Britain appointed a commission of inquiry known as the Shaw Commission. After traveling the country, the members of the commission noted two important facts. One was the increasing disappointment among many Palestinians owing to Britain's pro-Zionist policy, and the deteriorating living standards of the peasants. In the end, the commission suggested that the Balfour Declaration should not be included in the Mandate Charter and that Jewish immigration and land acquisition should be limited. These recommendations were published as the Passfield White Paper. [56] On the other hand, the Zionists started their endeavors for the withdrawal of the White Paper. They became successful in February 1931, persuading the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald who sent Weizmann a letter showing his retraction of the White Paper. This was to be called the Black Letter by the Arabs. [57]

The future implications of this event should be read correctly. This incident sped up the Jewish campaign for the development of infrastructure. Feeling insecure after these incidents, they gave priority to organizing a military force known as the *Haganah*. They understood that they should not be caught unprepared when the

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[55] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 91, 92

[56] Ibid, p. 92

[57] Cleveland, *Modern Ortadoğu Tarihi*, p. 285

British Mandate ended; hence, they gave priority to structural foundations in the initial years of Mandate.

2.3.2. The Development of Jewish Institutions and the Zionist Organization

The years between the two world wars were very significant in terms of Zionist settlements and the formation of some Jewish organizations which were to be the backbone of the Jewish State in the future. In just a sentence, Zionists' diplomacy concentrated on only one main goal, the construction of an infrastructure for the coming Jewish State in Palestine. All efforts of the Jews were devoted to this goal.

Since 1918 the Zionist movement had the semi-official Zionist Commission. After its transformation during the initial years of the British Mandate, it took its final shape as a type of internal consultative-executive body called the Jewish Agency Executive, whose foundation was authorized by the British Mandate at the end of 1920s. It became the representation body of the *Yishuv*, the Hebrew name of the Jewish settlement, after the British cabinet authorized its establishment. Turning the *Yishuv*'s into a legitimate government, the agency had different departments, political, economic, immigration, settlement and others. The Jewish National Fund, whose mission focused on land purchase; *Keren Ha Yesod*, a fund-raising organization; and the Histadrut workers' association, which supervised trade unions, health service, sports organization, and diverse agricultural and industrial issues were among other 'national' institutions. [58] In addition to these, there were other institutional bodies in the *Yishuv*, such as education, military and even banking. The

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[58] Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist Arab Conflict, 1881- 2001*, p. 109, 110

Jewish military force, known as the *Haganah,* was formed in 1920 after the Arab attacks. This institution later became the roots of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF). The Zionists had already founded the first modern bank of in the country, the Anglo-Palestine Banking in 1907 which continued to flourish during the mandate years. As well as the institutional developments, the third and fourth Aliyas occurred in the mandate years, between 1919 to 1923 and 1924 to 1931 respectively. [59] All these developments can be regarded as an institutional reflection of Zionist diplomacy. On one side there was the Zionist policy struggling for 'a Jewish national home' in the international arena. On the other side, these institutional developments occurred during the Mandate years, by complementing each other. The mandate years gave the Jews enough time to create their institutions. When the first Arab-Israeli war erupted in 1948, each of these institutions was to show how effective they were in the creation of the state, and the Jewish State was to inherit these experienced bodies.

2.3.3. The Embryo of Palestinian Leadership and the Failure of Palestinian Institutional Formation

During the Mandates years, the most apparent characteristic of Palestinian society was that the Palestinian society was split by internal divisions and rivalry, and did not have social unity as a whole in contrast to the Jewish community. The Palestinian community in that period can be described as a triangle. One corner was a deep division among the Palestinian notables, in another was a lack of an effective political charter. In the third corner, there were the Palestinians adversely affected not only by the British colonial policies, but also by the other two corners.

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[59] Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,* p. 185, 186, 187, 188.

To begin with the first corner, due to the Ottoman policy applied in the Levant, the ascendancy of notable elites became visible in the late Ottoman Period.[60] Among famous Palestinian families, both the Husaynis and the Nashashibis were mighty Jerusalem families and played a leading role in the Palestinian leadership during the mandate period. However, there was unfavorable consequence of this due to their profound split and competition with each other. This split deeply affected Palestinian society and was one of the reasons leading to the lack of national bodies. [61]

In the second corner, there were insufficient efforts by the Palestinians towards the formation of political institutions to represent them. The very first organized reaction was given by the Palestinian Arabs to Jewish settlements via the Muslim and Christian Associations in 1918 and 1919. The first Palestine Arab Congress convened in Jerusalem from these associations in 1919. Afterwards, the congress convened annually making decisions concerning the relations between the Arabs and the Zionists.[62] In the third Arab Congress, the Palestine Arab Executive was established to give these congresses unity, continuity and to create an effective leadership.[63] Even if the Palestine Arab Executive asserted that it represented the Palestinians, the British did not regard it as a legitimate institution and this led to the

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[60] Robinson, E. Glenn, *Building A Palestinian State: The Incomplete Revolution,* (Indiana University Press, 1997), p. 1,2, 5

[61] Rashid Khalidi, ''The Palestinians and 1948'' in *the War for Palestine,* ed. by Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 21

[62] Cleveland, *Modern Ortadoğu Tarihi*, p. 276

[63] Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,* p. 222

lack of an effective communication tool between the Arabs and the British [64] in contrast to the Jewish Agency. Hence, this unrecognized institution was largely ineffective till its collapse in 1934. Attempts to fill this political vacuum by the religious leadership were supported by Britain which created the Supreme Muslim Shari'a Council in 1921, appointing Hajj Amin al-Husayni to its head, who became the dominant political leader of Palestine. However, this also resulted in the deeper factionalism of Palestinian society and politics. Their internal divisions were exploited both by Britain, with their huge experience of dividing their colonized society to rule them efficiently, and by the Zionists. [65]

In the last corner of the Palestinian triangle were the Palestinians themselves, who might have been most affected by not only by the first two corners but also by the Zionist ideology and Britain's colonial policies. British officials in London were convened to discuss development policies in Palestine after the 1929 uprising. It recommended a new development policy for the rural areas of Palestine via intensification of agricultural production; in this way it was thought that the conditions of villagers would improve. After the British agricultural experts' observations of the rural Palestine, they emphasized the gap between both the Zionists and the British sides, and rural Palestine in terms of economic development. The rural economy of Palestine managed to produce only raw materials without any profit. Some experts also critically noted that despite Palestinians' having a development policy, it only made rich Palestinian landowners richer, whereas most

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[64] Cleveland, *Modern Ortadoğu Tarihi*, p. 276

[65] Rashid Khalidi, "The Palestinians and 1948" in the War for Palestine ed. Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 21

of the rural population was impoverished by both the Zionist and imperial interests.
[66] The recommendations of these experts, stating the necessity of investment in the rural areas, were neglected mainly due to the general British commonwealth approach to its colonies, to expand public expenditure for Britain itself and accordingly, decreasing it in the colonies and mandates. According to this approach, empire-building included benefiting from the colonies as much as possible while supplying as little as possible. Although Palestine was a mandate rather than a colony, the deficiency of apparent investment was against the Mandate charter and Palestine was regarded as a colony in terms of necessary supplies for its welfare.[67] By 1936, those villagers who continued to live on their land were in a desperate situation since they could not earn a profit from their agricultural products. The others who left their land and emigrated to the cities, were squeezed by the inhospitable towns and cities. Understanding that conditions were to deteriorate further, they looked forward to guidance for themselves; furthermore, they realized that they did not own a leadership to trust on. [68] All of these were to contribute to the growing tensions of Palestinians in the context of the Arab Revolt.

2.3.4. The Arab Revolt and the 1939 White Paper

The dissatisfaction of Palestinian society regarding internal divisions and the incompetency of the leadership in their national movement had already been growing towards the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s. This dissatisfaction was

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[66] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 99

[67] Ibid. p. 100

[68] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 102

transformed into several forms of more radical and grass-roots activism, including anti-British and anti-Zionist activity among youth groups. In November 1935, a Haifa Preacher, Izz al-Din al Qassam was killed as a result of a fight with British police and this also added to growing tensions among the Palestinians. His death was described as honored "martyrdom" by huge crowds following him to his burial. After a few months, this event was followed by a nation-wide general strike in April 1936. [69] The grass-root pressure for resistance put pressure on the traditional Palestinian leaders, and the Arab Higher Committee was founded on 25 April. Its members ranged from Christians, Muslims, Nashashibis and Husaynis, the Committee aimed at the integration of the Palestinian notables.[70] Finally, the strike was ended with large Arab casualties. At the end of these events, Britain formed a commission of inquiry, with its head Lord Peel. According to the Peel Commission, the division of Palestine into three districts was recommended with the annexation of Palestine to Transjordan and the partition of a small portion of the land for a future Jewish State, and the continuity of the Mandate in some strategic locations of Palestine, such as Haifa, the Negev, and the new airport in Lydda. This partition recommendation was rejected both by the Palestinians and the Zionists. The suggestions of the Peel Commission and the Woodhead Commission, which was the revised version of the previous one, provoked another wave of protest once more among the Palestinians. The tension in both rural and urban areas intensified and the young generation with their growing inclination towards militarization increased their assaults on the British

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[69] Rashid Khalidi, "The Palestinians and 1948" in the War for Palestine ed. Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 24, 25

[70] Cleveland, *Modern Ortadoğu Tarihi*, p. 286

army. Furthermore, the assassination of Lewis Andrews, the district commissioner for Galilee, in the same year became the turning point for the British who were to use this event as an excuse for dispersing the Palestinian nationalist elites either with by arrest or exile. Amin al-Husayni was among the ones who were exiled. As a result, Palestinians were left without a leader due to Britain's destruction of the nationalist notables in this way and politicians from the neighboring Arab states were to fill this vacuum. [71]

At the end of this revolt, Britain published the White Paper of 17 May 1939 to declare its new Palestinian policy. This paper reversed Britain's pro-Zionist policy due to international politics and international situation of that time. [72] According to this paper, Britain offered to limit of land purchases and Jewish immigration to Palestine for the next five years, and also withdraw from the Balfour Declaration. The paper's timing was crucial since Nazi policies terrorized the European Jews. In that context, the *Yishuv* started its own resistance to the policy of the 1939 White Paper. [73] Furthermore, this paper was accused of being 'illegal' due to its opposition

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[71] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 106, 107

[72] In the same year with the revolt, on March Germany annexed the Czech part of Czechoslovakia and Italy captured Albania in April. The Middle East was pushed into the global struggle, since Hitler had manipulated the suppression of the revolt for propaganda points. Because of this volatile international situation, the necessity of Britain to pacify the Arabs increased day by day. Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain on April 20, 1939 articulated that: "We are now compelled to consider the Palestine problem mainly from the point of view its effect on the international situation… If we must offend one side, let us offend the Jews rather than the Arabs," For further discussion see: Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist Arab Conflict, 1881- 2001*, p. 157, 158

[73] Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, p.22

to the Mandate charter, which could be changed only by means of the agreement of the Council of the League of Nations. [74]

The results of this revolt were so significant that the sufficient attention should be paid to them. In spite of the *Yishuv*'s suffering in several ways during the revolt, it also gained substantially. The 1939 revolt served the Zionists as a justification for their militarization efforts and the foundation of the *Haganah*. [75] In addition, the British favor for armaments and military organization to battle against the mutual Arab enemy promoted Zionist militarization during the revolt. In addition to these militarization efforts of the *Yishuv*, it could gain control over strategic regions after the British allowed it to build a modern port in Tel Aviv in 1939. This resulted in the growing Zionist control over the port of Haifa, which meant the *Yishuv*'s increasing its authority over more of Palestine's basic infrastructure. All of these were to prove their strategic importance in the 1948 war. [76] On the other hand, the Palestinians seemed to have gained concessions via the 1939 White Paper; however, they could not benefit from them. In addition to their casualties, their economy was ruined. During the revolt the economic gap between the Arabs and the Jews increased in

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[74] Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist Arab Conflict, 1881- 2001*, p. 158

[75] Leslie Stein, *The Making of Modern Israel 1948- 1967*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), p. 11, 12
The Stern Gang a more provocative military institution, was founded in the early 1940s. This date also corresponded to the end of the 1939 revolts. Irgun founded by Menachem Begin, Palmac and the Stern Gang emerged towards the end of the mandate periods. For further discussion see: Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 108.
Furthermore, it is important to note that the Irgun was to direct its actions towards the British after the declaration of the 1939 White Paper. For further discussion see: Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, p. 24 The Irgun's activities became one of the deterring effects on the Britain's leaving Palestine Mandate.

[76] Rashid Khalidi, "The Palestinians and 1948" in the War for Palestine ed. Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 26

favor of the Jews since the Palestinians' economy was severely affected from the revolt. Beyond all of them, the political consequences, the dispersion of the Arab Higher Council and disappearance of the Palestinians' traditional leadership must have been the most atrocious one. [77] While the world was entering a totally new phase in the 1940s, the background scene of Palestine can be described from the axis of these events. Not only international politics were to change, but also Palestine was about to enter the new era in the 1940s.

2.4. THE FOUNDATION OF ISRAEL

After the publication of the 1939 White Paper, the Zionists turned to Washington for their international support in line with their historic strategy. American Jewry was to have a pivotal role in the struggle for the foundation of a Jewish State due to its capacity to affect the administration. Realizing this fact, David Ben-Gurion, the chairman of the Jewish Agency, pragmatically addressed both Zionists and non-Zionists not only in the name of ideology but also on the basis of the Biltmore plan[78] of May 1942. According to this plan, a "Jewish Commonwealth" in Palestine within the framework of the new, post-war and democratic world system was to be founded. The major coordinating unit of the Zionist movement in the US, the American Zionist Emergency Council was founded in 1943. Their lobbying yielded a pro-Zionist resolution not only in the Senate but also in the House of Representatives. It was not able to demonstrate solid results until the advent of the Truman

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[77] Ibid, p.27, 28

[78] Avi Shlaim stated that with Biltmore Plan, the Zionists claimed for the first time openly the whole of Palestine. Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, p. 23

administration, whose policy[79] had already inclined to the pro-Zionist line. He supported the foundation of a Jewish State and his favor gained operative force only after it gained the favor of a United Nations committee of inquiry in 1947. [80]

With their new strategy, the Zionists entered a new phase during WW II. After turning to the US for great power support, the Zionists also changed their British policy. Via newly an endorsed policy, they began to carry out terrorism and violence against the British presence in Palestine, redefining their fundamental enemy as the Mandate power, rather than the Arabs. However, these were not enough to explain the Zionist policy in the WW II years. Whereas it was adopting a policy of violence against Britain, it also allied with the British against the on-going Nazi horror. This seemingly contradictory Zionist policy of that time was summarized best with Ben-Gurion's own statement: "We will fight with the British against Hitler as if there were no white paper; we will fight the white paper as if there were no war." [81] In this respect, the Zionists' alliance with the British also contributed to the movement in terms of its ability to benefit from the war to provide military experience for the members of *Haganah*. Furthermore, Britain also supplied them with military equipment which they did not return at the end of the war, and they also gained

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[79] The Zionists' votes were crucial for coming elections in America. They threatened electoral punishment via their votes if the American Administration did not favor a Jewish State. American domestic policies shaped their pro- Zionist politics to certain extent. For further discussion see: Ovendale, *The Origins of the Arab Israeli Wars*, p. 84

[80] Joseph Heller, *the Birth of Israel 1945- 1949 Ben- Gurion and His Critics*, (Jacksonville: University Press of Florida, 2003) p. 21, 22

[81] Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, p. 23

knowledge of Britain's secret military network. [82] This military experience was to prove its benefit in the 1948 war to a great extent; on the other hand, the secret knowledge was to be beneficial while they were performing their terrorist attacks against Britain.

On the other side, the Palestinian leadership had undergone different experiences in the years of WW II. While in exile, Hajj Amin al-Husayni had collaborated with the Nazis and this led to the alienation of the cause of his national movement. This would be understood at the end of the war, and allying with the losing side of the war was to change his nation's fate to great extent. Furthermore, neighboring Arab States attempted to fill the political vacuum which resulted in the establishment of two conflicting official leadership institutions; the first was the old Arab Higher Committee, which the Arab League considered legitimate, and still within the domination of Husaynis. The second one was the National Authority, whose head was Raghib al-Nashashibi, supported by the Hashemites. This division had an influence not only on the political life, but also on every aspect of life ranging from the economy to the power of military units which were weakly armed and already outnumbered by the Zionists. [83]

Even before the 1948 war, the Zionist movement won a substantial diplomatic battle, by maintaining immigration to Palestine illegally, land purchases, establishing new Jewish settlements[84] and collaborating with the right great power at the right time.

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[82] Cleveland, *Modern Ortadoğu Tarihi*, p. 290

[83] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 119

[84] Ibid, p. 119

Taking into consideration the international situation in those periods, the Zionists managed to benefit from it to such an extent that if the Ottoman Empire had not collapsed after WW I and Nazi Germany had not lost in WW II, there would not have been an Israel. The Jews supported the Western winners of the two world wars and international politics while the Arabs supported the losers. [85] This was to give the Zionist movement a chance to flourish out of the ashes of WW II and to survive in the 1948 war, at the expense of the Arabs to a great extent. With this background, the British Mandate entered its final phase at the end of WW II. The new dimension of the Zionist policy, actively fighting against the British mandate to found a Jewish state became visible in that period. Therefore, terrorist attacks were launched against the British presence in Palestine. In Jerusalem in 1946, with the King David Hotel incident, blowing up the British headquarters, these attacks reached their highest point. However, the reason why Britain decided to end its Mandate rule in Palestine did not result from them. Rather, the bad winter conditions of 1946-47 and the economic crisis caused by Britain's debt to the US, and the Americans' harsh attitude regarding the debt forced Britain to withdraw from Palestine. [86]

2.4.1. The UN Partition Resolution

Correspondingly, Britain decided to refer the Palestine issue to the United Nations (UN) in February 1947. The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), which was appointed as the official UN body for the resolution of the Palestine problem, focused on the issue from February 1947 to November 1947.

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[85] Jonathan Adelman, *the Rise of Israel: A History of a Revolutionary State*, (London and New York: Routledge Press, 2008) p. 190, 191

[86] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 121

During its observation process, although the Zionists presented their well-prepared recommendation regarding the partition of Palestine to UNSCOP, the Arabs could not suggest any alternative or solid resolution. However, their opposition was known to UNSCOP. Although the committee had noted that the Jews were still the minority and comprised one third of total population living on 6 percent of the whole land, UNSCOP felt that the Mandate should be terminated due to the deterioration of Palestine and the urgency of Jewish immigration from Europe. In this regard, the committee recommended the termination of the Mandate and the partition of Palestine between the Jews and the Arabs, with Jerusalem under international rule. With the complete support of President Truman and the threat of pro-Zionist members of Congress to delegates of UN to cut American financial aid for their countries if they did not vote for partition, [87] the General Assembly of UN passed Resolution 181, the partition of Palestine between the Arabs and the Jews, and international rule for Jerusalem. This plan was officially accepted by the Jewish Agency since it provided international legitimacy for a Jewish State, whereas the Palestinians refused the partition like every other country in the Arab world.[88] Owing to the lack of effective Palestinian leadership, they could not make their wishes known or find strong support. The neighboring Arab States' attempt to fill leadership vacuum could not accomplish this either since they were interested in the Palestinian issue to show their anti-imperialist attitude to win domestic support against their own internal conflicts.[89] The divisions within Palestine were so disastrous that partition

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[87] Cleveland, *Modern Ortadoğu Tarihi*, p.293

[88] Pappe, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine,* p.33, 34

[89] Cleveland, *Modern Ortadoğu Tarihi*, p.293

was accepted despite the will of native people of Palestine. With this plan, the UN not only neglected the concern for the Palestine in the context of the anti-colonialist struggle in the Middle East, but also violated the basic rights of the Palestinians.[90] Rather than relieving the desperate atmosphere of Palestine, as it was intended to, the resolution increased tensions, deteriorated the relations between the Jews and the Arabs, and pushed the country towards open conflict.

