

**SURVIVAL UNDER OCCUPATION: A  
NECROPOLITICAL STUDY OF THE  
SELECTED PALESTINIAN SHORT STORIES  
IN ENGLISH**

**BY**

**TEHREEM JAMIL CHUGHTAI**



**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES**

**ISLAMABAD**

**January, 2024**

**Survival under Occupation: A Necropolitical Study of the  
Selected Palestinian Short Stories in English**

By

**TEHREEM JAMIL CHUGHTAI**

BS (HONS), NUML, 2020.

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**In English**

To

FACULTY OF ARTS & HUMANITIES



NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES, ISLAMABAD

© Tehreem Jamil Chughtai, 2024



## THESIS AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read the following thesis, examined the defense, are satisfied with the overall exam performance, and recommend the thesis to the Faculty of Arts & Humanities for acceptance.

**Thesis Title:** Survival under Occupation: A Necropolitical Study of the Selected Palestinian Short Stories in English.

**Submitted by:** Tehreem Jamil Chughtai

**Registration #:** 72-MPil/Eng.Lit/-F-20

Master of Philosophy

Degree name in full

English Literature

Name of Discipline

Dr. Attia Saman

Name of Research Supervisor

\_\_\_\_\_

Signature of Research Supervisor

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Safeer Awan

Name of Dean (FAH)

\_\_\_\_\_

Signature of Dean (FAH)

\_\_\_\_\_

Date

## AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I Tehreem Jamil Chughtai

Daughter of Muhammad Jamil

Registration # 72-MPil/Eng.Lit/-F-20

Discipline English Literature

Candidate of **Master of Philosophy** at the National University of Modern Languages do hereby declare that the thesis **Survival under Occupation: A Necropolitical Study of the Selected Palestinian Short Stories in English** submitted by me in partial fulfillment of MPhil degree, is my original work, and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that it shall not, in future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

I also understand that if evidence of plagiarism is found in my thesis/dissertation at any stage, even after the award of a degree, the work may be cancelled and the degree revoked.

---

Signature of Candidate

---

Name of Candidate

---

Date

## ABSTRACT

**Title: Survival under Occupation: A Necropolitical Study of the Selected Palestinian Short Stories in English.**

This research work aims to study the predicament of the Palestinian population under occupation as depicted in the selected Palestinian short stories from the collections *Gaza Writes Back (2014)*, *Qissat (2006)* and *The Sea Cloak and Other Stories (2019)*, under the lens of Mbembe's theory of necropolitics and Fanon's ideas regarding violence and decolonization. It draws on Mbembe's work on necropolitics to study the genocide of the Palestinian Arabs by the Israeli state and the constant state of pain the Palestinians are living in under Israel's necropolitics as mentioned in the selected texts. Furthermore, the researcher has invoked Fanon's work on violence and Mbembe's conception of suicide bomber and martyrdom to study the consequent armed resistance of the Palestinian Arabs. For this purpose, the researcher undertakes qualitative research and utilizes textual analysis to study the selected texts in depth to achieve the research objectives and reach a definite conclusion. This study reveals, in light of the selected texts, how Palestinian Arabs are killed mainly based on the relationship of enmity and chiefly on the basis of the mere suspicion and are living under the constant fear of death due to endless bombing and firing. However, this research also uncovers, using textual evidence, how the Palestinian population has resorted to violence to show resistance to the Israeli occupation. Through this research, the researcher intends to draw attention towards the repressed narrative of the Palestinian Arabs by demonstrating how the Palestinian population has been suffering interminably under Israeli occupation and that it has resorted to violence to counter its oppressors. This research work will also contribute to the understanding of necropolitics prevalent in the contemporary world as well as will help in deciphering the resistance undertaken by the repressed nations to counter the necropolitics.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
<b>THESIS AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM .....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>AUTHOR'S DECLARATION .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS .....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>DEDICATION.....</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>1. INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.1.1 Postcolonialism, Sovereignty and Mortality.....	1
1.1.2 Historical Background.....	2
1.2 Selected Short Stories and Authors.....	4
1.3 Necropolitics and Fanon's theory of Violence.....	7
1.4 Thesis Statement.....	9
1.5 Objectives of the Study.....	10
1.6 Research Questions.....	10
1.7 Research Methodology.....	10
1.7.1 Research Method.....	11
1.8 Significance of the Study.....	13
1.9 Delimitation.....	14
1.10 Organization of the Study.....	15
<b>2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....</b>	<b>17</b>
2.1 Introduction.....	17
2.2 Palestine as a Colony in the New Historian Context.....	19
2.3 Research Conducted on the Application of Necropolitics.....	21
2.4 Research Conducted on the Application of Fanon's Ideas.....	27
2.5 Palestinian Literature.....	31
2.6 Research Gap.....	36