The clashes between the two sides broke out just after the UN Resolution was recognized. Until March 1948, these clashes had been unorganized, scattered and random. To organize and mobilize Jewish efforts, Plan Dalet (Plan D), a military blueprint, was prepared by the *Haganah*. On the other side, there was no such effective and sufficient preparation by the Palestinians to compare with the Jews' systematic efforts. Plan D was put into practice completely in April and May 1948. The plan had two clear goals, the taking any installation, military or civilian, evacuated by Britain and 'cleansing' the prospective Jewish State from the Palestinians as far as possible. [91] To realize the second one, a list of each village that was to be captured was given to the brigades of the *Haganah*. Prepared long before the UN resolution, these lists were a detailed registry of all Arab villages from the topographic location of each village, its access to roads, land quality, water supply, socio-political situation, the age of individual men (sixteen to fifty) to the degree of

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[90] Pappe, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine,* p.33

[91] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 129

'hostility' towards the Zionist project. [92] By the late 1930s, this precise archive was nearly finished and these files were given to the commanders of the units attacking those villages during the 1948 war. [93]Additionally, the systematic nature of Plan D was shown in the massacre of Deir Yassin, a village which was wiped out because of its location within the Plan D despite its non-aggression agreement with the *Haganah.* [94] Even if Deir Yassin was not the bloodiest massacre of the war, it was the most notorious mass killing of civil Palestinians in 1948, becoming the most important contributory factor to the 1948 exodus. [95] Recently published Israeli sources indicate that this was just one of the massacres carried out by the Jewish forces during 1948. [96]

2.4.2. The 1948 War

With the end of the British Mandate over Palestine on 14 May 1948, one third of the Palestinians were already removed and the 1948 War's first phase, the ongoing inner clashes from December 1947 to May 1948, had finished and the second phase of the 1948 War began to take a different shape. While the British were leaving Palestine, the regular neighboring Arab armies began to appear in Palestine for the first time. Just after the British withdrawal, Ben-Gurion proclaimed the foundation of Jewish

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[92] This systematic preparation was suggested by Ben-Zion Luria, historian from the Hebrew University, by arguing that "This would help the redemption of the land." For further discussion see: Pappe, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine,* p. 17, 18, 19, 20

[93] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 124

[94] Pappe, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine,* p. 90

[95] Nur Masalha, *The Palestine Nakba: Decolonising History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory*, (London& New York: Zed Books, 2012) p. 80, 81

[96] Ibid, p.81

State to be called as Israel in a museum in Tel Aviv, under a portrait of Theodor Herzl at 4 p.m. on 14 May 1948. The next day, Harry Truman, the American president declared his country's *de facto* recognition and the Soviet Union announced its *de jure* recognition of Israel.[97]

Immediately after the declaration of the state of Israel, the second phase of the 1948 war began and lasted until the termination of hostilities on 7 January 1949. The war included two UN armistices and three rounds, the first one from 15 May to 11 June, the second one from 9 to 18 July, the third one from 15 October to 7 January 1949. The Jews had begun their preparations long before the war. In addition to their soldiers who had well-trained by the British during WW II, they also secretly purchased arms, mainly from Czechoslovakia, the day after the partition vote. [98] On the other hand, the Arabs' divisions and old rivalries once more came to surface in the war. King Farouk of Egypt, who had considered not participating in the war, had to join because of his opponent, the Muslim Brotherhood's involvement. The Hashemite kings of Transjordan and Iraq could reinforce their position in the Arab World if they participated. Syria wanted to keep away the Arab areas of Palestine from passing to Transjordan, hence, Syria allied with Egypt. Finally, King Abdullah of Transjordan was against the idea of Palestine being under the leadership of Mufti and wanted the Arab parts of Palestine. [99] Entering the war with this varied

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[97] For further discussion and original text of the Declaration of Establishment of State of Israel see:
http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/declaration%20of%20establishment%20of%20state%20of%20israel.aspx accessed on 19. 11. 2013.

[98] Ovendale, *The Origins of the Arab Israeli Wars*, p. 136

[99] Ibid, p. 137

background, the Arab armies did not have a unified command and they encountered serious logistic problems as well.

After five days the war started, the UN appointed a mediator Count Folke Bernadotte to reassess its policy on Palestine. His assignment was to suggest an alternative to the partition. The Security Council demanded an armistice, and two weeks later and the first was signed on 10 June. However, in Tel Aviv, Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo there was a desire to continue with the hope of gaining more territory since some of the Arab population saw the war as a chance for their political survival. [100] During this cease-fire, the Arabs could not rearm thanks to the UN arms embargo. The Jews, on the other hand, disobeyed this by obtaining a considerable quantity of weapon from the Eastern bloc states. Hence, the approximate equality in military strength between the two sides that existed at the beginning of the war was replaced with by Jews' superiority in the middle of June 1948.

The war was restarted on 8th July and a second truce was imposed ten days later. This time the initiative was apparently in the Jews' hand. Other than the West Bank and Gaza Strip, they had control of the whole of Palestine. The Jews used their military success to change the political situation in Palestine by both exchanging the existing currency with the Israeli currency, the lira, and claiming the rights over the spoils left by Britain in these cease-fire days. They took over both some private and public bank accounts and Britain handed over the full dispossession of the remaining Palestinians accounts from the ex-Mandate to Israel in the early 1950s. [101] The third phase of the

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[100] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 133

[101] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 134

1948 war was launched by Ben-Gurion with Operation Harov to throw Egyptian army back across the international border at the end of December 1948. IDF entered Sinai and the outskirts of el-Arish, but American pressure led to Israel leaving the Gaza Strip to Egypt. Both sides acknowledged the Security Council's demand for a cease-fire on 7 January and came to an agreement to initialize the armistice agreement.

Armistice negotiations were started between the Arabs states and Israel on the island of Rhodes on 13 January 1949 with the help of Dr. Ralph Bunche, appointed as a mediator by the UN after the assassination of Bernadotte. Israel negotiated bilaterally and signed an armistice agreement with each Arab state; with Egypt on February 24, with Lebanon on March 23, with Jordan on April 3, and with Syria on July 20. Despite each agreement's distinctive features, based on the military and political situation specific to that front, all of them had one thing common, that they were signed under the supervision of UN. [102] With the completion of these armistice agreements, the 1948 war was officially over. After the war, Israel had expanded its territory from fifty five percent to seventy nine percent of the whole of Palestine.

After the war, the Palestinians lost Palestine on both the diplomatic front and the battlefield. At that time, Palestine became a new geo-political area since its division into three parts, the West Bank, annexed to Transjordan despite the unwillingness of the local inhabitants, the Gaza Strip, under military rule and its inhabitants banned from entering Egypt, and Israel which was Judaizing every part of Palestine under its

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[102] For further discussion of each armistice conditions, see Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, p. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46

control and Hebraizing the original Arab names to avoid prospective claims for the villages. [103]

Another consequence of the war was that three-quarters of a million Palestinians were made refugees. This number corresponded to 90 percent of those living under Israeli rule. On the one hand, there were refugees already supplied with tents by international charity organizations, on the other hand there was the UN Resolution pledging their right to return to their homes. [104] Since then, the refugee problem has been one of the irresolvable issues, and their right of return is also one of the most hotly debated themes in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

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[103] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 138, 140

[104] Ibid, p. 138

CHAPTER 3

THE REFLECTION OF ISRAEL'S FOUNDING YEARS IN AMOS OZ'S *A TALE OF LOVE AND DARKNESS* AND ANTON SHAMMAS' *ARABESQUES*

> "The first step towards real peace must be get to know the other side, its culture and creativity." Mahmoud Darwish

> "In conflicts, few people are able to understand the suffering of others." Amos Oz

The British Mandate Period in Palestine and post 1948 were an era in which politics captured every facet of society, even those who wanted to disregard it, including the free spirit of poets and novelists became one of the proponents of the ideology of the day, nationalism.[105] In line with Ilan Pappe's argument, this third chapter analyzes how the founding years of the State of Israel affected its literary genre. It is mainly composed of four main parts.

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[105] Ilan Pappe*, A History of Modern Palestine*, (Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 12

In the first part, a brief history of Modern Israeli literature is presented to reveal the formation of the modern Israeli novel and the prominent themes. Additionally, background knowledge regarding two selected Israeli novels and their authors

- *A Tale of Love and Darkness* by Amos Oz

- *Arabesques* by Anton Shammas

is underlined in this first part of this chapter.

In the second, third and fourth parts of this chapter, two selected Israeli novels analyzed to show the linkage between historical events and literature from the perspectives of three prominent and common phenomenon of that time:

- The identity conflict,

- The trauma of the founding years' generation,

- The concept of nationalism.

3.1 A BRIEF HISTORY OF MODERN ISRAELI NOVEL

3.1.1 The Rebirth of Hebrew

The story of Modern Israeli Literature has a direct relationship with the rebirth of the Hebrew language. The rebirth of the language was one of the main topics of both *Haskalah*[106] and the Zionist ideology[107]. Why was the revival of the semi- dead

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[106] The Jewish Enlightenment which began in Europe in the middle of eighteenth century. The humanist ideology of 18th century European literature, which is human-centered and glorifies the human mind had a deep impact on the emergence of the Haskalah movement. For further discussion see: Bedrettin Aytaç, "İbranicenin Yeniden Doğuşu". http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/27/766/9697.pdf accessed on 20. 09. 2013

language included as one of the basic theme in the Zionist ideology? The reason for this can be understood by means of Eliezer Ben- Yehuda's declaration that common language possesses the aptitude to gather the Jewish people and supplies a sense of nationalism.[108] In line with this argumentation, it is very clear that Hebrew was seen as an indispensable part of their identity; therefore, the Zionism embraced the idea of rebirth of Hebrew as a part of their framework to reestablish a national home for the Jewish people.[109] Hence, this part of this study aims to analyze firstly the revitalization efforts in the Haskalah movements, which can be regarded as the initial literary steps for this revitalization and secondly how Hebrew has been benefited as an identity marker to form group identity, namely the Jewish identity among the pioneers of the Zionist ideology.

Firstly, between the 2nd century CE and modern times the Hebrew was used mostly for religious purposes. The *Haskalah* movement became the first step to use the language other than for religious purposes. In the *Haskalah* period, by participating in the secular education process the European Jewish intellectuals' main aims were to rescue the Jews from their ghetto borders, to benefit from the European Enlightenment via the protection of their own Jewish identity and to gain high status

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[107] Anat Feinberg, "Modern İbrani Kurgusal Edebiyatı" in *Roman Kahramanları: Üç Aylık Edebiyat Dergisi*, *İsrail Edebiyatı- Ülkeler ve Edebiyatları,* trans. by Emre Karacaoğlu, January/ March, 2012, p. 149.

[108] Nina Skafte, "Hebrew and Identity: Hebrew as Identity Marker in the Zionist Movement and the Haredi Movement". (January 18, 2013) http://www.academia.edu/8567721/Hebrew_as_identity_marker_in_the_Zionist_movement_and_the_Haredi_movement accessed on 13.04.2015, p.1

[109] Ibid, p.1

in communities where they lived. [110] The Jewish writers in the *Haskalah* movement which emerged in Germany, Austria, Holland, and southwestern Russia studied different fields such as social sciences and literature in Hebrew and in languages of their community in which they lived. Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), Moses Hayim Luzzato (1707-1747), Naftali Herz Wessely (1725-1805) were among the writers of this period. Wessely prepared a modern education program for the Austrian Jews in Hebrew, which was embraced by other Jews in Italy. Joseph Perl (1774-1839) in Galicia encouraged the Galician Jews to work more productively through his writings in Hebrew. [111] The other writers were also prolific in the Hebrew language. It is clearly visible that in the eighteenth century a new era started for Hebrew literature with the impact of modern European culture on Jewish intellectuals and writers. The modern Hebrew literature which appeared without a homeland and developed in the intellectual centers of Eastern Europe such as Odessa and Warsaw, was linked to Palestine at the beginning of the twentieth century and the foundation of Israeli State. It can be clearly said that the homeless Hebrew literature had been looking for Palestine. The literary pieces of the *Haskalah* movement clearly show this yearning. To illustrate, *Ahavat Tzion*[112] which was written by Abraham Mapu (1808-1867) in the *Haskalah* movement and published in 1853 was the first novel of Hebrew literature. Furthermore, its timeline and plot belongs to Israel's ancient times. The *Haskalah* literature also formed a keystone for Zionist ideology by focusing on the themes of Torah and encouraging an

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[110] Bedrettin Aytaç, "İbranicenin Yeniden Doğuşu", p.26

[111] Ibid, p. 27.

[112] Siyon Aşkı. For further discussion see: Aytaç, "İbranicenin Yeniden Doğuşu", p.27

independent and perfect national life. Additionally, it generated the basis for the usage of Torah Hebrew in daily life as a spoken language.[113]

As for the everyday speech of the Jews, in the *Haskalah* Age the majority of Eastern European Jews used the Yiddish[114] language as their spoken language. They used the language of the community in which they were living when they spoke with non-Jewish people. In contrast to the usage of Hebrew language in religious ceremonies and poetry in Middle Ages, Hebrew had not been used commonly in daily life till the foundation of the Israeli State; therefore, it became the language of modern literature also. [115] There were some Jewish intellectuals who believed that Hebrew should be used for other than religious purposes. Correspondingly, Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, who had one of the most significant roles in revival of the Hebrew and was affected by the nationalist movements in Europe, published an article, "Sheela Nikbeda"[116] in *Ha-Shaar* in 1879. In this article he emphasized some specific themes; nationalism, the Jews were also a nation and they should gather in their own country and finally, in this regard, the role of Hebrew. He gave up his university education in Paris came to Palestine to revive Hebrew. He carried on his Hebrew studies and taught his son, born in Palestine in 1882, only Hebrew. Therefore, his son, Ittamar Ben-Avi became

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[113] Ibid, p. 27.

[114] Yiddish is a High German Language of Askhenazi Jews and it is written in the Hebrew Alphabet as well. Yiddish was the main, and sometimes only, language spoken by Ashkenazi Jews. Today, some groups of ultra-Orthodox Jews go on speaking Yiddish as their primary language since Hebrew is considered too sacred for daily use. For further discussion see: David Shyovitz, "the History and Development of Yiddish", *Jewish Virtual Library*, http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/yiddish.html accessed on 17. 11. 2013

[115] Feinberg, "Modern İbrani Kurgusal Edebiyatı" in *Roman Kahramanları*. p. 149.

[116] It means "An Important Question"- (Önemli Bir Soru). For further discussion see: Aytaç, "İbranicenin Yeniden Doğuşu", p.28

the first modern child who learned Hebrew as his mother tongue. [117] It should be emphasized that after such a long time, the usage of a language once more is unique to Hebrew.[118] It is evident that Ben-Yehuda had a great role in this revival and he is often called "the father of modern Hebrew" by scholars who are interested in and write about the revival of Hebrew.

Secondly, the Hebrew language was embraced by the Zionist ideology as one component of their movement 'inventing a Land, and inventing a Nation.'[119] As it has been examined in depth in the previous chapter, the Zionist Movement's first and foremost goal was to establish a Jewish State. To be able to realize their aim, they wanted to benefit from the integrationist side of a language to gather all Jews scattered all around the world. This linkage shows that even the reemergence of the semi-dead Hebrew language itself had been largely affected by the political conjuncture of that time. After the death of Tsar Alexander II in 1881, the adoption of some anti-Semitic policies by Tsar Alexander III in Russia and with the effect of increasing anti-Semitic events in Europe, the ideas of *Haskalah* movement shaped the Zionist movement[120], its solution and the Jews' way of thinking to a great extent. This situation led to accelerating endeavor for the revival of Hebrew among both the Zionists and the Jewish immigrants who settled to Palestine.

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[117] For further discussion see: Aytaç, "İbranicenin Yeniden Doğuşu", p.28

[118] Ibid, p.26

[119] Skafte, "Hebrew and Identity: Hebrew as identity marker in the Zionist movement and the Haredi movement", p. 6

[120] Aytaç, "İbranicenin Yeniden Doğuşu",p. 27.

Accordingly, the Zionists had a common point that shared common language among the Jews was of great significance to be able to create a common Jewish identity, and therefore, a Jewish nation. [121] How did the Zionists relate Hebrew to Jewish identity? The answer is really basic and Nina Skafte states that group identity is established by means of shared main cultural values which easily distinguish themselves from the other groups and some of these values are regarded as unifying and some can be ignored. [122] The identity markers which make the group distinctive from the others and are significant for the self- identification of a certain group and according to John Myhill, membership of group can be defined via four variables:

1. Personal ancestry/race

2. Religious affiliation/belief/lifestyle

3. Native/ everyday language

4. Citizenship/living place [123]

The modern European definition, including both a common nationality and language is adopted by the Zionist movement in its definition of group identity. The Jews managed to identify themselves as a distinctive group by means of Hebrew. According to the Zionists, the revival of Hebrew language meant to formation of national identity, namely, the Jewish identity. When the Hebrew language started to

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[121] Skafte, "Hebrew and Identity: Hebrew as identity marker in the Zionist movement and the Haredi movement", p. 6, 7

[122] Ibid, p. 7,8.

[123] Skafte, "Hebrew and Identity: Hebrew as identity marker in the Zionist movement and the Haredi movement", p. 8

be used as a tool for the Zionist campaign to create a united Jewish nation and identity, the Zionists applied their own values to the language by making it the language of the pioneers, namely the new Jewish generation. [124] The revival of Hebrew was helped by these massive numbers of pioneers of the first and second *Aliyahs*, who were eager to establish a Jewish language to go along with their independent Jewish nation and Jewish identity.[125] The Zionist movement focused on Hebrew and discarded the *Yiddish* language on purpose. By rescuing from *Yiddish*, they were going to get rid of their repressed lives in European exile since it was the language which belonged to their lives in Europe. Therefore, they adopted a new and unique language which has had historical links to their ancient lives in Palestine and they were able to legitimize the choice of Hebrew as the language of Israel. [126]

In line with this, the *Bilu* group, who were able to achieve the first immigration wave to Palestine in 1882, read Eliezer Ben-Yehuda's articles and supported his idea and attempts regarding the revival of Hebrew even when they were in Russia. Correspondingly, when they established their first settlements in Palestine, they insisted on the usage of Hebrew in all their settlements. Posters which were hung on the walls in Palestine at the end of 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century and stated "*Jews Speak Hebrew*", were regarded as a characteristic feature of that period.[127] The other studies, such as the publication of the first Hebrew dictionary by

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[124] Ibid, p.9

[125] Kaufman, "The Revival of the Hebrew Language", p. 7

[126] Skafte, "Hebrew and Identity: Hebrew as identity marker in the Zionist movement and the Haredi movement", p. 9

[127] Aytaç, "İbranicenin Yeniden Doğuşu", p.31

Ben-Yehuda in 1903, the foundation of *Vaad Ha Lashon*[128] in 1890, the foundation of the first daily newspaper in 1919*, Hadashot Haaretz,* which later became *Haaretz*, and declaration of Hebrew as one of the official languages of Mandate Palestine by the British Mandate in 1922 (which must have been the most important one) accelerated the revival process of the Hebrew language. Hebrew entered a new stage when it became the official language of the State of Israel with its foundation in 1948. From then on developments that took place in the revival of the Hebrew have been reflected in modern Hebrew literature.