<b>3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....</b>	<b>38</b>
3.1 Survival under Occupation and Necropolitics.....	38
3.1.1 Sovereign Power’s Right to Kill.....	38
3.1.2 Colonized as Living-Dead.....	39
3.2. Resistance Against Occupation.....	40
3.2.1 Fanon on Violence and Decolonization.....	40
3.2.2. Mbembe’s Conception of Suicide Bomber and Martyrdom.....	42
<b>4. SURVIVAL UNDER ISRAELI OCCUPATION.....</b>	<b>44</b>
4.1 Israel’s Extermination of the Palestinian Population .....	44
4.2 Palestinians in a Living Dead Condition.....	51
4.3 Conclusion.....	60
<b>5. PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE TO ISRAELI OCCUPATION.....</b>	<b>62</b>
5.1 Counter-resistance Using Non-violence.....	63
5.2 Counter-resistance Using Violent Measures.....	64
5.3 Conclusion.....	73
<b>6. CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>75</b>
6.1 Findings of the Research.....	75
6.2 Social Implications.....	78
6.3 Recommendations for Future Research.....	80
<b>WORKS CITED .....</b>	<b>82</b>

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I primarily want to express my gratitude to Allah Almighty for His countless blessings and especially for his help during this process as without it, this endeavor would not have been possible. Moreover, I am extremely grateful to Dr Attia Saman for supervising my work and providing me with the guidance I needed. I especially want to thank my family members for their generous support and ample assistance throughout this arduous journey. I am greatly thankful to them for believing in my capabilities and for keeping me motivated. I also want to thank my aunty for helping me review my work. I further want to extend my thanks to my friends Aiman, Sundus, Shehneeza and Aleeba and my family for their emotional support and encouragement during this process. Finally, I want to express my thanks to NUML university, Rector, Dean and HOD of English department for providing me with the opportunity to accomplish this task.

Thank you



## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my parents whose love and support enabled me to accomplish this important task.

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the background of study, introduces the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and offers a brief discussion on the selected short stories and their authors. It also briefly discusses Mbembe's necropolitics and Fanon's theory of violence. This chapter further presents the thesis statement, the objectives, the research questions and the research methodology of the study as well as its significance.

### 1.1 Background of the Study

#### 1.1.1 Postcolonialism, Sovereignty and Mortality

Postcolonial Studies is a vast domain which focuses on the “consequences of European colonization” as well as lays emphasis on the “(post-)colonial power relations” and devises methods for resisting them (Wilkins 1). Anne McClintock, in her article “The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term “Post-Colonialism,”” establishes how the postcolonial theorists claim that even after the end of the “direct” colonialism, the “modern power relations” still portray “colonial structures” (Wilkins 2). Mbembe considers this domain of study heterogeneous as it “derives” from many “sources” and it is continuously being “constructed” (Mbembe “What is postcolonial thinking” 2). Frantz Fanon is an “important figure” in relation to the Post-colonialism (McLeod 19) whose “anti-colonial” (23) critical works have made a great contribution to the Post-colonial thought. Afflicted by his experience of French colonization, Fanon brought to light the “damage” caused by “colonization” (19), explored how the colonized was made to believe himself as an “other” and examined the “psychological” impact of colonization (20). He also emphasized the importance of decolonization and counter-violence to achieve freedom from colonization. However, Edward Said is believed to be the “instigator” of Postcolonialism as his work on “orientalism” (McLeod 23) established that the colonizers legitimized their colonization based on the “knowledge” they “formed around their colonies” (21). Homi K. Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak are the other two prominent figures who contributed to the development of Postcolonialism with their works on “mimicry” and the issue of the voice of “subaltern” (24). These intellectuals inspired further study in the area of Postcolonialism.

Sovereignty, the absolute power over a political body, is an important concept in the theory of postcolonialism. Many literary theorists have analysed sovereignty from different viewpoints. Foucault considers sovereignty as consisting of “complete obedience to law” (Chakkour 11). However, Butler believes that the “suspension of law produces sovereignty” (16). Similarly, Agamben, following Carl Schmitt’s view on sovereignty, considers “exception” as the “structure of sovereignty” (19). They consider the sovereign as a power that can suspend law in order to maintain order in their territory. Moreover, Butler and Agamben link the notion of sovereignty to the “question of life and death” (21). Similarly, Mbembe also links this concept with mortality and claims that “sovereignty” means to “exercise” power over the life and death of individuals (Mbembe 23). He establishes that the sovereign power has the right to decide who will live and who must die. Moreover, he believes that “sovereignty” functions in a way in which the killing of some people “becomes necessary” for others to survive (31). According to Mbembe, the sovereign power seeks to eliminate the unwanted masses to maintain sovereignty over its population.

### **1.1.2 Historical Background**

The conflict between Palestine and Israel dates back to 1947 when the land of Palestine was divided into Arab and Jew-controlled states under “United Nations” orders after the Second World War (Bin Said 3). The Jews had been “encouraged” to migrate to Palestine in large numbers during British colonization of Palestine in 1918 and the holocaust (11, 12). When the British left Palestine in 1947, it was handed over to the UN which allocated half of the Palestinian land to the Jewish “minority” thus infuriating the Arab majority (14).

Nevertheless, the actual conflict between the two communities began in 1948 when the Jews of the region declared the state of Israel in the Palestinian region and the Palestinians were only left with the “West Bank and Gaza strip” (Habib Allah 8). The world powers “recognized” Israel whereas the Arabs declared a war against them which was won by Israel (15). This war executed Palestinians in large numbers, devastated their settlements and forced many Palestinian Arabs to migrate from their beloved homeland. This event is remembered as the “Nakba” (disaster) in Palestinian history as it dismembered the “Palestinian population” (18). As a result of her victory, Israel took over “half” of the territory allotted to Palestinian Arabs (ibid.). The second important war fought in the region between Arabs and Israelis was the 1967 war, also known as

the Six-Day War, in which Arabs were crushingly defeated by the Israelis who then captured the “rest” of Palestine including the “West Bank and Gaza Strip” (19). Moreover, this war resulted in thousands of Palestinian Arabs getting displaced and above “one million” of them coming under the tight military rule of Israel (“Six-Day War” n.p.).