As a result, various works in different literary genres were written in Hebrew, and these developments and the revival of Hebrew directly affected the development of modern Hebrew literature. Additionally, it can be clearly inferred from the progresses in language stated above that the revival of Hebrew played a significant role in shaping the Jewish-Israeli identity as well. A brief evaluation of the literature shows the relationship between national identity and literature.[129] Consequently, as Pinsker argues that "the literature of revival" (or story of revival) is predicated on the influential Zionist notion of a triad revival: [130] firstly, the revival of the Jewish nation, which forms significant themes in the second chapter of this study; secondly, the revival of the Hebrew language which is described above in detail and, finally, and in correspondence with the previous two revivals, the revival of Hebrew

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[128] It means that "The Hebrew Language Committee". For its goals, other detailed studies done for revival of the Hebrew and for further discussion see: Jeff Kaufman, "The Revival of the Hebrew Language" (December 25, 2005) retrieved from https://www.jefftk.com/final-papers/revival/revival.pdf accessed on 19. 11. 2013

[129] Feinberg, "Modern İbrani Kurgusal Edebiyatı" in *Roman Kahramanları.* p. 149.

[130] Shachar Pinsker, " The Challenges of Writing a Literary History of Early Modernist Hebrew Fiction: Gershon Shaked and Beyond." *Hebrew Studies*, 49 (2008): p. 291

literature and culture. All three of these revivals have followed each other and Pinsker's classification of this revival summarizes this historical sequence, their influence on each other and a very long "revival period" in the best way. Finally, since modern Hebrew literature has shaped and entered a new phase in Israel after this revival period, it is time to underline the literary developments that took place in Israel.

3.1.2 Traditional Classification of Hebrew Writers in Modern Israeli Literature

Traditionally, the basis of Israeli literary history has been arranged to great extent around the circumstances of writers' biographical relationships to the Israeli State; namely, whether the writer was born in the State of Israel or somewhere else, before the foundation of Israel or after. [131] Even this traditional classification of modern Hebrew writers, main themes and plots of their novels has strong relationship with the foundation of Israel and politics of that time.

In line with this argument stated above, Shaked has categorized and divided Israeli authors into 'four generations' based on the topics dealt with in their writings, and their birthplaces, Israel versus other places, because he asserts that analyzing the last ninety years of Hebrew literature requires the selection and classification of events.[132] In addition to this, nearly every literary work and author whether they were minor, marginal or major, were not able to escape from his attention and he has

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[131] Sheila E. Jelen, "Israeli Children in a European Theater: Amos Oz's a Tale of Love and Darkness and S. Yizhar's Preliminaries." *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 100, No. 3 (Summer 2010): p. 504.

[132] Gershon Shaked, *Modern İbrani Edebiyatı Tarihi*, trans. by. Bedrettin Aytaç (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2007) p. 11

successfully analyzed the texts and linked them with literary, historical, social and cultural developments. [133]

In this regard, to analyze how the founding years of Israeli State affect the free spirit and novels of Hebrew writers and to observe the very recent history of the modern Hebrew literature, this thesis will utilize Shaked's famous and important classification of the writers and their main themes and plots starting with the first generation.

3.1.2.1 Writers of the First Generation

The writers of the first generation were influential in the years starting from the 1880s to the 1920s. Writers of this generation not only experienced the pogroms in Europe and Russia, but also became the members of the mass immigrations. They wrote in both *Yiddish* and Hebrew. Mendele, Frischman, Perets, Berdycweski and Ben-Avigdor were included in this generation. In addition to this, this generation created the first writers of the Aliyahs. These were Yehoshua Barsilai-Eisenstadt, Moshe Smilanski and the other writers who explained their new life-styles in Israel. [134] This shows clearly how the language and literature were shaped by the political conjuncture of their time. Additionally, both the language and literature were used as a propaganda tool to explain their new lifestyles to the other Jews who resided outside of Palestine.

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[133] Pinsker, " The Challenges of Writing a Literary History of Early Modernist Hebrew Fiction: Gershon Shaked and Beyond.": p. 293

[134] Shaked, *Modern İbrani Edebiyatı Tarihi*, p. 11

3.1.2.2 Writers of the Second Generation

The second generation emerged towards the end of the 19th century and included diverse groups. Actually, this diverse group is also a reflection of the diversity of the Jewish community. On the one hand, they were the first pioneers of both the Aliyahs and new Hebrew literature in Israel. On the other hand, the other writers who still lived in Europe also went on with their literary works. Even though many, and many of the best literary pieces were not written in Israel, many writers of this generation immigrated to Israel and founded a new literary center there. Its prominent cultural figures were Haim Nahman Bialik and Yosef Haim Brenner; in addition to these, Yitshak Dov Berkowitz, Gershon Shofman, Uri Nissan Gnessin, Jacob Steinberg, Elisheva Bichowski and Devora Baron could be included as well. The writers who began their literary career only after immigrating to Israel were also in this generation. Immigration and getting used to the new country were among their main themes, unsurprisingly, since every time the common concepts of that time's politics influenced the plots of each generation and their writers' mind and literary pieces. Shlomo Zemah, Aharon Re'uveni, Dov Kimchi, Levi Arye, Arieli-Orloff, Agnon, and Yehuda Burla and Yitshak Shami, who were born in the state, were also included in this generation. [135]

Out of these writers, Yosef Haim Brenner (1881-1922) and Shmuel Yosef Agnon[136] (1888-1970) have been regarded as the founders of the contemporary Hebrew

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[135] Shaked, *Modern İbrani Edebiyatı Tarihi*, p. 11

[136] Yosef Agnon was also stated in Amos Oz's novel "A Tale of Love and Darkness" as a very famous writer. He gives ample depiction regarding this prominent Hebrew writer's life.

literature. [137] The pioneers' struggle to be able to live in a new land which was totally different from Europe, the harsh physical living conditions they encountered after leaving the European countries where they were born, and the formation of a new Jewish identity in the land of Israel were among the chief subjects that Brenner focused. On the other hand, Agnon preferred to use the modern forms of the Hebrew language. He created, under the influence of European literature of the 19th and early 20th century, a literature which dealt with the loss of faith; and therefore, the loss of identity and disintegration of traditional life styles. [138]

3.1.2.3 Writers of the Third Generation

The third generation began to write towards the end of the First World War. Many of its writers immigrated to Israel with the third and fourth Aliyas at the time that the Zionist excitement reached its highest point. Apart from David Vogel, their main life story was that of the *Halutzim*. [139] The prominent authors of this generation were Nathan Bistrizki, Ever Hadani, Yitzhak Shenhar, Yehoshua Bar-Yosef, Jakob Horovitz and Haim Hazaz. They focused on the two World Wars, settling in Israel and the Shoah[140] as their major themes. In this generation, there were also other

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For further discussion see: Amos Oz, *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* trans. from Hebrew to English by Nicholas De Lange. USA; Harcourt, Inc., 2004.

[137] "Edebiyat." Culture of Israel Embassy, http://embassies.gov.il/istanbul/AboutIsrael/Culture/Documents/CultureTurk.pdf accessed on 19.11.2103, p. 273
[138] Ibid, p. 274

[139] Halutz means pioneer in Hebrew. Halutzim is its plural and used for the early Jewish immigrants to Palestine.

[140] Shoah means to extinction in Hebrew. This term refers to Holocaust.

writers who settled in America, and the prominent figures among them were Simon Halkin and Re'uven Wallenrod. [141]

3.1.2.4 Writers of the Fourth Generation

Finally, the writers of the fourth generation were mainly born in the State of Israel, some of them in 1920s, the others in 1930s and 1940s. The older ones ('dor tashah' - the 1948 generation) appeared at the end of the 1930s and the middle ones ('dor ha-medina'- the Statehood generation) were active towards the end of the 1950s. This generation focused on the devastation of the Jews in Europe, the 1948 war and the foundation of the State of Israel. These writers had a more critical attitude towards Jewish tradition and the Zionist ideology. [142] The most prominent figures of this generation are S. Yizhar, Binyamin Tammus, Moshe Shamir, Yonat, Alexander Sened, Yehuda Amihai, Pinhas Sadeh, Aharon Appelfeld, Amalia Kahana-Carmon, Yoram Kaniuk, Amos Oz, Avraham B. Yehoshua, Yehoshua Kenaz.

The most important literary inclinations in the modern Hebrew literature developed along two progressing lines among the authors belonging to the different generations. The first progressing line starts with Brenner, Gnessin, Elischeva Bichowski, David Vogel, Horovitz , through Pinhas Sadeh stretches to Amos Oz and Avraham Yehoshua. The second line begins with Mendele, Ben Avigdor, Haim Nahman Bialik, Shlomo Zemah, Yehuda Burla, Yitshak Shami and goes on with Moshe Shamir. The most apparent feature of the first line is that the writers focused on the

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[141] Shaked, *Modern İbrani Edebiyatı Tarihi*, p. 12

[142] Ibid, p. 12

inner world of the human rather than on his environment. With the use of metaphors, they are able to reflect the spiritual side of the protagonist of their literary works. On the other hand, the second line focuses on the community. In this line, the authors are keen on analyzing the community. They mainly use the community novel as a literary genre. [143]

It is of significance to state that each of these generations has been deeply affected by their age's political circumstances and turmoil, given that these were their writers' central themes in their literary works. Each generation became the mirror of its own period with the specific political issues of their times. Other than this, just by looking at the main themes of each generation, it can be shown that the topics of each generation change with the political affairs of their period, and each writer reflects specific political circumstances from their own perspectives, unsurprisingly.

However, there are basically two argumentations related to this categorization as usual. On the one hand, some scholars who presented their gratitude to Shaked as one of the most prominent Israeli scholars and critics of Hebrew literature since he presented the latest and most comprehensive historiography of Hebrew fiction. [144] On the other hand, Sheila Jelen states that critics recently started to underscore the value of 'nativism' and underlines the inherent cosmopolitanism in the pieces of the

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[143] Shaked, *Modern İbrani Edebiyatı Tarihi*, p. 13

[144] Pinsker, " The Challenges of Writing a Literary History of Early Modernist Hebrew Fiction: Gershon Shaked and Beyond." p. 295

writers born in Israel but to European parents.[145] The cosmopolitanism and nativism issue regarding the identity of Israeli author has been going on, it is very certain that this four generations of the Israeli novels with their biographical relationships to the State of Israel by Shaked does not include completely all of the Israeli writers or writers of the Hebrew language. In contrast, there are other Israeli writers who prefers the Hebrew language in their literary pieces. Therefore, to be able to draw the most accurate picture of the Israeli writers, it is time to state an analysis of these uncategorized writers above.

3.1.3 Arab Writers in the Hebrew Language

In addition to these four generations of the Israeli authors, there are other writers in modern Israeli literature. These have totally different origins in comparison to the authors of these four generations stated above. They are the Palestinian-Israeli Arab who are living in Israel and write their literary pieces in the Hebrew language. In comparison to the large number of Arabs in Israel who prefer to write in Arabic, the numbers of Arab authors writing in Hebrew are very slight, among them are Atallah Mansour, Na'im Araidi, Muhammad Rhanaim and the most prominent one, Anton Shammas. [146] Writing in Hebrew, the Israeli Arab writers can be split into two main categories. The first one is a group of the writers who wrote from the foundation of the Israeli State till the late 1960s and the second one is other group of authors

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[145] Sheila E. Jelen, "Israeli Children in a European Theater: Amos Oz's a Tale of Love and Darkness and S. Yizhar's Preliminaries." *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 100, No. 3 (Summer 2010): p. 504, 505.

[146] Gila Rauch- Ramras, *The Arab in Israeli Literature*. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press & London: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 1989), p. 194

writing since then. In the first group, two authors Atallah Mansour and Rashid Huseyn are known, on the other hand, there are many writers in the second group and the most famous are Na'im Araidi and Anton Shammas. While basically prose was written by the first group, not only prose but also poetry was also written by the second group in the Hebrew language. These two characteristics are significant in terms of identifying the social, political, economic and cultural relationship between the Jews and Arabs and the correlation with incidence of Israelization and Palestinization experienced by the Arab citizens of Israel. [147]

Their existence is a problematic issue in modern Israeli literature. Some scholars, such as Gershon Shaked do not classify them by either writing their names in already existing generations, or by creating a completely new category for them. On the other hand, there are other scholars such as Gila Ramras-Rauch who categorized these writers within a completely new title; *Arab Writers of Hebrew* while analyzing modern Israeli literature and categorizing the writers who write in Hebrew. [148] It is also interesting to note that these writers have been included in books whose main theme is the survey of modern Palestinian literature. To illustrate, Ami Elad-Bouskila includes these writers under the new title, *The Quest for Identity; Three Issues in Israeli-Arab Literature*. [149] Correspondingly, out of these writers Araidi and Shammas have met the criteria to be included in modern Israeli literature. It is very interesting to examine the response of Hebrew critics to their inclusion and some

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[147] Ami Elad- Bouskila, *Modern Palestinian Literature and Culture*. (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1999),p.40

[148] Gila Rauch- Ramras, *The Arab in Israeli Literature,* p. 193

[149] Ami Elad- Bouskila, *Modern Palestinian Literature and Culture*. p. 20

called this inclusion as an 'invasion'. The responses provoked by their presence have come not only from Hebrew critics in Israel, but also Arab critics as well over the issue of whether they belong to Israeli literature or not. [150]

Given these ambiguous points regarding these Israeli-Arab writers, two significant and relevant questions can be asked, namely "Who is an Israeli writer?" and "Which characteristics make someone an Israeli writer?" The last one was the question of an interview in the Hebrew daily, *Ma'ariv*, and was asked to many authors about what makes them Israeli writers. [151] The unarguable answer came from the poet Yehuda Amichai that the fact that he writes in Hebrew and resides in Israel makes him an Israeli writer. [152] However, the debate related to this issue is not over and a solid solution could not be found. These ambiguous and controversial classifications of Hebrew writers in modern times - namely after the foundation of Israel - are regarded as a reflection of complexity and variety of Israeli society as well. It is also interesting to note that Anton Shammas has been included with Sayid Kashua, another Israeli Arab writer in a booklet on Israeli culture and literature prepared by the Embassy of Israel in Turkey. [153] It is of significance that these writers have been reflected as a part of a modern Israeli literature by an official Israeli institution.

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[150] Ibid, p. 48

[151] Gila Rauch- Ramras, *The Arab in Israeli Literature*. p. 193

[152] Ibid, p. 193

[153] "Edebiyat." Culture of Israel Embassy, http://embassies.gov.il/istanbul/AboutIsrael/Culture/Documents/CultureTurk.pdf accessed on 19.11.2103, p. 277

What all these statements, answers and descriptions show us is that this study should be based upon the writers of Israeli literature who write in Hebrew. Taking this into consideration, this thesis focuses on two novels. The first is *A Tale of Love and Darkness* written by Amos Oz and the second one is *Arabesques* written by Anton Shammas. There are various reasons why these two authors are selected in this study to analyze out of all these writers in these generations stated above. It is clear enough that the task of providing answers to this question calls for an analysis of these two authors and the main theme of the selected books. Therefore, it is time to state the significant reasons.

3.1.4 Why Amos Oz and Anton Shammas and Their Novels?

Literature is often seen as a reflection of its own society from which it feeds. This idea was demonstrated previously in this chapter within the framework of the parallelisms between literary developments and political events. The destruction of the Jews in Europe, the 1948 war and the foundation of the State of Israel are among the prominent political topics of the founding years of the Israeli State as examined in the second chapter. Correspondingly, the very same topics have formed the main themes and plots of the writers of the fourth generation, many of whom were born in Israel, some of them in the 1920s, the others in the 1930s and 1940s. Out of all these writers, Amos Oz may be Israel's best-known living writer.[154]

First of all, this thesis mainly deals with how the foundation years of Israel are depicted in modern Israeli novel. Correspondingly, Amos Oz deals with the

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[154] Runo, Isaksen. *Literature and War: Conversations with Israeli and Palestinian Writers*. trans. by Kari Dickson. (Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press, 2009) p. 63

foundation years, particularly in his book, *A Tale of Love and Darkness* which is not only an autobiography of Oz's family, but also the State of Israel itself. Both his prominence and the parallelism between the main themes of his literary works and the topic of this study make him one of the most appropriate and relevant writers to examine in this study. When Amos Oz made his appearance on the Israeli literary scene in the 1960s, he was regarded as one of the prominent literary voices of a new generation of Israeli writers. He became a portrait of the typical and ideal *Sabra*[155] image with both his literary writings and physical appearance.[156] Oz was born in Jerusalem during the British Mandate in 1939. He went to live on a kibbutz at the age of fifteen and lived there for twenty five years. He later studied philosophy and literature at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Secondly, he has written more than twenty books, some have been translated into many languages. Out of these books, *A Tale of Love and Darkness*, published in 2003, will be analyzed since at first it seems as if it is based upon Oz's own life and the history of his family. In fact, this book reveals very rich historical events related to the emergence of a new state and those years. He presents prominent figures from different areas in those years - academic, literary and political characters of that time in Jerusalem. He explains his recollections of them, the most well-known were David Ben-Gurion, Menahem Begin, Shmuel Josepf Agnon, Josepf Klausner etc. This book describes not only Oz's personal history but also the history of the statehood

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[155]The native- born Israeli. For further discussion see: Eran Kaplan, " Amos Oz's *A Tale of Love and Darkness* and the Sabra Myth," *Jewish Social Studies* n.s 14.1 (2007), p. 120, 121

[156] His blue eyes and blond hair made him fit the appearance wanted by the Jewish State, which is the very antithesis of Diaspora Jewry. Kaplan, " Amos Oz's *A Tale of Love and Darkness* and the Sabra Myth," p. 120

generation.[157] In this book, Oz's age reaches far beyond the usual borders of childhood and early teenage years. Rather than simply being the son of a mother with a traumatic illness, he is also an adult, intellectual, politician, and a member of kibbutz life. He witnesses and explains all the significant and historical events of those years. He touches upon various topics, such as the Holocaust and Jewish life in Eastern Europe, the early Zionist movements, the British Mandate years in Jerusalem, the Jewish underground, Kibbutz[158] life, the ideological friction and rivalry between the national socialism of Mapai[159] and the Revisionists, the United Nations' 1947 resolution, the 1948 War, the foundation day of Israel. All of them are leading topics of the founding years as previously examined in the second chapter of this study, and he has more or less something to say about all of them. If the intent is to analyze the founding years of Israel from an Israeli writer's works, this masterpiece which is also autobiography of the Israeli State cannot be ignored. Hence, this autobiographic should be analyzed as an indispensable part of this study to be able to reach and observe these years from literary eyes.

The third reason is Oz's being one of the Hebrew writers who have adopted some new approaches in Hebrew prose. He is among the writers who have embraced various prose genres and writing styles, such as symbolism, psychological realism

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[157] Ibid, p. 120

[158] A collective community in Israel based upon agriculture traditionally. Its roots date back to in the very beginning years of the 20th century, namely 1906 and it was founded by the Bilu group.

[159] Israel's left-wing political party, and was the dominant force in the foundation years of Israel. Additionally, it won the first elections of Israel in 1949 due to its prominent role in the 1948 War.

and allegory. [160] At this point, it is important to emphasize that his focus on the inner world of an individual makes him very appropriate to be included in this study. To put it more clearly, the selected two Israeli novels are going to be examined from three points; identity conflict, the trauma of the founding years' generations and nationalism as was previously mentioned. Oz's analysis of each character's inner world is very helpful in understanding these three points. This situation explains the other reason why Amos Oz and his autobiographic novel are selected to be analyzed in this study.

The other novel to be examined in this study is *Arabesques* written by Anton Shammas. As previously mentioned, even his place in modern Israeli literature is confusing. He is probably the author most affected by the identity conflict which was been experienced by nearly all the foundation years' generation. The reason for this is that he was born in Fassuta, upper Galilee in 1950, as an Arab in a Jewish State, as a Christian within a Muslim majority. Shammas, as the member of a minority [161]within a minority within a minority[162], has stated that the figure of the arabesque is an instrument for the explanation of his own identity since he refers this as "my own

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[160] "Edebiyat." Culture of Israel Embassy, http://embassies.gov.il/istanbul/AboutIsrael/Culture/Documents/CultureTurk.pdf accessed on 19.11.2103, p. 275

[161] This does not mean that the Palestinians are in the minority status. The detailed information regarding this issue has been mentioned previously in the second chapter. To put it more clearly, it means that the Palestinians are in minority status in some parts of The Jewish State. He is also again in minority status as a Christian Arab within a Muslim Arab majority.