Consequently, after the 1967 war, “Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO),” the Palestinian representative party formed in 1960, became popular and Israel tried to repress it by “arrest[ing]” the leaders, punishing them and imposing “curfews” (El-Nimr 54,55). Due to Israel’s immense “construction [of] settlements” in “West Bank and Gaza” (Brym and Araj n.p.) as well as its constant “oppression” of the Palestinian population, the Palestinian Arabs began their armed resistance “Intifada” against the brutal occupation in 1987 (El-Nimr 55). The first Palestinian Intifada, which had resulted in the loss of thousands of Palestinian lives, ended in 1991 due to “peace negotiations” between Arabs and Israelis (ibid.). During the Intifada, another political party called “ Hamas” was formed as an “Islamic Resistance Movement” whose objective was the creation of an “independent Islamic state in historic Palestine” (“ Hamas” n.p.). The second Palestinian Intifada took place in 2000 as a result of Ariel Sharon’s visit to the “Temple Mount in Jerusalem” to claim Israel’s power over the “Al-Aqsa Mosque” (Brym and Araj n.p.). This act infuriated the Muslims who revolted against it and were, in return, responded with “lethal force” from the Israeli army (ibid.). As a result of this uprising, Israel also began “Operation Defensive Shield” in 2002 to recapture West Bank and Gaza (ibid.). It also launched a ferocious military offensive called “Operation Cast Lead” in 2008 on Gaza, killing around 1400 Palestinians, and annihilating a large number of houses and “businesses” (“Operation Cast Lead” n.p.). Moreover, the Israeli state launched two more assaults “Operation Pillar of Defense” in 2012 and “Operation Protective Edge” in 2014 against Hamas in Gaza in which a large Palestinian Arab population was exterminated and many thousands got “displaced” (Cohen et al. n.p.).

In the present day, the Israeli state continues to retain a tight hold of the “Occupied Palestinian Territory” and the Palestinian Arab population is frequently subjected to “oppression” and discrimination (Cervantes n.p.). Israel has also taken control over “water resources” and turned the major portion of Palestinians into “wage labourers” to keep them reliant on the “Israeli economy” for their survival (Moughrabi

54). Moreover, the lands possessed by the Arab population are often seized by the Israeli state and their movement is incessantly “restrict[ed]” (Cervantes n.p.). The houses and private lands of the Palestinian Arabs are frequently bombed and shelled. Thus, the lives of the Palestinian Arabs are constantly threatened due to Israel’s unrestrained “use of force” (ibid.). However, instead of submitting to Israeli violence, the Palestinian Arabs have decided to “resist” the undue oppression (Moughrabi 53). Although Palestinians regularly resist the occupation through “civil disobedience,” “demonstrations” and protests, they have also resorted to violent tactics such as the use of “firearms” (57-60), stone-pelting and suicide bombing to counter the Israeli military.

## 1.2 Selected Short Stories and Authors

Palestinian population expresses its experiences under Israeli occupation mainly through writing short fiction. Many excellent short story collections have been written by Palestinians in the last two decades. Some of the collections which the researcher has chosen to work on are *Qissat* (2006), *Gaza Writes Back* (2014) and *The Sea Cloak and Other Stories* (2019). *Qissat* (2006) and *Gaza Writes Back* (2014) are anthologies of short stories by multiple writers, while the collection *The Sea Cloak and Other Stories* (2019) is a collection of short stories written by Nayrouz Qarmout. Moreover, whereas most of the short stories included in *Gaza Writes Back* (2014) are original English works, the short stories included in the other two collections have been translated from Arabic into English.

The Palestinian writers, included in this research work, include Nour Al-Sousi, Yousef Aljamal, Refaat Alareer, Jehan Alfarra, Shahd Awadallah, Aya Rabah, Raeda Taha, Donia ElAmal Ismaeel and Nayrouz Qarmout. Refaat Alareer is the “editor” of the collection *Gaza Writes Back* (2014) (Alareer 150). He survived Israel’s brutal operation “Cast Lead” and, during his life, supported and encouraged the talented “Palestinian writers” to enlighten the world about the situation of Palestine (150,151). He believed in writing down the Palestinian narrative to show resistance to the Israeli occupation. Nour Al-Sousi is a Gazan writer who has done her bachelors in “English Language and Literature” from the “Islamic University of Gaza” (158). She also believes in resisting through “words” and highlights the experiences of Palestinians under Israeli domination through her works (158). Yousef Aljamal has also graduated from the aforementioned university. He started his writing career in 2010 during a “tight” military blockade of Gaza and works as a “blogger” who promotes the

“narrative” of Palestinians in the West (157). Jehan Alfarra is also a Gazan “blogger” and a “Multimedia Activist” who highlights the “Palestinian Case” through her content and makes the world aware of the plight of Palestinians (152). Shahd Awadallah has also graduated from the “Islamic University of Gaza” (160). She writes about the life of Palestinian Arabs in Gaza from “her (own) experiences” as well as those of others living under the occupation of Israel (161). Aya Rabah has studied Medicine at “Al-Azhar University” and does “volunteer work” (172). She believes in writing and has used her writing to show her resistance to Israel’s operation “Cast Lead” on “Gaza” (173). Nayrouz Qarmout is the author of the collection *The Sea Cloak and Other Stories* (2019). She is a Palestinian Arab writer who is an advocate of “women’s rights” (Qarmout 69). She has written several “articles” as well as “screenplays” associated with feminism (“Nayrouz Qarmout” n.p.). Donia ElAmal Ismaeel is a native Gazan writer, a “poet” and a “journalist” (Glanville 137). She used to be the “editor-in-chief” of the newspaper “al-Hakeeka” and is known for her poetry, her book “Raato fi Ghaza” and her short stories (ibid.). Raeda Taha is also known for composing short narratives. She has lived her early life in “Jerusalem” and now resides in “Ramallah” (140). Moreover, she has also “worked” for “President Yasser Arafat” (ibid) and is the “chairperson” of “Khalil Al Sakakini Cultural Centre” (“Raeda Taha” n.p.).

The collection *Gaza Writes Back* (2014) comprises remarkable stories that narrate the experiences of the Palestinian population under occupation. The researcher conducts his research on the six short stories included in this collection: “Canary,” “Omar X,” “House,” “Please Shoot to Kill,” “Scars” and “Once Upon a Dawn.” The short story “Canary” by Nour Al-Sousi revolves around a female Israeli soldier and a Palestinian freedom fighter present in a park. The Arab boy is shown as recalling the incident in which his brother was killed by an Israeli when he went closer to an Israeli settlement to catch a “canary” (Alareer 50). Due to this incident, the protagonist plans to take his revenge by killing Israeli soldiers. However, a female Israeli soldier, recognizing him as an Arab, takes out her gun and both the opponents kill each other simultaneously. “Omar X” by Yousef Aljamal is also a short story describing the life of a freedom fighter who is killed while counter-attacking the Israeli forces that have made the lives of Arabs miserable. Before his death, he is reminded of his childhood fear of Israeli soldiers, his “protests” against Israeli oppression and his decision to “fight” the soldiers to protect the “children and women” of his camp (90-92). The short

story “House” by Refaat Alareer discusses the issue of the forceful eviction of Palestinians from their homes in the occupied territories. The story depicts Abu Salem and his son secretly revisiting their house which had been forcibly taken from them three years ago. Abu Salem places a bomb in the house without connecting the components to make Israelis “fear” the Palestinian Arabs (Alareer 110, 111). “Please Shoot to Kill” by Jehan Alfarra features Laila, who is recalling the sufferings of her family at the hands of Israeli soldiers. She remembers how her house was raided by Israeli soldiers who harassed the family, tormented her father and shot him, critically damaging “his kidney” (83). She recalls how the tormenters also bombed their house, declaring it as a residence of an “Arab terrorist” (81) and also bombarded their land. Shahd Awadallah’s short story “Once Upon a Dawn” discusses the trauma faced by a Palestinian mother who has lost her child to the Israeli war. Moreover, it addresses her guilt which she develops because she had mistakenly left her child in the house during the bombing. In this story, she writes him a letter to confess her “fatal fault” and to show “repentance” for her action in order to rid herself of her agonizing feelings of “guilt” (127). The short story “Scars” by Aya Rabah sketches the misery and survivor’s guilt of an Arab woman, who has lost her entire family because of the Israeli-Palestinian war. She recalls the death of her family due to “[shell]ing” (142) of their house by the Israeli state and the death of her son by a “stray bullet” (145). The story also points out how the Arab woman is continuously tormented by the memories of these painful incidences of her life.