[162] This interesting description used by Hannan, Hever and Orin, D. Gensler. For further discussion see: Hannan, Hever and Orin, D. Gensler, "Hebrew in an Israeli Arab Hand: Six Miniatures on Anton Shammas's 'Arabesques''. *Cultural Critique, The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse II.* No. 7, (Autumn, 1987)

identity card" in one of his interviews. [163]Even his background, birthplace and the community to which he belongs, show some clues regarding the identity conflict he has experienced. Shammas describes himself as an "Israeli Arab", which is an ambiguous identity which is the subject of his novel. If the theme of identity conflict lived through in the founding years of Israel is going to be analyzed, then the diversity of this author's identity and his impression of identity crises in this novel are worth examining.

Correspondingly, the story of this book is composed of both its author's youth and his family's memories. The author's running in search of Anton Shammas symbolizes both his search for his own identity and also for his lost cousin, and gives the best example to the best question, which might have been asked in that period, "Who am I?" Hence, there is no more appropriate book to be examined in this study. This forms the first reason why this author and his masterpiece which is widely known all over the world as part of modern Israeli literature should be included in this study.

Secondly, as Irving Howe stated, *Arabesques* presented a picture of "another Israel" about which enough information and depiction is not given in traditional literature. In addition, this book also presents another very little known and unfamiliar side of this region, that's Christian Arabs. This book presents a detailed depiction of their lives in those years. Although this novel also takes place in the founding years of Israel, it shows "another Israel" from a point of view Israel's Arab citizens. The history of a family in *Arabesques* overlaps with the history of that region and the State of Israel

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[163] D. Lovett, Thatcher, "Arabesques and Political Implications" http://voices.yahoo.com/the-palestinian-israeli-identification-conflict-in-5694442.html?cat=38 accessed on 12.10.2013

as well. This book also is closer to being an autobiographical novel than a work of fiction since it bears clear autobiographical features as in the case of *A Tale of Love and Darkness*. In short, as a second reason why *Arabesques* and Anton Shammas have been selected to analyze in this study is to capture a photo and literary description of "another Israel" in the founding years, which might be very different from a writer with a *Sabra* image, Amos Oz.

What all these reasons and clarifications show us is that both works bear more characteristics of an autobiographical novel than pure fiction. Furthermore, both of them are a reflection of the same years, the founding years of Israel. Both of them include the three main thematic issues, identity conflict, the trauma of those years' generation and nationalism, from which these two novels will be analyzed. To be able to compare and examine two different depictions of Israel in its foundation years by benefiting from two different authors who have totally different origins, but are the citizens of Israel, this study selected these two different novels and their authors who have different backgrounds and belong to different literary categories in modern Israeli literature. Finally, it is clear that the task of examining and understanding these two novels in depth calls for an analysis of these three points within these literary pieces.

3.2 WHY IDENTITY CONFLICT, NATIONALISM AND TRAUMA OF THE FOUNDING YEARS' GENERATION?

One desires to examine the identity conflict in the years between the 1940s and 1950s, numerous incidents can be found from all over the world. The reason for this is that people had witnessed probably the most violent and brutal war that they had

ever seen, the Second World War. After this, some began to question their ideals, goals, expectations from life, even themselves with these questions "For whom or for what did I fight?, What did I gain?, What did I lose?, Who am I?" etc. These war years inflicted such a great wounds on their souls that they may never be healed and can be observed in that periods' artists' works. They have experienced a loss of faith in everything. This situation is reflected in various genres of art, in cinema, in literature, in drama etc. This chaotic atmosphere covered nearly all over the world; however, the Middle East is among the most affected regions, as usual.

Correspondingly, experts of the Middle East have always accepted how significant identities are to understand this area. [164] In line with this, one of the most familiar and obvious results of those years in the Middle East is incongruity between state and identity. This discrepancy must have been the most distinguishing feature of the Middle Eastern states system. [165] The collapse of the Ottoman Empire created an identity vacuum in the region. The state system was imposed by the Western imperial powers as a so-called solution to this exacerbating identity gap. In contrast to the Westphalian model, the natural procedure of sorting out boundaries via war and dynastic marriage that happened in the northern world, the imposed borders of the contemporary Middle East state system shattered the region arbitrarily into many competing, usually artificial, states on the basis of great power interests, not native

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[164] Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Politics of Identity in Middle East International Relations" in *International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. by Louise Fawcett (Oxford University Press, 2005),p. 150

[165] Ibid, p. 153

desires.[166] It can be clearly deducted that as a result of this arbitrary imposition by the Western imperial powers, which damaged the Middle East mosaic and its cultural unity, the identity formation process has witnessed the rivalry of multiple identities. In search of identity, some trans-state identity movements, Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism have become more effective in the mobilization of the masses.[167] In short, it is evident that they have risen to fill this gap in the region.

On the one hand, in the 1970s, political Islam came on the scene in the region as a manifestation of Pan-Islamism, although Islamic identity has always been visible in the region. However, some developments took place in the 1960s. In particular, the 1967 defeat, and the loss of the holy city of Jerusalem, blamed on secular nationalism generated identity crises once more,[168] but this time political Islam became a candidate to fill this vacuum in the wake of the collapse of Arab nationalism. On the other hand, Pan-Arabism and Arab nationalism was a very popular ideology in the 1950s, with the rising popularity of Nasser in Egypt. Nonetheless, its origin can be dated back to the fight throughout the region against Western imperialism. Arab nationalism became another candidate to fill the identity gap after the decline of the Ottoman Empire and it was popular among the educated Arabic speaking classes and finally, thanks to its secular character, Arab nationalism was advantageous in gathering not only Sunni Muslim Arab nations but also

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[166] Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Politics of Identity in Middle East International Relations" p. 153

[167] Ibid, p. 152, 154

[168] Ibid, p. 155, 156

important Christian and Islamic heterodox minorities as well. [169] In addition to the rise of Arab nationalism, Zionism can also be regarded as another nationalistic movement in the process of identity formation again in the very same region as was analyzed in detail in the previous chapter. It can be clearly argued that the search for identity affected the emergence or development of the wave of nationalist ideology, respectively, the Arab nationalism and the Zionist ideology, in the founding years of Israel. As a final remark, out of the other trans-state movements nationalism is selected deliberately because its rise corresponds to the founding years of Israel, which are years focused on in this study. Therefore, after identity conflict in that period, as a second point nationalism is the most relevant phenomenon that can be observed in the contemporary Israeli novel.

What all these historical facts and incidents show us is that these three points that are going to be examined in this study have a direct relation with each other. Clear and ample facts have been given above to show this linkage. It is very clear that there is a cause and effect relationship among them. As was previously mentioned above, trans-state movements do not satisfy the expectations of individuals in the process of identity formation, in other words, their popularity began to decrease, and this situation led to disappointment among them and their trauma in the end. Furthermore, this trauma of the founding years' generation, which is obvious in the 1950s and 1940s can be also regarded to some extent as an outcome of the first two points stated above. Hence, this study is going to examine as the third point, the trauma of founding years generation.

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[169] Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Politics of Identity in Middle East International Relations" p. 153

Consequently, the distinctive feature of the Middle East, the discrepancy between state and identity has affected every member of the region. At this juncture, it is time to mention how this identity formation, nationalism matters of the Middle East and have affected its people on the basis of the region's writers, and finally how the trauma of the founding years' generation appears in these two novels and their characters.

3.3 THE ISSUE OF IDENTITY CONFLICT IN *A TALE OF LOVE AND DARKNESS* AND *ARABESQUES*

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire created an identity vacuum in the Middle East and artificial borders imposed in the region despite the native desires exacerbated this vacuum. During this identity formation and search process, the Zionist ideology in Palestine and the Arab nationalism in nearly whole region have come to the front in the founding years of Israel as stated in the previous chapter of this study. There are obviously certain motifs regarding identity search or crises which were experienced by the protagonists of both *A Tale of Love and Darkness* and *Arabesques*. In line with this, the *Aliyah* movements of the pioneers can be regarded as the Zionist movement's one of the most prominent activities to be able to realize their ultimate goal, establishing a Jewish State in Palestine. In *A Tale of Love and Darkness*, the main characters experienced these *Aliyah* movements and according to the novel, they are among strong proponents of the Zionism. However, the identity conflict and vacuum experienced by the Klausner family, which formed the main characters of this novel, could not be filled by the Zionist ideology itself. As the proponent of this movement, they immigrated to Palestine to rescue from their

repressed living conditions of Europe. Their comparison between their past and new life in Jerusalem and division between their new and old identity always was with them. In line with this first novel, the protagonist of the second novel, *Arabesques*, was the writer of itself experienced the identity conflict itself although he did not experienced great immigration incidence as the Aliyah movement. He had to live as a Christian Arab in the Israeli borders after the UNSCOP Partition Resolution and the foundation of the State of Israel. His demands for being equal citizen of Israel and his identity formation related to this are observable throughout the novel. Therefore, to be able to analyze all of these identity issues in detail, it is time to state motifs of identity crises in *A Tale of Love and Darkness*.

In one of interview with Amos Oz, he states that this autobiography belongs more to his father and mother rather than his own. By taking this into consideration, Oz's his own family can be counted as this novel's main characters. Hence, as the first example of identity conflict, it is appropriate to start with his mother's identity conflict which is one of the reasons leading to her suicide at the end of the novel. The most significant reason for this identity conflict lies in the dilemma experienced by her, "their new life in Jerusalem vs. their old life in Rovno". Her identity is divided between "What they used to be vs. what they have become". [170] Adia Mendelson noted that according to Stuart Hall, the identity concept is explained as "a state of becoming" and Mendelson goes on by stating that cultural identity is not fixed but

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[170] Maoz- Mendelson, Adia, "Amos Oz's *A Tale of Love and Darkness* within the Framework of Immigration Narratives in Modern Hebrew Literature". Journal of Modern Jewish Studies Vol.9, No.1 (March 2010). p.80

directed toward the future as well as toward the past. [171] This is also obvious in the identity of Oz's family, divided between "what they used to be", "what they expected to be" and "what they became." What are the features of their past and their present? In other words, what are the characteristics of their life in Europe and Jerusalem? These questions should be answered from the perspective of Oz's mother, Fania Klausner since she is perhaps the character most affected by the identity division the family experienced.

Fania Mussman, who will be Klausner after her marriage with Oz's father, was born in Rovno in Ukraine, in 1913. All her life in Jerusalem passes with her missing Rovno. This is very obvious even in her tales and stories that she told to her son, Amos Oz. Each of her tales bears some features from Rovno, such as forests or the miller's daughter. These sentences by Oz give some clues about her stories and her missing Europe:

> … I spent my whole child in Kerem Avraham, in Jerusalem, but where I really lived was on the edge of the forest, by the huts, the steppes, the meadows, the snow in my mother's stories, and in the illustrated books that piled up on my low bedside table: I was in the east, but my heart was in the farthermost west.[172] Or the "farthermost north," as it said in those books…[173]

> … The bedtime stories she told me were where and set on other matters. The bedtime stories she told me were peopled by giants, fairies, witches, the farmer's wife and the miller's daughter, remote huts deep in

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[171] Maoz- Mendelson, "Amos Oz's *A Tale of Love and Darkness* within the Framework of Immigration Narratives in Modern Hebrew Literature". p. 80

[172] A play on a line from a medieval poem by Judah Halevi (1075-1141) *"My Heart is in the East"*

[173] Amos Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness*. Trans. from Hebrew to English by Nicholas De Lange. USA; Harcourt, Inc., 2004. p. 138

the forest. If she ever spoke about the past, about her parents' house or the flour mill or the bitch Prima, something bitter and desperate would creep into her voice, something ambivalent or vaguely sarcastic,.. [174]

The Klausner family, Oz's father's family, came from the Russian middle-class intelligentsia that went to Odessa and then immigrated to Palestine in 1933. The Mussman family, Oz's mother's family, was part of the same class also. Fania came to Palestine in 1934. As Mendelson stated, both of these families' immigration should not have been tragic or melancholic, since both of them were the Zionist families, they learned Hebrew while they were in Europe and they were with their family members in Palestine during the Holocaust. However, their new lives in Israel showed the vacuum created by the incongruity between the Zionist pedagogical story and their everyday life in reality. [175] Oz describes the difficulties of the new life that his mother experienced in these sentences:

> … A few years later, in Kerem Avraham, in Amos Street, in the cramped, damp basement apartment, downstairs from the Rosendorffs and next door to the Lembergs, surrounded by zinc tubs and pickled gherkins and the oleander that was dying in a rusty olive drum, assailed all day by smells of cabbage, laundry, boiled fish, and dried urine, my mother began to fade away. She might have been able to grit her teeth and endure hardship and loss, poverty, or the cruelty of married life. But what she couldn't stand, it seems to me, was the tawdriness …[176]

What all of these descriptions and quotations from the novel show us is that all are related to Fania's memories of Rovno. She lived Rovno in Jerusalem. In addition to this, Amos Oz states in one of his conference of which main theme is *A Tale of Love*

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[174] Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p. 188- 189

[175] Maoz- Mendelson, "Amos Oz's *A Tale of Love and Darkness* within the Framework of Immigration Narratives in Modern Hebrew Literature". p. 81

[176] Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p. 215

and Darkness itself, the Europe is an unrequited love for his parents. They loved it, but it never loved them. He also underlined there that their home in Jerusalem was very tiny basement of apartment, filled with seven thousand books in many languages. Nonetheless, among all those books, there were room enough for two inexpensive landscapes. One was a landscape of a river and forest, the other one was snow caped mountain, not Israeli landscape.[177] Their longings and sentiments for the old countries are very obvious throughout the novel, and Oz states in this conference that this unrequited love and missing for the Europe which fascinated him while writing this novel is another subject of it.

In line with these statements from Oz and quotations from the novel, Fania never felt as if she belonged to Jerusalem. They could not adapt to the new life, weather and local culture in Jerusalem.[178] All of these situations led to identity crises, especially as in the case Fania Klausner. Originally, these crises resulted from unusual nation-building processes in the Middle East, as previously mentioned in the second part of this chapter. Israel, which was founded by means of Zionism, a trans-state movement, argued that Jews should inhabit most of the land belonging to the ancient state, Biblical Israel at the expense of the native Palestinians.[179] As a final comment, she and her family came to Israel with great hopes waiting for fulfilment.

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[177]   Amos   Oz.   "Israel: Between   Love   and   Darkness" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aegK_iDp6xs accessed on 17.04.2015

[178] Maoz- Mendelson, "Amos Oz's *A Tale of Love and Darkness* within the Framework of Immigration Narratives in Modern Hebrew Literature". p. 81

[179] Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Politics of Identity in Middle East International Relations" p. 158

Nevertheless, her disappointment led to her traumatic years in Palestine and this theme will be examined in the following part of this chapter in detail.

Amos Oz, who is also the narrator of this novel, is another character who experienced identity conflict; however his case is not as obvious as his mother. In contrast to his mother and her missing Europe, Oz's own identity matters can be summarized by emphasizing his alienation from his family's past and their hybrid identity, breaking his ties with his families after his mother's suicide and embracing the new Hebrew society and kibbutz life, in contrast to his family. His first action to break his ties with the past is his changing his name and moving to Hulda Kibbutz. One of the main protagonists of the book at the beginning appears as Amos Klausner, his family's surname, and he explains how he decided to make it the Hebrew name Amos Oz, which means "might" and also his determination to go to a kibbutz in the novel with these sentences:

> …At the end of the summer I changed my name and moved with my bag from Sde Nehemia to Hulda. To start with I was external boarder at the local secondary school (which modestly called itself "continuation class classes"). When I finished the school, just before I started my military service, I became a member of the kibbutz. Kibbutz Hulda was to be my home from 1954 to 1985…[180]

To understand all of these actions' reasons, it is important to give Eran Kaplan's explanation. Oz said to the Australian Israel Review: "I became a socialist because my parents were right-wingers, and I became a kibbutznik because my parents were town-dwellers."[181] The reason for this rebellion is that he sees his family as a group

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[180] Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p. 471

[181] Eran Kaplan, "Amos Oz's *A Tale of Love and Darkness* and the Sabra Myth," p. 126

to whom he does not want to belong since this group reflects the diaspora. To be able to adapt to his new kibbutznik life, he tries to change his physical appearance via sunbathing and cold showers as stated in the novel.

However, all his efforts for detaching himself from his past and family seem unsuccessful and futile. It is evident that his identity is also as divided as his parent's identity throughout the novel. [182] Although he tries to create an indigenous Israeli sabra identity, he was not able to achieve this since he could not seperate himself from his mother's memories.[183] The very first proof for this is that Amos Oz appears as Amos Klausner once more in the book and by writing this autobiographic novel he confronts his family past, the history of his own identity and childhood memories which break the linear flow of the novel and emerge suddenly with successful literary tricks throughout this book.

In contrast to Oz's novel, in Shammas' novel, *Arabesques* the main focus regarding the identity conflict issue is on a single protagonist, and he also unusually questions the Israeli State's identity. Whereas the main protagonist of Oz's novel that has experienced identity crises is his mother, Shammas becomes himself who lives mostly through this identity crisis. On the one hand, Oz prefers to explain and describe his mother's and his own identity crises explicitly with a marvelous depiction as a kind of confession throughout the novel. On the other hand, as the way to explain his identity conflict, the usage of implications and symbolism is ample in

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[182] Maoz- Mendelson, "Amos Oz's *A Tale of Love and Darkness* within the Framework of Immigration Narratives in Modern Hebrew Literature". p. 81

[183] Maoz- Mendelson, "Amos Oz's *A Tale of Love and Darkness* within the Framework of Immigration Narratives in Modern Hebrew Literature". p. 82

Shammas' *Arabesques*. His implication and symbolism is especially obvious while he is questioning the identity of the Israeli State. In Oz's book, he himself becomes the narrator of the issue of identity conflict and this continues throughout *A Tale of Love and Darkness*. However, Shammas divides the chapters of his book into different sessions whose titles are Tale and Teller and these two types of narration follow each other arduously throughout the book. Even this division has a symbolic meaning and reflects Shammas' identity search since each of them belongs to Shammas' different identity types. The Tale which is about Shammas' more historical memories from the mid-nineteenth century to the present than the other sessions of the Teller, explains his own origins and describes the historical memories of his own family. In line with Oz's writing style, Shammas also does not explain the history of his family chronologically. On the contrary, he prefers a non-linear, free flowing, arabesque style of writing in the Tale parts. Nonetheless, the Teller parts flow in linear fashion and depict a more modern story of Shammas. Even these two sections of his book show his torn identity. Each of these sections which reflects his different memories belongs to different time periods and the duality of his identity which appears between two different cultures.

As the variety of his own real identity hints at his identity conflict, Shammas who is a citizen of Israel and a Christian Palestinian who considers himself Israeli[184], is divided into two different cultures, namely Jewish and Palestinian. Throughout the novel, there are many symbols and allusions of which the most important ones will be analyzed below by referring to his identity search and formation. While he is

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[184] D. Lovett, Thatcher, "Arabesques and Political Implications" http://voices.yahoo.com/the-palestinian-israeli-identification-conflict-in-5694442.html?cat=38 accessed on 12.10.2013

following real the Anton Shammas, he is also looking for the identity of the State of Israel implicitly.