The researcher also works on two short stories “White Lilies” and “Our Milk” from Nayrouz Qarmout’s collection *The Sea Cloak and Other Stories* (2019) highlighting the Palestinian cause. The story “White Lilies” features an Israeli jogger, who purchases white lilies from a friendly Arab “shop assistant” Ali for “Mother’s Day” (Qarmout 31). The story shows that many years after their meeting, when Ali is running towards a school to deliver a “white lily” to his neighbour’s daughter Zahra (35), he is mercilessly murdered by the same Israeli man, now a drone operator. The story “Our Milk” alludes to the historic bombing of King David Hotel by an “armed Jewish group” (“I Survived the Bombing” n.p.) and the suicide bombing of Sbarro’s Hotel by a Palestinian teenager. The first half of the story indicates how the workers have been serving the British in the hotel when the half portion of the hotel “collapsed” (Qarmout 38). The second half depicts how a young Arab boy, on a suicide mission,

enters the Sbarro's Hotel, populated mainly with Jews, with a "ukulele case" and bombs the hotel (40).

The short collection *Qissat* (2006) also narrates the experiences of Palestinian Arabs under Israeli occupation. The two stories from this collection, included in the research, are "Dates and Bitter Coffee" and "A Single Metre." The Story "Dates and Bitter Coffee" by Donia ElAmal Ismaeel depicts the misery of Palestinian parents whose son, a freedom fighter, has been imprisoned by the "Zionists" and is killed by them (Glanville 85). It portrays how the "martyr" is heavily praised by his fellow freedom fighters while his family is still mourning his death (ibid). Moreover, it sketches how Arab parents are constantly worried about the safety of their children while living under Israeli domination. Raeda Taha's short story "A Single Metre" revolves around an Arab woman who plans on walking past the "Qalandia checkpoint" to reach Jerusalem (95). Nevertheless, in order to reach the check-post before it closes, she enters a bus going towards the checkpoint. Although, soon after, she anticipates that the driver is going to "blow" up the bus at the checkpoint to kill the Israeli "soldiers" (96) but she still chooses to remain on the bus.

### **1.3 Necropolitics and Fanon's Theory of Violence**

This research employs Mbembe's theory of necropolitics and Fanon's theory of violence and decolonization to analyse the ten Palestinian short stories. This work explores how the selected texts represent Israel governing Palestine by exercising its right to kill the unwanted Arab population. The study also analyses how the Palestinian Arabs, as indicated by their short stories, have been spending their lives as living dead under Israeli occupation. Moreover, by using Fanon's ideas and Mbembe's notion of martyrdom, this work investigates how the selected texts depict the resistance undertaken by Palestinian Arabs.

The term "necropolitics" is introduced by a contemporary Cameroonian postcolonial theorist, Achille Mbembe, in 2003, in his article "Necropolitics" which has now been developed into a book by the same name. Mbembe defines necropolitics as the "subjugation of life to the power of death" (Mbembe 39). He has brought forward this theory by drawing upon Foucault's notion of biopower and relating it with the concepts of the state of siege and the state of exception. He believes that death is central to the working of contemporary politics and that the notion of biopower is inadequate



to explain the present-day politics of death. Mbembe argues that the sovereign authority governs the masses by exercising its “right to kill” the unwanted (25). According to Mbembe, “the relationship of enmity” and “the state of exception” are the grounds on which “the right to kill” is exercised (16). The postcolonial theorist also establishes how the sovereign authority justifies its power to eradicate its enemy by proposing that the enemy is a threat to its life and that its eradication would serve to consolidate its life and that of its population. Mbembe notes how a colony is considered a site where “judicial orders can be suspended” for the greater good (24). Taking examples of different colonies, Mbembe asserts, how violence has been used on the colonized subjects in the name of “civilization” (24). Moreover, according to him, the colonial subjects are considered non-human entities which can be killed “at any time or in any manner” without the killer being held accountable (25). He also talks about how colonies are governed by exposing the population to death, such that they achieve the status of “living dead” (40). Mbembe further highlights how destructive weapons are deployed to efficiently kill the colonized masses, creating “death worlds” (ibid). Furthermore, Mbembe argues that the wars of the “globalization era” seek to subdue the “enemy” (31). According to him, “terror” is the most prominent aspect of the “late modern occupation” (29) where the occupied population is permanently living “in pain” (30). Mbembe also talks about the resistance and the counter-violence posed by the colonies. He explores how the revolutionaries, in contexts such as that of Palestine, resist and counter the foreign occupation by using their bodies as “weapon[s]” to achieve “martyrdom” (25, 26). He claims that the suicide bomber, in his desire to achieve eternity, sacrifices his own body which enables him to “escape” the “state of siege and occupation” (37) and to take “power” over his death (38).

The violence that characterizes a colonial era is most aptly theorized by the anticolonial theorist Frantz Fanon. Fanon, in his exemplary book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), argues about how violence is the natural outcome of colonial rule and holds the colonists responsible for bringing “violence into the home and into the mind” of the colonized subject (Fanon 38). He claims that the colonialists establish themselves on the land of the colonized with the help of “cannons” and other destructive weapons (34). According to Fanon, colonists use police and military officers as weapons to keep the colonized in check by employing “force” for the purpose (36). Fanon also talks about how the colonizers “dehumanize” the colonized subjects, turning them into

“animals” (40). They destroy the “social forms” of the colonized as well as damage their culture and customs (38). The colonized are, thus, forced to cultivate the ambition of destroying the colonial world. Fanon believes that the violence used on the colonized subjects forces them to use the same technique of violence to counter their oppressors. In addition, he believes that when the colonized people realize that their body’s “worth” is the same as that of the colonizer’s, it also helps them get rid of the fear of the colonists and encourages them to counter their abusers (43). Fanon considers decolonization a violent process as it reeks of “searing bullets and bloodstained knives” (37). However, he argues that the colonized man can achieve his “liberation” only by employing “force” (59). According to him, only through a “violent struggle,” the natives will be able to rebuild their “nation” and dismantle “colonial structures” (68).

The present research draws on Mbembe’s theory of necropolitics and Fanon’s theory of violence in order to examine the selected Palestinian short stories. The researcher examines the selected stories from the perspective of necropolitics in order to study how the Israeli state exercises its right to eradicate the Arab population of Palestine based on the relationship of enmity that it has developed against them as a result of their land conflict. This research also explores how these selected texts portray Palestinian Arabs as living dead under Israeli occupation by using Mbembe’s ideas. In addition, in light of Mbembe’s theorization regarding how a suicide bomber uses his own body to achieve martyrdom and Fanon’s notion about how violence is necessary for the colonized to achieve freedom, this research also studies the portrayal of the violent struggle of the Palestinians against the necropolitical conditions imposed on them.

#### **1.4 Thesis Statement**

Israel, acting as a sovereign authority, is ruling Palestine by exercising its power to kill the Palestinian Arabs based on the relationship of enmity that it has developed against them. As a result, the Arab population of Palestine is spending its life as living dead in the occupied territory. The selected Palestinian short stories showcase the predicament of the Palestinian population under Israeli occupation and aim to demonstrate their resistance against the necropolitical condition imposed on them.

## 1.5 Objectives of the Study

1. To study the representation of necropolitics of Israel over Palestine as projected in the selected Palestinian short stories and the survival of the Palestinian population under occupation.
2. To investigate the ways in which the selected Palestinian short stories depict the resistance of the Arab population against the oppression of Israel.

## 1.6 Research Questions

Q1. What do the selected Palestinian short stories transpire about necropolitics and the survival of the Palestinian Arab population under occupation?

Q2. How do the selected Palestinian short stories unveil the resistance of the Palestinian population against the oppression of Israel at large?