The first example of the issue of identity conflict in the book arises after Shammas has learned in his Uncle Yusef's house that he is named after his death cousin whose name was Anton Shammas also. This dead cousin had been adopted by a rich Lebanese family and Shammas learns this fact. This incident becomes Shammas' starting point of his torturous search for both his lost cousin and his own identity issues as an Israeli, a Palestinian, a Christian-Arab and a writer also.[185]

As both the second and third illustrations to the issue of identity conflict in the book, his questioning firstly the identity of Israeli State is not common and his search for his own identity on the basis of the identity of Israeli State secondly makes the novel more interesting. He does not want Israel to become a Jewish State and he also underscores the idea which traditionally reserves the Hebrew language traditionally for Jewish writers. By writing and publishing *Arabesques* firstly in Hebrew, he questions the identity of Israeli State. Regarding his questioning of the Jewish identity of the Israeli State, a polemic between Shammas and A. B. Yehoshua[186] which emerged even before the publication of *Arabesques* and attracted much public attention is highly relevant in this context, because he moves this polemic is into the very heart of his novel, *Arabesques*. However, firstly this polemic related to the

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[185] Shai Ginburg, "'The Rock of Our Very Existence': Anton Shammas's Arabesques and the Rhetoric of Hebrew Literature" Comparative Literature, Vol.58, No.3 (Summer 2006), p. 187

[186] The Israeli Writer, who belongs to the fourth generation writers in the traditional classification of the Modern Hebrew Literature as stated previously.

identity of the State of Israel should be described in order to present the best analysis of the novel's identity conflict. According to Yehoshua, Israel must be Jewish State, an attitude from classical Zionist argumentation, since in Israel only can the Jews achieve full self-realization. Furthermore, he adds that the Law of Return[187] is basic. On the other hand, Shammas opposes Yehoshua in this matter and he states his desire for a secular, non-denominational and democratic state to be able to achieve his self-realization.[188] Later Shammas expressed his demand that Israeli literature abandon Jewishness as its founding and describing criteria and Yehoshua addressed Shammas with these sentences in an interview in 1985 which launched series of debates regarding the national-ethnic boundaries of Israeli culture: [189]

> …If you want to live in a state with a distinct Palestinian identity, with an original Palestinian culture, go, take your bags and move one hundred meters eastward to the Palestinian state that will rise next to Israel. Your condition will be far better than that of most national minorities in the world who do not have such an option. But if you stay, and I greet you, Welcome, you're a minority. And in time of peace, you will learn, there are certain pleasures to being a minority. That's the ABC of any compromise. Otherwise, what will happen? A Palestinian state will rise and then Israeli Arabs will demand a multi-national or multi-religious state like the United States, even within the Israel's boundaries. So why do we call it Israel? Let us ask the computer to give us a name and a flag that would be more appropriate… [190]

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[187] The right to immigration to Israel, which is given to the Jews residing anywhere in the world.

[188] Gila Rauch- Ramras, *The Arab in Israeli Literature,* p. 197

[189] Michael Gluzman, "The Politics of Intertextuality in Anton Shammas' Arabesques" Journal of Modern Jewish Studies, Vol.3, No.3 (November 2004), p. 323, 324

[190] Ibid, p. 324

Although Shammas immediately replied to Yehoshua's reaction on 13 September 1985 by highlighting that defining the State of Israel as not only a Jewish but also democratic state seemed to Shammas as an oxymoron, his actual answer come with his novel, *Arabesques*, by not limiting himself to the boundaries of politics.[191] In this way, he moved this political polemic of Hebrew literature and the identity issue of the State of Israel to the literature itself. To put it more clearly, it is time to analyze Shammas' response, which is hidden in his coded and allusive narration by giving certain texts and motifs from the novel itself.

In the teller narrative of *Arabesques*, in Iowa City an interesting relationship develops between three characters, Shammas, Paco, a Palestinian author from Nablus in the novel, and Yehoshua Bar-On, whose resemblance to A. B. Jehoshua has been stated by many critics,[192] an Israeli-Jewish writer. Shammas has been seen an ideal Arab prototype by Bar-On since he wants to write a novel with an Arab protagonist. Irritated by his hybrid identity, he turns his face to Paco for his Arab character. Paco's and Bar-On's intimate relationship which is woven throughout the novel and is also on the top of the International Writing Program's public relations charts[193], unexpectedly ends after Bar-On's throwing a beer can into a lake near to them. Bar-On's interesting response to his act is stated in the novel with these sentences:

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[191] Michael Gluzman, "The Politics of Intertextuality in Anton Shammas' Arabesques" p. 325

[192] Ibid, p. 320

[193] Anton Shammas, *Arabesques*. Trans. from Hebrew to English by Vivian Eden, (London: Penguin Book,1986). p. 169

… Suddenly a splash shatters the stillness. Amid the ripples, a beer can sinks into the water.

' It's a pity you did that," said Tanya to Paco.

Bar-On his face red with fury, muttered at him: "Why the hell did you do that? Why?

Paco muttered a few words of self-justification, saying he couldn't control his urge to break the silence…

… On the way back, Bar-On and Paco didn't exchange even a word, even though they walked next to each other. I kept seeing the beer can landing on the surface of the mirror and the circular ripples rustling on the face of the water and distorting Bar On's face into the profound rage. It seemed as if he could forgive Paco his support of Palestinian terror as a last resort, or at least understand it; but there was no way he could forgive the throwing of the beer can… [194]

This excessive response a Bar-On can be seen as absurd; however, this text is highly symbolic and includes allusive motifs referring to his debate with A. B. Yehoshua. That's why, it should be underlined that all of this story can be explained as Shammas' reference to Haim Nahman Bialik's [195] long poem, "*The Pool*",[196] since without this reference to it is nearly impossible to analyze this allusion. Shammas' inclusion of Bialik's text into the depiction of a lake in Iowa suggests a valuable remark for Paco's throwing the can and Bar-On's irrational response.[197] According to Gluzman, just at that time when Shammas' debate with A.B. Yehoshua described

[194] Shammas, *Arabesques*. p. 253, 254

[195] Haim Nahman Bialik is one of the Jewish writers traditionally belonging to the second generation of the Modern Hebrew Literature.

[196] With its original name "ha- Berekhah". It has been translated by Reginald V. Feldman. It is very long poem and for its complete translation see: Israel Efros, ed., *Complete Poetic Works of Hayyim Nahman Bialik*, vol. I, (New York: Bloch Publishing Co.and Histadrut Ivrit of America, 1948), pp.203-10.

[197] Michael Gluzman, "The Politics of Intertextuality in Anton Shammas' Arabesques" p. 326

above came to the surface, Bar-On, as a Jewish writer, is not able to acknowledge a Palestinian writer, Paco's violation of the boundaries of Jewish national culture and literature, which is symbolized by Bialik's "*The Pool*".[198] By means of throwing a can into the lake, Bialik's pool, Paco tries to enter into Jewish culture and literature and also his "urge to break the silence" is related with the silence of the Arabs in the Hebrew language. [199] In addition to this, Gluzman argues that Bar-On's words, "you will soon say that silence is mire" taken from Jabotinsky's 1932 "Hymn of Beitar", demanding the emergence of a "proud, generous, and cruel" Jewish race and Bar On's reference to Jabotinsky shows his anger because he comprehends that this throwing act is a harmful endeavor to break the Jewish hegemony of Hebrew culture, [200] namely literature. Therefore, finally Shammas' observation on the possibility of Bar-On's forgiving Paco in his favor of Palestinian terror as a last resort, but the improbability of Bar-On's forgiving this throwing of the can, might be related with Jabotinsky's statement.

Shammas' reference to his polemic with A.B.Yehoshua is not limited to this allusion. Before Paco's throwing a can into the lake, Shammas describes both the road to the lake and lake itself, which is related with Bialik's "*The Pool*", with these sentences:

> … It was a neglected farm. Wild bushes had taken over the pastures and hid the tree trunks and threatened to invade the paths as well. We walked along the path leading to the lake, at the far end of the farm, a winding grassy path that bent through the undergrowth. Paco, a beer can in his hand, says it reminds him of the homeland. Swarms of

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[198] Ibid, p. 321

[199] Ibid, p. 326

[200] Ibid, p. 327

mosquitoes signal that we are approaching the lake, and several people announce their intention to relinquish the sight and to head back to the shelter of the house.

Then we found ourselves under the sun's golden net, which hung suspended from the treetops reflected in the lake, but this was no dream of easy gold. A quiet, hidden light seeped through the branches and gently sprinkled the surface of the lake. "The surface of the Pool," Bar-On would've corrected me, invoking a poem by Bialik. Then the pool withdrew in intense stillness, as if the silence and the splendor of the wood were redoubling in the mirror of the slumbering waters. We gazed at the dome of blue, and a lone bird glided silently across the quiet mirror... [201]

With this allusion Shammas tries to rewrite a passage from Bialik's *The Pool*, which is regarded by many as not only the greatest but also the most complex and long poem in the Hebrew literature.[202] In this allusion, it is clear that Shammas himself this time enters, intervenes in the National discourse of modern Hebrew literature and forms a space for himself in a language which is regarded by many as not completely Shammas' own language. By means of the transplantation of Bialik's pool into the lake in Iowa, he not only puts himself in Bialik's position, but he also shapes himself as a new Bialik that creates a new synthetic language. He also implies with this transplantation that he is able to write Hebrew only in exile far from the desired homeland as in the case Bialik.[203]

What these two allusions have showed clearly is that Shammas goes on his questioning regarding the identity of the State of Israel even after his debate with A.B. Yehoshua. Not only by writing *Arabesques* in Hebrew, but also by including

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[201] Shammas, *Arabesques*. p. 253

[202] Michael Gluzman, "The Politics of Intertextuality in Anton Shammas' Arabesques" p. 322

[203] Ibid, p. 322, 333

these two allusions into his text, he carried their polemic into the very heart of the novel. He has also illustrated his wishes regarding the identity of Israeli literature and his desire to be able to be a member of the Israeli writing circle by rewriting a passage from Bialik's *The Pool*. From all these, it is apparent that Shammas demands throughout the novel that both by abandoning their national ethnic boundaries, the State of Israel and modern Israeli literature should be a truly democratic state rather than being state reserved for certain nations and religions. As Shammas states that *Arabesques* is "my real identity card", by means of writing *Arabesques* in Hebrew, he managed to create an identity, which is best for him, as a real Israeli citizen, not a second-rate citizen of Israel.[204]

3.4 THE TRAUMA OF THE FOUNDING YEARS' GENERATION IN *A TALE OF LOVE AND DARKNESS* AND *ARABESQUES*

Traumatic events compose one of the most significant central themes of the novel *A Tale of Love and Darkness* and this situation affects almost every protagonist of the novel. Even though these underlined traumatic memories can be felt throughout the novel, since they appear on the scene as a ghost all of a sudden, these traumatic events should be collected under two titles. These are the trauma of their immigration and the Klausner family's hopes waiting for fulfillment, all of which constitute the origins of the traumatic memories in the novel. Therefore, to understand the origins of the melancholic memories in the novel, some questions should be asked such as "What are the Klausners' expectations regarding their new life?", "What did they expect at first?" and then "What did they find at the end?" It is clear enough that the

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[204] D. Lovett, Thatcher, "Arabesques and Political Implications" http://voices.yahoo.com/the-palestinian-israeli-identification-conflict-in-5694442.html?cat=38 accessed on 12.10.2013

task of providing answers to these questions calls for analysis of the two titles above with specific excerpts and quotations from the novel to be able to comprehend the trauma of the Klausners.

Firstly, it is important to highlight the incongruity between the Zionist pedagogical story and the reality of their new daily life in Israel. Their expectations of their new life had begun even before they came to Israel. This is obvious text from these sentences in Oz's:

> … 'There, in the land our fathers loved,' my parents used to sing when they were young, she in Rovno and he in Odessa and Vilna, like thousands of other young Zionists in Eastern Europe in the early decades of the twentieth century, 'all our hopes will be fulfilled. There to live in liberty, there to flourish, pure and free.'
>
> But what were all the hopes? What sort of 'pure and free' life did my parents expect to find here?
>
> Perhaps they vaguely thought they would find in the renewed Land of Israel something less petit-bourgeois and Jewish and more European and modern; something less crudely materialistic and more idealistic; something less feverish and voluble and more settled and reserved.
>
> My mother may have dreamed of living the life of a bookish, creative teacher in a village school in the Land of Israel, writing lyric poetry in her spare time, or perhaps sensitive, allusive stories….
>
> … My father, on the other hand saw himself as destined to become an original scholar in Jerusalem, a bold pioneer of the renewal of the Hebrew spirit, a worthy heir to Professor Joseph Klausner, a gallant officer in the cultured army of the Sons of Light battling against the forces of darkness, a fitting successor to a long and glorious dynasty of scholars that began with the childless Uncle Joseph and continued with his devoted nephew who was as dear as to him as a son…[205]

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[205] Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p. 251

Oz goes on to explain not only the Klausners' expectations and dreams that are never realized but also the frustration of both his mother and his father, who seems as if he has adapted to his new life better than his mother with these sentences:

> … But nobody wanted him, or his learned accomplishments. So this Treplev had to eke out a wretched existence as a librarian in the newspaper department of the National Library, writing his books about the history of novella and other subjects of literary history at night with what remained of his strength, while his Seagull [206] spent her days in a basement apartment, cooking, laundering, cleaning, baking, looking after a sickly child, and when she wasn't reading novels, she stood staring out of the window while her glass of tea grew cold in her hand…[207]

Oz also remarks successfully how their disappointment was placed on his own shoulders with all its weight and he was expected to realize the dreams of his parents' youth due to his being the only child of the family in the following sentences:

> …I was an only child, and they both placed the full weight of their disappointments on my little shoulders. First of all, I had to eat well and sleep a lot and wash properly, so as to improve my chances of growing up to fulfill something of the promise of my parents when they were young. They expected me to learn to read and write even before I reached school age. They vied with each other to offer me blandishments and bribes to make me learn the letters….And once I learned to read, at the age of five, they were both anxious to provide me with a tasty but also nutritious diet of reading, rich in cultural vitamins…[208]

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[206] He refers to his mother.

[207] Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p. 252

[208] Ibid, p. 252

He further relates their dreams with the foundation of the Jewish State. They hoped that after its foundation everything was going to be rejuvenated. [209] In fact, the reality is very different and as time passes, his mother becomes more melancholic. Fania's disappointment was apparent when Arye, Oz's father said to her that Herzl was a prophet since he stated in the First Zionist Congress in 1897 in fifty years the Jewish State would be founded in Israel and fifty years passed and the Jewish State was on the threshold of foundation. Her melancholic answer: "It's not standing. There is no gate. There is an abyss."[210] shows her trauma and the loss of her faith for the lands that their fathers loved and for the other things stated above. At the end, her melancholy reaches its peak with her suicide, when she was thirty eight and Amos was thirteen. In addition to the gap between pictures of Palestine drawn in Fania's Tarbut gymnasium[211], school in Europe, and reality, there are also other reasons that led to her suicide. These can be concluded with Oz's own sentences:

> …Something that made my mother, when life failed to fulfill any of the promises of her youth, envisage death as an exciting but also protective, soothing lover, a last, artistic lover, who would finally heal the wounds of her lonely heart…[212]

Secondly, the trauma of their immigration emerging from the text is obvious especially in his memories with both his grandmother, who wants to rescue herself from the Levant's germs and his mother, Fania. Both of his memories with these characters added some pieces to the jigsaw puzzle of the trauma of the founding

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[209] Ibid, p. 253

[210] Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p. 252

[211] For further description see: Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p. 192,193

[212] Ibid, p. 216

years' generation with the Klausners' frustration and hopes waiting to be fulfilled. However, it is very clear in the novel that other than from these two ladies, there were some other people whose trauma due to immigration phenomena is described in the novel as well. The third incidence is going to be stated through Fania's friend Lilia's letter to Oz which shows this traumatic incidence.

As in the first case, once more his mother comes to the front since she is perhaps the most vulnerable protagonist that could not adapt to their new life in Israel. As he remembers his memories of his mother, Oz describes his mother's life in Jerusalem, as is usual throughout the novel, in a non-linear fashion by emphasizing that Jerusalem is an exile for her since she could not get used to its unfamiliar weather, culture, and environment. In addition to this, he also highlights her loneliness in Jerusalem despite her friends and husband. According to Oz's depiction, in contrast to his father, she could not find sense or interest in Jerusalem; therefore, she had to live a solitary life by closing herself in the house most of the time. The holy places the synagogues, rabbinic academies, mosques, churches seemed to her gloomy and smelled of religious men who did not wash enough.[213] All of these contributed to her melancholia which can be regarded also another factor leading to her suicide.

As the second and final piece to complete the jigsaw puzzle of the trauma of that generation is the, cleaning ritual of Oz's grandmother and her famous, pathetic sentence which becomes her motto during her life in Jerusalem. She is another character, who could not adopt to their new living conditions in the novel. Throughout Oz's memories of her, he remembers her with this sentence: "The

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[213] Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p.272

Levant is full of germs" and this incidence shows also another traumatic consequence of the Klausners' immigration to Palestine. He describes throughout pages in his book, her everyday cleaning ritual, she cleans all of house, two hours later she starts cleaning once more, sprays the whole house with DDT[214], and boils vegetables, fruits and all her gadgets in the kitchen to rescue herself from the Levant's germs with these sentences:

> … Grandma Cast a single startled look around her and pronounced the famous sentence that was become her motto for the twenty-five years she lived in Jerusalem: The Levant is full of germs.
>
> Henceforth Grandpa had to get up at six or six thirty every morning, attack the mattresses and bedding violently for her with a carpet beater, air the bedspreads and pillows, spray the whole house with DDT, help her in her ruthless boiling of vegetables, fruit, linen, towels, and kitchen utensils. Every two or three hours he had to disinfect the toilet and washbasins with chlorine. These basins, whose drains were normally kept stoppered, had a little chlorine or Lysol solution at the bottom, like the moat of a medieval castle, to block any invasion by the cockroaches and evil the spirits that were always trying to penetrate the apartment through the plumbing. Even the nostrils of the basins, the overflow holes, were kept blocked with improvised plugs made of squashed soap, in case the enemy attempted to infiltrate that way. The mosquito nets on the windows always smelled of DDT, and an odor of disinfectant pervaded the whole apartment. A thick cloud of disinfecting spirit, soap, creams, sprays, baits, insecticides, and talcum powder always hung in the air, and something of it may also have wafted from Grandma's skin…[215]

Ironically, she also died due to her excessive germ operation. Even though medical reason of her death is heart attack, Oz states that actual reason is her obsession with

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[214] Dichloro Diphenyl Trichloroethane was a commonly-used pesticide for insect control during WW II.

[215] Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p. 107

hygiene. Oz's observations regarding this incidence and Grandma Shlomit's tragic death are expressed with these sentences in the novel:

> …Grandma Shlomit boiled her own person, too, three times a day: summer and winter alike she took three baths in nearly boiling water, to eradicate the germs. She lived to ripe old age, the bugs and viruses crossing to the other side of the street when they saw her approaching in the distance, and when she was over eighty, after a couple of heart attacks, Dr. Kromholtz warned her: Dear lady, unless you desist from these fervid ablutions of yours, I am unable to take responsibility for any possible untoward and regrettable consequences.
>
> But Grandma could not give up her baths. Her fear of germs was too strong for her. She died in the bath.
>
> Her heart attack is a fact, but the truth is that she died from an excess of hygiene. Facts have a tendency to obscure the truth. It was cleanliness that killed her…[216]

This memory also sheds light on another side of a family member's incompatibility with Palestine and contributes to the explanation of the founding years' generation's trauma by depicting a fascinating generational discontent.

Not only did the main characters of the novel suffer from the founding years' generation's trauma, but also Auntie Lilia, of whom is rarely stated in the novel. Despite her rarity, she is described with her trauma with these sentences:

> … I feel I have not behaved properly to you since your late father's death. I have been very depressed and am unable to do anything. I have shut myself up at home (our apartment is frightening… but I have no energy to change anything) and I am afraid to go out- that's the simple truth… I am reminded now more than usually of your mother's words- she foresaw my failure in life. And I prided myself that my weakness was only superficial, that I was resilient. Now I feel disintegration- strange,

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[216] Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p.33

for so many years I dreamed of returning to the Land, and now that it has become a reality- I am living here as in a nightmare…

…You cannot know how much I miss Fania, especially lately. I am left so much little on my own in my narrow little world. I long for her. And for another friend of ours, Stefa she was called, who departed this world from grief and suffering in 1963. The three of us were very close in the 1930s. I am one of the last of the Mohicans- of friends who no longer exist. Twice I tried, in `71 and `73, to take my own life, and I did not succeed. I will not try again…[217]

These quotations show that nearly every character suffered from the traumatic incidences since they could not adopt to their new life in Palestine, they were not familiar to this land in contrast to classical argumentation of the Zionist ideology as stated earlier.

In contrast to Amos Oz's expression of the traumatic incidences of the founding years' generation, Shammas reflects the trauma of the founding years' generation very implicitly in some of his texts as in the case of his identity conflict matters as previously mentioned. Furthermore, he does not reflect on the traumatic situation of his characters even in some texts although there are traumatic incidents. Correspondingly, although there are some parallel topics between *Arabesques* and *A Tale of Love and Darkness*, Shammas does not focus on the traumatic consequences of events in his book, in contrast to Oz's novel. To illustrate, the issue of immigration is present in both of novels. Whereas in Oz's novel, the traumatic consequences of immigration are described in detail as analyzed above, in *Arabesques* immigration is reflected as a common phenomenon and a part of life even if there are some tragic consequences of it. To be more specific, an incident from the novel itself should be given as a proof. After Uncle Jiryes, Shammas' uncle

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[217] Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p. 208, 209

who has wrinkles in his mind as Shammas describes him in the novel went to Argentina, Almaza, Uncle Jiryes's wife immigrated to Lebanon. In Lebanon after she gives birth to her son, Anton Shammas, she is forced to leave the hospital to work and earn the expenses of hospitalization. When she comes back a week later, it is said to her that it is too late since little Anton died due to typhus and was buried three days ago. Shammas describes Almaza's reaction to this incident with these sentences:

> …She asks if she can have the pillow upon which he had laid during his last days. From then on she cradled the pillow in her arms and sang lullabies to it in the streets of Beirut… [218]

In reality, little Anton is not dead and he is adopted by a rich family in Beirut. After Anton Shammas has learned this and that his cousin is alive. Stated in the issue of identity conflict, his search for both his own identity and his lost cousin is the very beginning of his identity matters. Although there is immigration and tragic events which directly affects one of the central themes of the novel and the course of actions, Shammas just uses these sentences to explain the melancholy of this situation.

Correspondingly, both Anton Shammas come together at the end of the novel in Iowa City. Anton Shammas manner is again in this way when his search for both his own identity and his lost cousin is over at the end. The fact that he has created a space in Israeli literature and an identity in the State of Israel by writing *Arabesques* in Hebrew, which is his main goal in writing this novel in reality, and his finding is

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[218] Shammas, *Arabesques*. p. 58

cousin which is another significant theme in the fiction part of his novel, all of these two wishes come to pass at the end of the novel by finishing his identity matters and meeting his lost cousin. However, he just listens his cousin's tragic story without making any comment on it.[219] And that is all.

Consequently, it is very clear that although traumatic events from the founding years' generation are presented in the novel, Shammas refrains himself from commenting on their traumatic consequences as in the case of Oz's novel. This must have resulted from their style of narration. Shammas uses ample symbolism, allusion and metaphors; on the other hand, Oz prefers to describe both his own and protagonists' feelings in a detailed way. Shammas' silence leads to the reader's making their own comments on the tragic events and the trauma of the founding years' generation.

3.5 THE ISSUE OF NATIONALISM IN *A TALE OF LOVE AND DARKNESS* AND *ARABESQUES*

The nationalism is very common phenomena in the state formation process. In line with this, the nationalism issue finds its places in different styles of writing in both of the novels. The revitalization efforts of the Hebrew language and efforts for creation of new words and the usage of kibbutz products strictly rather than the others are among the most prominent themes of the Zionist movement. *A Tale of Love and Darkness* presents plentiful examples of the nationalism and these historical incidences to its readers. On the other hand, Shammas embraces symbolic language and coded manner in the issue of nationalism. In contrast to Oz, he does not give these motifs explicitly and he shows his opposition to the nationalism based on the

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[219] For detailed description see: Shammas, *Arabesques*. p. 257, 258, 259

ethnicity in one incidence which is going to be included below also. Therefore, it is time to state all these nationalistic motifs giving specific extracts from these two novels.

The issue of nationalism appears in various forms in Oz's novel throughout book. The first striking depiction of nationalism appears in his approach to the revival of the Hebrew language and its daily usage which formed one of the most significant topics of the Zionist movement as was previously mentioned. To put it more clearly, he glorifies and respects someone who uses Hebrew correctly and contributes to its development. On the other hand, he despises ones who is not good at using Hebrew. The most obvious example of this is stated while he is describing his admiration for Uncle Joseph, namely Joseph Klausner with these sentences:

> …As a child the thing I most admired Uncle Joseph for was that, as I had been told, he had invented and given us several simple, everyday Hebrew words, words that seemed to have been known and used forever including "pencil," "iceberg," "shirt," "greenhouse," "toast," "cargo," "monotonous," "multicolored," "sensual," "crane," and "rhinoceros."(Come to think of it, what would I have put on each morning if Uncle Joseph had not given us the word "shirt"?..." A man who has the ability to generate a new word and to inject it into the bloodstream of the language seems to me only a little lower than the Creator of light and darkness… [220]

His glorification of his uncle Joseph in the quotation above best summarizes his approach towards one of the most strategic themes of the Zionist ideology that finds its place in this novel. The other incidents regarding this issue are ample throughout the book. However, it is time to emphasize a second nationalistic theme, but this time his tone becomes a bit tragic while explaining their preference to use local product.

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[220] Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p. 57, 58

He explains their dilemma whether they should buy Kibbutz or Arab cheese. His descriptions are marvelous while describing a pioneer girl packing this Hebrew cheese and his uncertainty in every sentence of this part related to the nationalistic themes of the novels are felt overwhelmingly with these statements:

> …We had an iron rule that one should never buy anything imported, anything foreign, if it was possible to buy a locally made equivalent. Still when we went to Mr. Auster's grocery shop on the corner of Obadiah and Amos streets, we had to choose between kibbutz cheese, made by the Jewish cooperative Tnuva, and Arab cheese: did Arab cheese from the nearby village, Lifta, count as homemade or imported produce? Tricky. True the Arab cheese was just a little cheaper. But if you bought Arab cheese, weren't you being traitor to Zionism? Somewhere in some kibbutz or moshav, in the Jezreel Valley or the hills of Galilee, an overworked pioneer girl was sitting, with tears in her eyes perhaps, packing this Hebrew cheese for us - how could we turn our backs on her and alien cheese?...[221]

At the end of this inner struggle in his inner side, he also compares universal values and humanism with his nationalistic sentiments. Nevertheless, he thinks that preferring Arab cheese rather than kibbutz cheese is shameful, pathetic and narrow-minded and in the end nationalism defeats universal values and becomes victorious.

There are also numerous other nationalistic remarks throughout the book. The most striking statements among them belong to his childhood memories again. The first one is related to his battle games, which have been mentioned several times throughout the novel. Sometimes he animates the Jewish rebellion against the Roman Empire in ancient times, at the end of his games the victory belongs the Jews and he

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[221] Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p. 18

ends his game by planting the Hebrew flag on the top of Capitol. [222] The other remarkable incident containing nationalistic motifs is related to both his family's style of child rearing and Uncle Joseph Klausner's advice not only for little Amos but also for Hebrew youth. Uncle Klausner questions whether Oz's family has read his book a *Nation Fights for Its Freedom* to little Amos. He also adds that this is the best book that serves as spiritual nutrition to both little Amos and to Hebrew youth, other than his other book, *History of the Second Temple* which includes heroism and descriptions of the revolt. [223] This memory shows clearly that nationalist figures are available in every part of their lives in the founding years of Israel. Additionally, it is significant to state that when Oz was a child, he becomes acquaintance with the Zionism, Theodor Herzl and the major historical themes and events regarding the British Mandate years in Palestine by means of his father. This memory is finished in the novel by Oz with nationalistic motif by explaining the foundation of the Hebrew State with these sentences:

> …They frequently conversed with me about topics that were certainly not considered suitable for young children in other homes… Father, meanwhile, introduced me to the mysteries of the solar system, the circulation of the blood, the British White Paper, evolution, Theodor Herzl and his astonishing life story, the adventures of Don Quixote, the history of writing and printing, and the principle of Zionism. ('In the Diaspora the Jews had a very hard life; here in the Land of Israel it is still not easy for us, but soon the Hebrew State will be established, and then everything will be made just and rejuvenated. The whole world will come and marvel at what the Jewish people is creating here…[224]

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[222] For further description see: Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p.26, 27

[223] For further description see: Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p. 50

[224] Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p. 252, 253

The most remarkable nationalistic scenes in the novel might be expected in Oz's depiction regarding the issue of the Arab-Israeli conflict; however, this is not the case. The reason why this issue has not occupied much place in his memories is that he gave more importance to his troubled childhood, long descriptions of nearly each family member's life in Europe, his relations with his family and the failure of their efforts to adapt to their new life. However, in very few places he has something to comment on this issue, but when he comments on this issue, he approaches it with nationalist attitudes. To illustrate, immediately after he accepts that the 1948 war made his many Palestinian neighbors into refugees, whose return to their homes is still forbidden, he also first states that the Jews were also expelled by Jordanians and later none of them were allowed to stay, in contrast to the Palestinians' case, some of whom had permission to stay. [225] As Azzan Yadin[226] emphasized in his review of *A Tale of Love and Darkness*, Oz did not mention that the destroyed Jewish settlements of 1948 were allowed to be settled second time after 1967 with much greater numbers in more territory, on the other hand, not even a single Arab refugee has not been permitted to resettle. [227] The very nationalistic sentiment is made while he is depicting the Arab's encirclement of the Jewish side of Jerusalem. Whereas he describes the great suffering that the Jews experienced, there is hardly ever a mention of the experiences of the Arabs and their pains, and, as, Kaplan argues, this is a

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[225] Oz. *A Tale of Love and Darkness.* p. 342

[226] He is lecturer in the Department of Jewish Studies at Rutgers University.

[227] Azzan Yadin, "Review of *A Tale of Love and Darkness*" in his Reviews p. 247

synopsis of the traditional explanation that can be found plentifully in the very beginning of the 1950s in Israel in relation to the fate of the Palestinians. [228]

Although there is no specific statement to regarding the issue of nationalism in Shammas' *Arabesques* as in Oz's novel very specific memories and incidences mentumed above, Anton Shammas deals with the issue of nationalism neatly and allusively throughout the novel. As was mentioned in the identity matters of Shammas' book, Shammas fights against the nationalistic character of the State of Israel. The reason for of his writing this novel is to be able in some way to show his harsh stance towards nationalism. In addition to the allusions discussed in the identity matters' session of this study, he shows this stance and desire for Israel's being a real democratic state which embraces all its citizens without looking at their background and by abandoning its nationalistic character in the novel also. This is apparent in Shammas' dialogue with Yehoshua Bar-On in the plane with these sentences:

> …"I'm writing a new novel. With an educated Arab as its hero," he told me. "I don't think I'll ever have this kind of opportunity again - to be under the same roof with a person like that in ideal conditions of isolation."
>
> I regarded him with astonishment and said, "We have one little problem. I don't think of myself as what you people call 'an educated Arab'. I'm just another 'intellectual,' as you call your educated Jews."
>
> He laughed and puffed at his extinguished pipe…[229]

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[228] Eran Kaplan, " Amos Oz's *A Tale of Love and Darkness* and the Sabra Myth," p. 126

[229] Shammas, *Arabesques*. p. 137

Although this dialogue seems as if it has more to do with the issue of identity conflict Shammas experienced, it is related to the issue of nationalism itself. It is implied in the passage that rather than using a nationalistic word, Arab or Jew, the word Israeli, which is more comprehensive should be used when describing a citizen of Israel. Before concluding the issue of nationalism in *Arabesques*, it should be stressed once more that Shammas fights the nationalistic character of both the State of Israel and Hebrew literature. As was previously mentioned while questioning the identity of the Israeli State, his attempt to enter Israeli literature with Bialik's *The Pool* is also seen as his reaction to the national boundaries of Israeli literature. Since all the other necessary allusions stated while describing the national identity of Israeli State and Shammas' fight for this are expressed in the previous session of this study, it is not necessary to state them once more. Thus, it is now time to mention Shammas' stance towards the Arab-Israeli conflict as a brief final remark. In line with Oz's novel, there are certain references to certain concepts, themes of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Tale parts of the novel stretch from both the Ottoman and the British rule of Palestine to the 1948 war and the Arab Revolts in the British Mandate years. *Arabesques* is also both an autobiography of Shammas' own family and the State of Israel itself by means of the intersection of family history and the history of the region like *A Tale of Love and Darkness*. Unsurprisingly, his narration style refers to these issues rarely but implicitly, symbolically and in a coded manner in contrast Oz's writing style.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire, both the First and Second World Wars, and finally the intrusion of the Western imperial powers into one of the most volatile regions in the world, namely the Middle East *have started*, rather than *started* a new age for both the people of the region and the region itself. There is no doubt that out of the many contemporary issues and conflicts in that region, the Arab-Israeli conflict has been among the most hotly debated conflicts in the region, and cannot be fully understood and analyzed without historical clarification of its roots in these years.

Hence, the founding years of the State of Israel have been examined to be able to reach the roots of the Arab-Israeli conflict and these years, in this sense, have been selected on purpose as a focal point in this study. Therefore, to be able to reach the roots of the State of Israel, it is necessary to go back to the birth of Zionism, the developments that took place in the years of the First World War, which shaped Palestine completely, the Mandate Period of Palestine, and finally the foundation of the State of Israel itself. The Zionist movement with its leader, Theodor Herzl, has been regarded as the first concrete attempt with the definite aim of the creation of a 'home' for the Jews in Palestine. The First World War years witnessed some significant political developments in the region. Out of these events, undoubtedly,

the most significant ones are the Balfour Declaration granting British favor for a Jewish national home in Palestine and the beginning of the British Mandate in the region. In addition to these developments which formed a path to the foundation of the State of Israel, a tense atmosphere was created between the Palestinians and the Jews with the UN Partition resolution recommending the termination of the Mandate and the partition of Palestine between the Jews and the Arabs, and Jerusalem under international administration. Finally the real clash broke out, with the 1948 war immediately after the declaration of the State of Israel on 14 May 1948.

While writing the historical scene of these years, there are certain paths and methodology that have been followed. In history writing, there is always a dilemma between "official history" which is generally full of myths and nationalist aspirations and "history in reality". This dilemma is especially obvious in the founding years of the states that correspond with the scope of this study.

In line with this, in the process of writing the second chapter of this study, it has been observed that most Arab and Israeli historians have written with a nationalist point of view, rather than focusing on critical history writing. In this regard, a newly coined term, "official history" has emerged as a combination of history writing and patriotism to make legitimate national actions in the 1948 war. [230] On the Israeli side, since the late 1980s a new group of Israeli critical scholars, called "new historians"[231] whose studies led to a huge controversy within Israel, criticized and

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[230] Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, *the War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 2

[231] The prominent historians of this new group are Ilan Pappe, Avi Shlaim and Benny Morris.

studied mainly Israel's foundational myths after the release of governmental documents as a result of liberal archival policy which made a large amount of the 1948 War documents accessible. On the Arab side, a critical tradition has always been available in the Arab histories of 1948, although the criticism was directed against other Arab states since they found their defeat in the general weaknesses of Arab society. [232] All in all, Walid al-Khalidi[233] suggested that "Yet these books - the Arab histories of 1948, were not able to eradicate and bury forever our myths of what took place in the 1948 War, in spite of their wide circulation."[234] Even though there have been long and enormous debates in both Arab and Israeli history about the history of the 1948 War and the foundation of Israel, there is a certain fact that the occurrence of these two events has affected the Middle Eastern region and its politics to great extent. The important thing is that while writing the historical background of this study stated above, the literature of not only new historians such as Ilan Pappe, Benny Morris and Avi Shlaim, and Arab historians such as Walid Khalidi, Nur Masalha and Rashid Khalidi but also the critics of new historians, such as Joseph Heller and other historians Jonathan Adelman and Leslie Stein have been utilized to be able to write the most objective historical background, since this period might have more inclination to myths of state foundation and official history as stated above.

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[232] Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, *the War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, p. 3

[233] He is a founder of the Institute for Palestine Studies and has taught at Oxford University, the American University of Beirut and Harvard University.

[234] Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, *the War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, p. 4

However, just giving this historical background does not explain completely how these years have affected the modern Israeli novel and its prominent authors. Therefore, the birth of the Hebrew language as a first step and then surveying the history of the modern Israeli novel has needed to be examined meticulously on the basis of significant historical developments as stated above. While surveying the history of the modern Israeli novel, both Gershon Shaked's traditional classifications of the Hebrew writers into four generations according to their topics, ages, their background (whether they were born in Israel or not) and the Arab writers of the modern Israeli novel have been included. The reason for this is that there are some Arab writers who not only reside within the boundaries of the State of Israel and prefer to use Hebrew to write their novels, but who are also citizens of the State of Israel. The fact that this study chose two Israeli novels, *A Tale of Love and Darkness* by Amos Oz and *Arabesques* by Anton Shammas, does not mean that these are the only novels reflecting the founding years of the State of Israel. Although there are other novels belonging to that period, these novels have some distinctive features to be included in this study.

In this regard, both of these novels share some common points. To illustrate, they are based upon autobiography rather than merely on fiction. The explanation of these two authors' own family history and memories brings both of them closer. Additionally, the history of both families in the books overlaps with the history of the State of Israel; therefore, both of them become the autobiography of Israel as well. However, by means of the analysis of these two books, this time a literary autobiography of the State of Israel has been able to be presented rather than just

chronological, historical facts. Even if they explain the same periods of Israel on the basis of the same three points, the issue of identity conflict, the trauma of the founding years' generation and the issue of nationalism, different images of the same Israel have been drawn by means of both the writers' different origins and their different writing styles.

It should be stated that all three of these points stated above are very common phenomena of those years. This forms one of the most important reasons why these novels have been analyzed. The issue of identity crisis is commonly experienced by not only individuals but also states in the process of state formation. In fact, the issue of identity conflict is not only a common matter in the process of state formation; rather nationalism is also a significant phenomenon in that process, especially in the 1940s and 1950s in which nationalist movements reached their peak in the Middle Eastern region. As a result of these, traumatic incidents have been commonly observed especially in the memories of those generations. In line with this, all three of these points have become complementary pieces of jigsaw puzzle, the depiction of Israel in its founding years by means of Oz's and Shammas' unique narrative style.

In the light of all these, it is appropriate to reach conclusions by framing how these three points have captured the free spirit of these novelists living those years and affected their novels also. In Oz's novel, identity conflict and subsequently the traumatic memories of family members are clearer than the issue of nationalism. Nonetheless, this does not mean that there is no nationalistic figure in this novel. On the contrary, there are very observable nationalist elements and memories expressed throughout the book as previously mentioned in the third chapter of this thesis. On

the other hand, the most prominent issue in Shammas' novel is the identity conflict issue. It has been underlined in this book to such an extent that it has also formed the central theme and very heart of *Arabesques*. Although the other two points are also included in this book, identity search has obviously overshadowed the others as has already been examined. Additionally, both of these authors prefer to narrate in a non-linear fashion by breaking traditional narrative styles. However, Oz prefers to narrate his memories and feelings very frankly since he concentrates on an individual's inner world. On the other hand, Shammas' book is full of allusions, symbolism and metaphors as analyzed in the previous chapter. Therefore, it is important to state that the analyses of this book can vary greatly. While analyzing this novel in this study, certain explanations and analyses upon which the majority of the experts have agreed, are included. Consequently, by taking into consideration all these explanations and analyses within this framework, it can be clearly argued that the historical facts and incidents have directly affected the content and theme of these novels. This observed effect is to such an extent that each protagonist's lives have changed with these historical incidents. It is apparent that the novelists cannot avoid historical facts capturing their own free spirits.