## 1.7 Research Methodology

In this subsection, the researcher presents the research methodology adopted for the analysis of the selected Palestinian short stories. The researcher discusses the methodological process through which the analysis of the selected texts will take place. For this research, the primary texts included are the Palestinian short stories “Canary,” “Please Shoot to Kill,” “Omar X,” “House,” “Once upon a Dawn” and “Scars” from the collection *Gaza Writes Back* (2014), “A Single Metre” and “Dates and Bitter Coffee” from the collection *Qissat* (2006) and “White Lilies” and “Our Milk” from the collection *The Sea Cloak and Other Stories* (2019). Moreover, Mbembe’s article “Necropolitics” and Frantz Fanon’s book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) provide the theoretical underpinning of this research. The present research will analyse the Palestinian short stories qualitatively under the lens of necropolitics and Fanon’s ideas regarding violence. The researcher will look into how the selected Palestinian works, written by the native Palestinians, present the suffering of the Palestinian population living under the siege of Israeli forces. The research is descriptive in nature in which the researcher will discuss how the selected texts portray the necropolitics of Israel over the Palestinian Arabs using Mbembe’s notion of necropolitics. This research will also look into how the oppression of Israel has forced the suppressed Palestinians into living dead condition, taking into account the brief history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Moreover, it will illustrate, by employing Mbembe’s idea of martyrdom and Fanon’s

theory of violence and decolonization, the ways in which Palestinian Arabs have been resisting the necropolitical condition imposed on them. The researcher will conduct a thematic analysis of the selected texts in which the themes of survival of Palestinians under Israeli occupation and the consequent resistance of the Palestinians will be analysed in light of Mbembe's necropolitics and Fanon's theory of violence. In short stories such as "Canary," "Please Shoot to Kill," "House," "Omar X" and "Dates and Bitter Coffee," both the themes of survival and resistance of Palestinians will be taken into account. However, in short stories such as "Once Upon a Dawn," "Scars" and "White Lilies," only the theme of survival under occupation will be focused. On the other hand, the short stories "Our Milk" and "A Single Metre" will be analysed mainly in terms of Palestinian Arabs resistance against the necropolitics.

### **1.7.1 Research Method**

The method of analysis chosen for carrying out this research is textual analysis which involves an in-depth study of texts in order to answer the research questions and draw a reasonable conclusion. The ideas of Catherine Belsey and Alan McKee on textual analysis are utilized for the purpose of this research.

Textual analysis is the most commonly used method in academic research for analysing texts in social sciences. Catherine Belsey considers textual analysis as "indispensable to research" in disciplines such as "cultural criticism" where "texts" are the focal point of the analysis (Griffin160). This is because this method of analysis involves a "close encounter" with the text and seeks to analyse its details in depth (ibid). Alan McKee also views textual analysis as a "central methodology" used in research studies conducted in "cultural studies" (McKee 3) and particularly in literary analysis.

The process of undertaking a textual analysis has been discussed by various theorists. Alan McKee believes that when a researcher carries out a textual analysis, he "make[s] an educated guess" regarding the "most likely interpretations" of the text (McKee 3). He believes that, even though a text can be interpreted in multiple ways, some "interpretations" are "more likely" in certain situations (4). McKee emphasizes the need to take into account the "context" of the text in order to form a possible "interpretation" of the text (11). He writes that it is required to establish a "context" of the text to formulate a "reasonable interpretation of a text" (14). He further explains that when doing a textual analysis, a researcher should take a few "elements from the text" according to his "interest" but he should also be aware of the "context" of the

whole text (15, 16). Similarly, Catherine Belsey also expresses her views on textual analysis and argues that a textual analysis should be different from “free association” (Griffin 164) and that it should be grounded on textual evidence. According to her, since the text presents the reader with the “material for analysis,” and contributes to the process of making meaning, a textual analysis should involve both the “reader” and the “text” (166, 167). She also emphasizes how research