This thesis attempts to look at and analyze the Arab-Israeli conflict from different perspectives. In contrast to common studies in this field which benefit from only historical data gathering and theories of international relations, this study benefits from the Israeli authors' lenses to be able to bring new points of view and create new angles in the analyses of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Therefore, this thesis provides an alternative way to understand and explain the Arab-Israeli conflict via an uncommon

perspective by emphasizing how historical facts mold the novelists' points of view. In this way, a new field in Middle East Studies, the correspondence between history and literature can be opened. Analyzing the founding years of the State of Israel from the Israeli novelists' perspectives is rare, hence to fill this gap further studies can be conducted as well. To illustrate, how the period of the 1967 War or the years between the two Intifadas are reflected in the modern Israeli novel, the modern Palestinian novel or in both of them by comparing each other could be a new field as a study area showing correspondence between history and literature. By this way, both this thesis and prospective studies related to this can open a new field of study for the Arab-Israeli conflict.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. TURKISH SUMMARY

20. Yüzyılın ilk yarısı, Dünya tarihinin hem en önemli hem de en kanlı olaylarına şahit olmuştur. Bu olayların başında, Birinci ve İkinci Dünya savaşları gelmektedir. Tüm Dünya bu savaşların ikisinden de çok ciddi biçimde etkilenmesine rağmen, Orta Doğu bölgesi en etkilenen yerlerin başında gelmektedir. Osmanlı Devleti'nin Birinci Dünya savaşında yıkılmasıyla birlikte, bölgede hakim güç konumuna İngiltere gelmiş ve Filistin'in İngiliz mandası olması Milletler Cemiyeti tarafından 1922 yılında onaylanmıştır. Bölgedeki İngiliz etkinliği 1940'lı yıllarda yavaş yavaş azalırken, manda yönetiminin sona ermesiyle birlikte İsrail Devleti 14 Mayıs 1948'de Tel Aviv'de ilan edilmiştir. Orta Doğu'nun hala en güncel meselelerinden birisi olan Arap İsrail sorunu bu tarihten önce yavaş yavaş şekil alırken, bu tarihten sonra tamamen farklı bir dönemece girmiştir.

Bu tezin amacı, İsrail'in kuruluş döneminin, 1940 ve 1949 yılları özelinde Amos Oz'un *Aşk ve Karanlık* ve Anton Shammas'nın *Arabesques* isimli romanlara nasıl yansıdığını incelemektir. Bu iki eser çağdaş İsrail romanının önde gelen iki yapıtları arasındadır. Yukarıda altı çizilen bilgiler ışığında, bu çalışma 1940 ve 1949 yılları arasındaki dönemi özellikle seçmiştir. Bu çalışma sayesinde güncelliğini hala koruyan Arap-İsrail sorununun başlangıç dönemine farklı bir perspektifle yani edebiyatın ve edebiyatçının gözüyle ayna tutulması hedeflenmektedir. Arap-İsrail sorunu daha önceki çalışmalarda, araştırmalarda ve tezlerde farklı yönleriyle

incelenmiştir. Fakat edebi çalışmalara yani romana nasıl yansıdığının incelenmesi bu alanda çok enderdir. Bunun yanı sıra, bu çalışma İsrail'in kuruluş yıllarının bu iki İsrail romanına nasıl yansıdığını dönemin üç önemli olgusu aracılığıyla incelemektedir. Dönemin önemli bu olgusu ise:

1. Kimlik sorunu

2. İsrail'de kuruluş yılı neslinin yaşadığı travma

3. Milliyetçilik'tir.

İsrail Edebiyatı'nın önde gelen bu iki romanı, belirtilen bu üç olgu bağlamında incelenmiştir.

Belirtilen bu amaçlarını gerçekleştirebilmesi için bu tez temel olarak dört bölümden oluşmaktadır. Çalışmanın birinci bölümü tezin amacının ve temel bölümlerinin kısaca tanıtıldığı giriş bölümünden oluşmaktadır. Aynı zamanda, bu bölümde bu çalışmanın faydaları, gelecek çalışmalara nasıl bir katkı sunabileceği belirtilmiştir. Bu bölümde nasıl bir tarih yazımı metodu kullanıldığına ilişkin detaylar da eklenmiştir ki bu şu şekilde özetlenebilir. Devletlerin kuruluş dönemi tarihleri genellikle kuruluş dönemi efsaneleri, kahramanlık hikâyelerinin ve milliyetçilik olgusunun etkisinde kalabilmektedir. Bu sebeple, çoğu zaman 'resmi tarih' ile gerçek tarih arasında uyuşmazlıklar görülebilmektedir. Bu çalışma bu durumu en aza indirgeyebilmek için İsrail'de 'yeni tarihçiler' olarak bilinen çalışmaları İsrail'de büyük yankı uyandıran bu tarihçiler 1980'lerde 1948 Savaşı'na dair İsrail arşivlerinin erişilebilir olmasından sonra İsrail'in kuruluş dönemi efsanelerini ve resmi tarihini eleştirmiş ve genellikle de İsrail'in kuruluş yıllarını incelemişlerdir. Gerçek olaylarla

propagandanın ayrımına varabilmek için de, bu çalışma hem yeni tarihçilerin kitaplarından, hem Arap tarihçilerinin tarih anlatımından, hem de yeni tarihçileri eleştiren çeşitli tarihçilerinden kaynaklarından faydalanarak en objektif tarih yazımı metodunu benimsemiştir.

Bu çalışmanın ikinci bölümü Arap-İsrail sorununun tarihi arka planını, 1940 ve 1949 yılları özelinde incelemektedir. Bunun için, bu çalışmanın tarih anlatımı Filistin'e 19. Yüzyılın sonlarında Yahudi göçlerinin başlamasında ve nihayetinde İsrail Devleti'nin kurulmasında büyük rol oynayan Siyonizm hareketinin kökenleri ile başlamıştır. Siyonizm, Doğu Avrupa'da ve Rusya'da yaşayan Yahudilerin yaşadığı Yahudi sorununa çözüm olarak doğmuştur. Yahudi sorunu temel olarak iki sebepten kaynaklanmaktadır ki bunlar Yahudilerin her ülkede azınlık durumunda olmaları, yaşadıkları sosyo-ekonomik problemler ve maruz kaldıkları anti-semitic faaliyetlerdir. Bu bağlamda, Siyonizm akımının lideri olarak Theodor Herzl 1897'de Birinci Siyonist Kongresi'ni düzenlemiştir. Bunun sonunda, Siyonizm'in somut bir amacı oluşmuş ve bu da Filistin'de Yahudi Devleti kurmaktır. Siyonizm'in kuruluşundan itibaren en temel noktalarından birisi de büyük devletlerin desteğini almaktır. Bölgedeki hakim güç zamanla değişmesine rağmen- ilk önce Osmanlı Devleti, Birinci Dünya Savaşı sonunda İngiltere ve son olarak İkinci Dünya Savaşı bitiminde Amerika- Siyonistlerin yükselen gücün ya da devletin desteğini almaya çalışmaları hep devam etmiştir.

Siyonizm'in bu temel yöntemi bağlamında Filistin'de nihai hedeflerini gerçekleştirebilmek için İngiliz-Siyonizm yakınlaşması sayesinde Balfour Deklarasyonu 1917'de yayınlanmıştır. Bu Deklarasyon Filistin'de Yahudiler için bir

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milli yurt kurulması için İngiliz desteğinin sunulduğunu belirtmektedir. Böylelikle Deklarasyon' un tüm çelişkilerine ve belirsizliklerine rağmen Siyonistler o dönemde alabilecekleri en büyük uluslararası desteği almışlardır. Müttefik Kuvvetleri'nin 1918'de Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda galibiyet kazanmasının akabinde, İngiltere'nin 1917 Kudüs işgali 1922'de resmi olarak Milletler cemiyeti tarafından onaylanması ile de Filistin Mandasına dönüşmüştür. Aynı yıl İngiltere Filistin Mandası yönetimine ilişkin esaslarını belirten Beyaz Kâğıt yayınlamıştır.

İngiltere yönetimindeki Filistin Mandası dönemi boyunca dört önemli gelişme gerçekleşmiştir. Bunlardan birincisi, yerli halk olan Filistinliler ile Yahudiler arasındaki 1929'daki Ağlama Duvarı olayları ve sonucunda İngiltere'nin yayınladığı Passfield Beyaz Kâğıdıdır. İkincisi, Siyonistlerin alt yapı kurma ve kurumsallaşma çalışmalarına ilişkin faaliyetleridir. Siyonist diplomasisi manda yönetiminde sadece buna odaklanmış ve kurulacak olan Yahudi Devleti'nin organlarının temellerini bu dönemde atmıştır. Manda yönetiminin üçüncü karakteristiği, Siyonizm'in aksine Filistin toplumunun rekabet ve iç çekişmeler yüzünden bölünmüş olmasıdır. Aynı zamanda bir lider altında sosyal bir bütünlüğünün olmaması da o dönemki Filistin toplumunun bir karakteristiği olmuştur. Filistinli elitlerin yükselişinden, kendilerini temsil eden önemli bir liderlerinin bulunmayışından- ya da var olan liderlerin İngilizler tarafından sürgün edilmesinden- aynı zamanda Siyonist göçlerden ve İngiliz sömürgeci politikalardan en çok Filistin halkının kendisi etkilenmiştir. Bu durumda özellikle gençler arasında İngiltere Manda 'sına karşı başlatılan, radikal, anti- Siyonist, halk tabanlı (grassroot) Arap İsyanının oluşmasına neden olmuştur ve bu da manda döneminin dördüncü

olayını oluşturmaktadır. Buna çözüm olarak İngiltere 1939 Beyaz Kâğıdını yayımlamıştır. 1940'ların başında dünya görebileceği en kanlı savaşa doğru sürüklenirken, İngiliz yönetimindeki Filistin Mandası bu önemli dört olay bağlamında incelenebilir. Sadece uluslararası politika değişmekle kalmayıp aynı zamanda Filistin'de bu dönemde yepyeni bir döneme girmeye başlamıştır. İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın nihayetlenmesiyle, İngiliz mandası da Filistin'de son dönemecine girmiş, Siyonist diplomasi İngiltere ile olan iş birliğine son verip Filistin'deki İngiliz varlığına karşı terörist saldırılar gerçekleştirmeye başlamıştır. Ama İngiltere'nin Filistin mandasını sonlandırmasının asıl nedeni, 1946- 47 yılı çetin kış şartları, İngiltere'nin Amerika'ya olan borcu ve Amerika'nın borca ilişkin sert tutumudur.

Bu sebeple İngiltere, Filistin yönetimini 1947'de Birleşmiş Milletlere devretmiş ve Birleşmiş Milletler Filistin Özel Komitesi kurulmuştur. Komite Manda yönetiminin acilen sonlandırılmasını, Filistin'in Yahudiler ve Araplar arasında bölünmesini ve Kudüs'ün uluslararası yönetime bırakılmasını önermiş ve öneri 181 nolu kararla kabul edilmiştir. Filistin meselesi Birleşmiş Milletler'in çözüm görevini aldığı ilk önemli uluslararası sorun olma özelliği de taşımaktadır. Daha öncesinde böyle bir meseleye dair herhangi bir tecrübesi olmayan bu genç örgütün Filistin Özel Komitesi'nin vermiş olduğu bu bölünme kararı Yahudi Ajansı tarafından resmi olarak kabul edilmesine rağmen dünyanın herhangi bir yerindeki ülkedeki insanlar gibi, Filistinliler de Filistin'in bölünmesini reddettiler. Kararın kabul edilmesinden hemen sonra da taraflar arasında çatışmalar başladı. *Haganah* tarafından Plan Dalet gibi sivil halka karşı kanlı askeri harekatlar da bu dönem de gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Bunlardan tek olmamasına rağmen en ünlü olanı Deir Yassin katliamıdır ki, bu kasabanın tamamı Filistinlilerden 'temizlenmiştir'.

İngiltere Filistin'deki Manda yönetimini 14 Mayıs 1948'de sonlandırmasının hemen akabinde İsrail Devleti 14 Mayıs 1948'de ilan edilmiş, 1948 savaşı da İsrail ve Mısır, Lübnan, Ürdün ve Suriye arasında başlamış ve sırasıyla 1949'daki ateşkes antlaşmaları ile savaş resmi olarak bitmiştir. Filistinliler, 1948 savaşını hem diplomaside hem de cephede kaybetmişlerdir. Savaşın önemli sonuçlarından birisi, İsrail'in sınırlarını tüm Filistin topraklarının yüzde 55'inden yüzde 79 çıkarmasıdır. Diğeri ise hala güncelliğini koruyan, Arap-İsrail sorununda önemli konulardan olan bölgenin yerli halkı Filistinlilerin mülteci konumuna gelmesi yani Filistin mülteci sorunudur.

Bu çalışmanın üçüncü bölümü, Amos Oz'un *Aşk ve Karanlık* ve Anton Shammas'nın *Arabesques* romanlarına nasıl yansıdığını her iki romandan da yukarıda belirtilen üç tema bağlamında alıntılar verilerek 1940'ların Filistin tasvirini ve tarihini nasıl yansıttığını incelemektedir. Bunun gerçekleştirilebilmesi için bu bölümün ilk kısmı modern İsrail romanının kısa tarihinin incelenmesine ayrılmıştır. Modern İsrail edebiyatının İbrani dilinin yeniden doğuşu ile doğrudan bağlantısı bulunmaktadır. Dilin yeniden doğuşu hem *Haskalah*'nın- 18. Yüzyılın ortalarında başlayan Yahudi aydınlanması- hem de Siyonizm'in en temel temalarından bir tanesi olmuştur. Neden İbranice'nin canlandırılması Siyonizm'in mihenk taşlarından birisini oluşturmaktadır? Antik zamanlarla modern zamanlar arasında İbranice çoğu zaman dini amaçlar için kullanılmaktadır. Canlandırma çalışmalarında çok önemli rolü olan ve aynı zamanda İbranice'nin babası diye anılan Eliezer Ben- Yehuda'nın

Avrupa'daki milliyetçilik akımlarından etkilenmiş ve İbranice'nin tekrardan konuşma dili olmasını öne süren makaleler yazmıştır. Ben- Yehuda ve Siyonistler, dilin bütünleştirici etkisinden faydalanmak istemişler ve bir millet olarak Yahudi kimliğinin oluşturulması için İbranice'nin canlandırılması çalışmalarına çeşitli faaliyetlerle ivme kazandırmışlardır. Filistin duvarlarına asılan '*Yahudiler İbranice Konuşun- Jews Speak Hebrew*' posterleri 20. Yüzyıl başlarında Filistin'in karakteristiği haline gelmiştir. Dilin canlandırılması çalışmaları *Aşk ve Karanlık* romanına da yansımıştır. İsrail Devleti'nin kurulmasıyla İbranice ülkenin resmi dil olmuştur. Canlandırma çalışmalarının başlamasından resmi dil olana kadar İbranicedeki gelişmeler edebiyata da yansımıştır. Siyonizm'in üçlü canlandırma kuramı vardır, Yahudi milletinin canlandırılması, İbrani dilinin canlandırılması ve bu ikisine bağlı olarak İbrani edebiyatının ve kültürünün canlandırılmasıdır. Bu da yeniden canlandırma, Yahudi kimliği, İbrani dili ve edebiyatı arasındaki bağlantıyı en iyi biçimde açıklamaktadır. Bu canlanma döneminden sonra, modern İbrani edebiyatı *Aliyah*larla birlikte İsrail'e taşınmıştır ve orada İsrail edebiyatı farklı bir döneme girmiş ve önemli gelişmelere tanıklık etmiştir.

Geleneksel olarak İsrail edebi tarihi çoğu zaman yazarlarının İsrail devleti ile biyografik ilişkilerine istinaden düzenlenmek olup, yazarın İsrail Devleti'nde doğup doğmadığı ya da devletin kuruluşundan önce mi sonra mı doğduğu bu noktada önem taşımaktadır. Bu bağlamda, İsrail edebi tarihini ve yazarlarını Gershon Shaked yazarların eserlerinde ilgilendikleri olay örgülerine, konularına, temalarına ve doğum yerlerine göre dört nesile ayırmakta ve İbrani edebiyatının son doksan yılının böylesi bir sınıflandırma yapılmasının gerektirdiğini ileri sürmektedir. Bu çalışmada

Shaked'in yazarların dört nesli de hangi yılları, hangi yazarları kapsadığını ve eserlerinin temalarını detaylı bir biçimde incelemiştir. Ne var ki, yazarların bu kategorilere ayrılmasına ilişkin de iki temel görüş bulunmaktadır. Bir tarafta modern İbrani edebiyatının önemli bir eleştirmeni olan Shaked'in İbrani edebiyatının en kapsamlı ve en güncel historiyografisini sunduğunu ileri süren uzmanlar bulunmaktadır. Diğer taraftan modern İsrail edebiyatındaki kozmopolitliğin altını çizerek 'nativism' anlayışının eleştirmenleri de bulunmaktadır. Modern İsrail edebiyatının yazarlarına ilişkin kozmopolit ya da nativist tartışması devam etmesine rağmen, Shaked'in sınıflandırması yazarların tamamını kapsamamaktadır. Bilakis, bu kategorinin dışında kalıp İbranice'yi kullanan ve İsrail vatandaşı olan ama Shaked'in sınıflandırmasındaki yazarlardan tamamen farklı kökene sahip yazarlar da bulunmaktadır. Bunlar İbranice'nin Arap kökenli yazarlarıdır. Shaked'in aksine Gila Ramras Rauch gibi uzmanlar da yepyeni bir başlık altında bu yazarları son dönem İsrail edebiyatı yazarları arasına eklemiştir. Bütün bu ihtilaflı görüşler göz önünde bulundurulduğunda 'İsrailli yazar kimdir?' ya da 'Hangi özellikler birisini İsrailli yazar yapmaktadır?' sorusuna en makul cevabın aranması elzemdir. Bu bağlamda İbrani gazetesi olan *Ma'ariv*'deki röportajda birçok yazara ikinci soru sorulmuş ve en net cevap şair Yehuda Amichai'den gelmiş ve İbrani dilinde yazması ve İsrail'de oturuyor olması onu İsrailli yazar yaptığını belirtmiştir. Aynı zamanda, Türkiye'deki İsrail Büyükelçiliği'nin yayımlamış olduğu İsrail kültürü ve edebiyatını tanıtan kitapçıkta da Arap kökenli İsrailli yazarların da eklenmiş olması çok önemlidir. Bu çalışma, İsrail'in resmi bir kurumunun bu yazarları İsrail edebiyatının bir parçası olarak görmesini baz almış ve 'İbranice'yi kullanan İsrailli yazarları' esas olarak belirlemiştir. Buna paralel olarak, İsrail'in kuruluş yıllarının edebi çizgiye nasıl

yansıdığını incelemek için hem Anton Shammas'nın- Arap kökenli İsrailli yazar-
Arabesques hem de Amos Oz'un *Aşk ve Karanlık* romanları seçilmiştir.

Bu iki yazarın eserlerinin seçilmesinin çok çeşitli nedenleri bulunmaktadır.
Öncelikle, seçilen her iki roman da hem yazarlarının ailelerinin hem de İsrail
Devleti'nin 1930'lu, 40'lı yıllarının biyografisi olması özelliklerini taşımaktadır ki
bu dönemde bu çalışmanın odaklandığı dönemdir. Amos Oz İsrail'in en çok tanınan
ve yaşayan yazarlarından birisidir ve fiziksel görünüşü ve edebi eserleri onu tam
Yahudi Devleti tarafından istenilen İsrail prototipi yapmaktadır. Aynı zamanda, Oz
romanında yeni bir devletin kuruluşuna ve o döneme dair çok zengin tarihi tasvirlere
yer vermektedir. Akademisyenlerden, edebiyattan siyasete kadar farklı alanlardan
dönemin Kudüs'ünün önden gelen figürlerine yer vermiş onlarla anılarını uzun uzun
anlatmıştır. Bu kitapta Oz'un yaşı olağan çocukluk sınırlarının dışına çıkmış, bazen
bir yetişkin, bazen bir entelektüel ve politikacı ve bazen *kibbutz* yaşamının bir üyesi
olarak İngiliz Manda yönetimine, Holocaust'a, Siyonizm'e, Kibbutz yaşamına,
Mapai ile Revizyonistler arasındaki ideolojik bölünmelere, 1948 Savaşı'na,
Birleşmiş Milletler'in bölünme kararına, İsrail'in kuruluşuna kısacası dönemin en
önemli tarihi olaylarına tanıklık etmiş ve her birisine söyleyecek bir sözü olmuştur.
Son olarak, Oz'un İbrani nesrindeki yeni yaklaşımları benimseyen yani bireyin iç
dünyasına odaklanmayı tercih eden yazarlardan birisi olması yukarıdaki belirtilen
romanların üç temayı da romanında bol bol tasvir etmesine yardımcı olmaktadır.
Tüm bu sebepler, Oz'un ailesinin otobiyografik romanını bu çalışmanın ayrılmaz bir
parçası yapmaktadır.

Diğer taraftan, bu tezde incelenen ikinci romanın yazarı Anton Shammas'nın İsrail edebiyatındaki yeri bile tartışmalı olmakla kalmayıp tüm yaşamı boyunca İsrail vatandaşı olup Hristiyan-Arap kimliğiyle kimlik sorununu belki de en çok yaşayan yazarlardandır. Shammas kendisini İsrailli Arap olarak tanıtmakta ve bu kimlik sorunu da kitabının ana temasını oluşturmaktadır. İsrail'in kuruluş yıllarına ilişkin kimlik sorunu incelenmek istendiğinde, Shammas'nın kimliğinin çeşitliliği ve romanı boyunca ortaya çıkan kimlik krizleri bu romanın incelenmesini elzem kılmaktadır. Aynı zamanda, bu kitap da Shammas'nın ailesine ait otobiyografik özellikler taşımakta ve yine İsrail'in kuruluş yıllarıyla, bölgenin tarihiyle örtüşmektedir. Son olarak *Arabesques* İsrail'in alışılmadık diğer tarafının tasviridir. Çok az bilinen ve bölgenin alışılmadık yüzü olan Hristiyan Arapların bu dönemdeki yaşamlarına ilişkin zengin tasvirler içermektedir. Her iki roman da benzer tematik öğeleri içermekte, sadece bir kurgu olmaktan çok otobiyografik özellikler de taşımakta, aynı dönemin yansıması olmaktadır. Yazarlarının farklı kökenleri sayesinde aynı dönemin bazen tamamen iki farklı bazen de benzer İsrail'in zengin tasvirlerine her iki romanda da sık sık rastlanılmaktadır. Tüm bunlar bu iki yazarın romanlarının analiz nedenini açıklamakta olup sadece bu nedenlere yer verilmesi yeterli görülmemiştir. Buna paralel olarak, bu çalışmanın bir sonraki bölümünde de yukarıdaki belirtilen üç temanın seçiliş nedenleri belirtilmiştir.

Orta Doğu uzmanları bölgeyi anlamak için kimliğin ne kadar önemli olduğunu her zaman kabul etmişlerdir. Bu görüşe paralel olarak Orta Doğu'daki dönemin (ki hala güncelliğini koruyan bölgenin önemli özelliklerindendir) en belirgin özelliklerinden devlet ve kimlik arasındaki uyuşmazlıktır. Bu durum Osmanlı Devleti'nin

yıkılmasıyla bölgede oluşan kimlik boşluğundan ve Batı'nın emperyalist güçlerince dayatılan 'state system' adı verilen sözde çözümden de kaynaklanmaktadır. Çağdaş Orta Doğu devlet sisteminin dayatılan sınırları Batıdakinin aksine doğal yöntemlerle değil, keyfi, büyük güçlerin menfaatleri doğrultusunda oluşturulmuş bu da bölgeyi rekabet halindeki yapay ülkelere ayırmıştır. Bu keyfi dayatma Orta Doğu mozaiğine ve kültürel uyumuna ciddi zararlar vermiş, kimlik sorunlarının yaşanmasına, çeşitli kimliklerin yarışına sebep olmuştur. Kimlik yarışmaları sırasında yaşanılan uyumsuzluklar, bireylerin yeni kimliklerine adapte olamamaları 1940'lı yılların neslinin yaşadıkları travmalar ile sonuçlanmış ki bu da kitapların incelendiği ikinci temayı oluşturmuştur. Pan- Arabizm, Pan- İslamizm gibi kimlikler bu boşlukları doldurmak için ortaya çıkmış, bu çalışmanın odaklandığı dönemin kimlik arayışı da milliyetçilik olgusunun gelişimini tetiklemiş ve buna paralel olarak da kimlik krizleri, kuruluş neslinin yaşadığı travmadan sonra üçüncü tema da milliyetçilik olarak belirlenmiştir. Modern İsrail romanının önden gelen isimlerinden olan bu iki roman dönemin belirgin bu üç olgusu bağlamında incelenmiş ve yukarıda belirtilen veriler de birbirlerine bağlı gelişen ilişkiyi göstermiştir. Sonuç olarak, Orta Doğu'nun belirgin özelliği olan devlet ve kimlik arasındaki uyumsuzluk bölgenin her bir üyesini doğrudan etkilemiş ve bu iki roman özelinde de bireylerin dünyasına nasıl yansıdığını bu çalışma sayesinde analiz edilebilmiştir. Tezin bundan sonraki bölümlerinde de bu üç temanın her birinin her iki romana nasıl yansıdığı romanlardan alıntılar verilerek ve tarihi olaylarla arasındaki ilişkilerin altı çizilerek analiz edilmiştir.

Belirtilen kimlik arayışı ve oluşumu sürecinde Filistin'de Siyonizm Yahudilerce ve Arap milliyetçiliği neredeyse tüm bölgede İsrail'in kuruluş yıllarında ön plana çıkmıştır. Her iki romanın da ana kahramanlarının yaşadığı belirgin kimlik sorunları bulunmaktadır. Oz bir röportajında bu otobiyografinin kahramanlarının kendisinden ziyade annesinin ve babasının olduğunu belirtmiştir. Bunu göz önünde bulundurarak, bu çalışma da annesinin yaşadığı kimlik sorunlarının analizi ile başlamıştır. *Aşk ve Karanlık*'ın belki de kimlik sorununu en belirgin yaşayan karakteri Oz'un annesi Fania Klausner'dir ve yaşadığı bunalımın temelinde kendisinin sürekli Rovno'daki yani Avrupa'daki eski yaşamları ile Kudüs'teki yeni yaşamlarını kıyaslaması yatmaktadır. Fania'nın kimliği eskiden ne oldukları, ne olmayı umdukları ve şuanda ne oldukları arasında bölünmüştür. Bütün hayatını Kudüs'te Rovno'yu yaşayarak geçirmiştir. Oz'a çocukken anlattığı masallar hep Rovno'ya ait izler taşımakta, Fania'nın Avrupa'ya olan özlemini belirtmektedir. Oz'un hem babasının ailesinin hem de annesinin ailesinin Filistin'e olan göçlerinin aslında bu kadar trajik olmaması gerektiğini çünkü her iki ailenin de Siyonist olduklarının, daha Avrupa'dayken İbranice'yi öğrendiklerinin ve Holocaust sırasında aileleriyle birlikte Filistin'de olduklarının bu çalışmada altı çizilmiştir. Ne var ki, gerçek hayatın Siyonizm'in vaat ettiklerinden çok daha farklı olmasından Filistin'deki yeni yaşamlarında boşluklar oluşmuştur. Oz, Kudüs'te bodrum katında olan evlerinde annesinin yaşadığı sorunları romanında uzun tasvirlerle anlatmıştır. Eski yaşamlarına olan özlemlerini hem romanın kendisinde anlatmış, hem de romanını anlattığı bir videoda Oz bu özlemin altını defalarca çizmiştir. Yine aynı videoda evlerinin çok küçük olmasına rağmen çok sayıda kitapların arasına bir orman ve nehir manzarasının olduğu bir tabloya ayrılabildiğini, Filistin tablosu olmadığını yani Avrupa'ya, eski yaşama duyulan

özlemi belirtmiştir. Fanya Kudüs'ün ne havasına ne iklimine adapte olamamış, Siyonist ideolojinin aksine hiçbir zaman kendisini oraya ait hissedememiştir, çünkü aslında Avrupa'ya ait olduğu Oz tarafından defalarca vurgulanmıştır.

Aşk ve Karanlık romanının diğer kahramanlarından Amos Oz da kimlik sorununu yaşayan diğer bir karakterdir. Oz'un kimlik sorunları ailesinin geçmişinden, hybrid kimliğinden uzaklaşması, annesinin intiharından sonra ailesi ile tüm bağlantılarını kesmesi, ailesinin aksine yeni İsrail toplumunu ve kibbutz yaşamını benimsemesi olarak, soyadı İbranice bir kelime ile değiştirmesi, kısacası eski yaşamlarını anımsatan her şeyden kaçması, eski kimliğini reddetmesi gibi romanda beliren tasvirlerle özetlenebilir.

Diğer taraftan Shammas'nın romanında kimlik sorunu bir karakter üzerine odaklanmış ve romanın yazılış amacını, ana temasını oluşturmuştur. Oz açıkça yazarken kimlik sorunlarını, Shammas'nın stili sembolik olmuş, alegori yöntemine başvurmuştur. Hristiyan Filistinli ve aynı zamanda İsrail vatandaşı olan Shammas Yahudi ve Filistin kültürleri arasında bölünmüştür. Romanında gerçek Anton Shammas'nın peşinde koşarken İsrail Devleti'nin kimliğini alışılmadık bir biçimde sembolik olarak sorgulamış bu durum *Arabesques*'i daha da ilginç hale getirmiştir. İsrail'in Yahudi Devleti olmasını istememekte, İbranice'nin Yahudi yazarlara ayrılması gerektiğini savunan görüşü de eleştirmiş ve romanını ana dili olmayan İbranice'de yazarak İsrail Devleti'nin kimliğini de sorgulamıştır. *Arabesques*'in yayımlanmasından çok önce A.B.Yehoshua ile olan İsrail'in kimlik sorununa dair polemikleri çok ilgi toplamış ve siyasetin sınırlarında kalmak istemeyen Shammas, bu polemiği romanın ana temasına taşımıştır. Bu yaparken de sembolik bir dil

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kullanmış ve tezin bu bölümünde kitaptan alıntılar verilerek kodlarla ve edebi motiflerle anlatılan bu kimlik sorunu detaylı bir biçimde analiz edilmiştir.

İkinci tema olarak İsrail'de kuruluş neslinin yaşadığı travmalar da *Aşk ve Karanlık*'ın diğer önemli temalarını oluşturmaktadır. Romandaki hemen hemen tüm karakterler bundan olumsuz etkilenmiş, bu melankoli tüm roman da hissedilmesine rağmen, hayalet gibi hiç beklenmediği zamanda okurunun karşısına çıkmaktadır. Bu melankolinin sebebi Filistin'e göçlerinin trajedisi ve Oz'un ailesinin gerçekleştirilmeyi bekleyen yeni yaşamlarına dair umutları olarak iki başlık altında özetlenebilir. Annesinin bir köy okulunda öğretmen, babasının akademisyen olma hayallerine ilişkin hayal kırıklıkları, annesinin hiçbir zaman Kudüs'e ait olamaması ve en nihayetinde intihar etmesi, Siyonizm'le gerçek arasındaki farklılık, diğer yandan Oz'un büyükannesinin Kudüs'teki yaşamı boyunca mottosu olan "Levant mikrop kaynıyor", Fania'nın arkadaşının Oz'a mektupları, bu iki başlığa ilişkin yaşanılan trajedilerin örneklerindendir.

Aşk ve Karanlık romanının aksine *Arabesques*'de trajik olaylar anlatılırken sembolik üslup kullanılmış, travmatik olayların tasvir edilmesine rağmen sonuçlarına dair ya da karakterlerin hissiyatlarına dair geniş tasvirlere yer verilmemiştir. Bu durumda Shammas'a yöneltilen eleştirilerden birisine sebebiyet vermiştir çünkü Shammas romanını okuyucunun kendisine bırakarak ucu açık biçimde bitirmiştir.

Milliyetçilik olgusu her iki romanda da farklı biçimde kendisini göstermiştir. Amos Oz'un romanı boyunca milliyetçiliğe ilişkin çok fazla anılar ve motifler tasvir edilmiştir. İbranice'nin yeniden günlük dil olarak kullanılması, İbranice yeni

kelimelerin türetilmesi, yerli ürünlerin kullanılmasına ilişkin milliyetçi tutum, Oz'un çocukken oynadığı savaş oyunları, Klausner ailesinin Oz'u büyütme stili, 1948 savaşı, Birleşmiş Milletler'in Filistin'le ilgili kararı roman boyunca milliyetçi betimlemelerle süslenmiştir. Bu betimlemelerde milliyetçilik olgusunun bazı noktalarda defalarca altı çizilmiştir. Özellikle, Oz Arap-İsrail sorununa ilişkin meseleleri tasvir ederken, 1948 savaşının çoğu Filistinli komşularını mülteci yaptığını belirttikten hemen sonra- ki dönüşleri hala yasaktır- milliyetçi tutumunu takınıp Yahudilerin de Ürdünlüler tarafından sürüldüğünü belirtmektedir. Lakin, 1948'de yıkılan Yahudi yerleşimlerinin 1967 Savaşı'ndan sonra ikinci kere inşa edilmesine daha çok sayıda ve daha geniş alanda izin verilmiş olmasını, diğer taraftan tek bir tane Filistinli mültecinin yeniden yerleşmesine izin verilmemiş olmamasını Oz'un belirtmemiş olması da milliyetçi tavrının diğer bir kanıtıdır. Son olarak, Kudüs'teki Yahudi mahallerinin Arap kuşatması altındayken çektiği acılara yer verilirken, Oz empatik düşüncenin yetersizliğini hissettirmiş çünkü neredeyse hiçbir yerde Filistinliler'in sıkıntılarına dair bir tasvirde bulunmamaktadır.

Shammas'nın *Arabesques* romanında milliyetçilik olgusuna Oz'un *Aşk ve Karanlık* romanından farklı biçimlerde rastlanılmıştır. Shammas her zamanki gibi sembolik tavrını sürdürmekte milliyetçiliğe karşı olan tavrını romanında çeşitli diyaloglarla belirtmektedir. Özellikle, İsrailli bir yazarın yazdığı yeni romanına eğitimli bir Arap kahramanı aradığını belirttiği zaman, cevabında kendisinin 'eğitimli bir Arap' olmadığını diğer eğitimli Yahudileri çağırdığı gibi kendisinin de sadece bir 'entelektüel' olduğunu belirtmiştir. Aynı zamanda romanını İbranice yazarak İbranice'nin sadece Yahudi yazarlarca kullanılması gerektiğini savunan görüşü

eleştirmiş ve İsrail edebiyatındaki Yahudi milliyetçiliğine de böylelikle karşı çıkmıştır. Yukarıda belirtilen tüm bu tasvirler, semboller ve edebi motifler her iki romandan da alıntılar verilerek çok daha kapsamlı bir biçimde analiz edilmiştir.

Bu çalışma, temel bulguların ve öne çıkan sonuçların vurgulandığı sonuç bölümüyle nihayete ermektedir. Bu tezde bu iki romanın inceleniyor olması İsrail'in kuruluş yıllarını yansıtan sadece bu iki İsrail romanının bulunduğu anlamına gelmemekte, diğer romanlar da bulunmasına rağmen bu ikisinin bazı ayırt edici özellikleri nedeniyle bu çalışmada analiz edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, her iki romanın bazı benzer özellikleri taşıdığının altı tekrardan çizilmelidir. Her ikisi de sadece kurgudan ibaret değil otobiyografik özellikler de taşıdığı için iki roman birbirine yaklaşmaktadır. Her iki ailenin tarihi İsrail'in kuruluş tarihi ile eş zamanlı olduğu için romanların analizi aynı zamanda İsrail'in de edebi otobiyografisidir. Yukarıda belirtilen üç temayı iki romanda içermesine rağmen, yazarlarının yazım stilleri ve üsluplarıyla farklı kökenleri sayesinde aynı İsrail'in aynı döneminin farklı tasvirleri ortaya çıkmıştır.

Bütün bu verilerin ve analizlerin doğrultusunda, bu üç olgunun yazarların özgür ruhunu nasıl ele geçirdiğini vurgulayarak bir sonuca ulaşmak yerinde olacaktır. Oz'un romanında öncelikle kimlik bunalımı, sonrasında aile üyelerinin melankolik anıları milliyetçilik olgusundan daha belirgindir. Bu, milliyetçilik temasının romanda yer verilmediği anlamına gelmemekte, aksine bu bağlamda da yoğun tasvirler bulunmaktadır. Diğer taraftan, Shammas'nın romanında en belirgin olan tema kimlik krizidir ki bu romanın kalbini oluşturmaktadır. Diğer iki tema da *Arabesques*'de bulunmakta ama kimlik sorununun gölgesinde kalmaktadır. Aynı zamanda her iki romanda non-linear anlatım tarzına sahiptir. Oz, bireyin iç dünyasına odaklanırken

duygularını ve anılarını açıkça öykülemeyi tercih etmiştir. Diğer taraftan, Shammas sıklıkla metafor ve sembolizm kullanmayı tercih etmiştir. Bu sebeple, *Arabesques*'nin analizleri genellikle aynı olsa da değişkenlik gösterdiği noktaların da bulunabileceğini belirtmek önemlidir. Bu çalışmada ise çoğu uzmanın hem fikir olduğu açıklamalara yer verilmiştir. Tüm bu açıklamalar ve analizler göz önünde bulundurulduğu zaman tarihi gerçeklerin ve olayların her iki romanın temalarını ve içeriğini doğrudan etkilediğinin altı bir kere daha çizilmelidir. Bu gözlemlenen etki öylesi bir boyuttadır ki, iki romanın da her bir kahramanının yaşamları bu tarihi gerçeklerle değişmiş ve şekillenmiştir.

Bu çalışma Arap-İsrail meselesine farklı bir çalışma alanı sunmuş olup, Arap-İsrail sorunun edebiyatta nasıl tasvir edildiğini analiz etme fırsatı vermiştir. Çoğu çalışmanın aksine, burada İsrailli yazarların bakış açılarından faydalanılmış, Arap-İsrail sorunun analizine dair yeni perspektifler kazandırılmıştır. Bu tez, Orta Doğu Çalışmalarına ve Orta Doğu'nun önemli sorunlarından bu meseleye tarih ve edebiyat arasındaki paralellik gibi yeni bir çalışma alanı oluşturulabileceğini ve edebiyatçıların bakış açılarından İsrail'in kuruluş yıllarının incelenmesi çok nadir olmasından dolayı bu boşluğu doldurmak için başka çalışmalar da gerçekleştirilebileceğini göstermiştir.

APPENDIX B. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	☐
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	X
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	☐
Enformatik Enstitüsü	☐
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Doymaz
Adı   : Satı
Bölümü : Orta Doğu Araştırmaları

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : THE REFLECTION OF ISRAEL'S FOUNDING YEARS 1940- 1949 IN AMOS OZ'S *A TALE OF LOVE AND DARKNESS* AND ANTON SHAMMAS' *ARABESQUES*

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans   X   Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.   X

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: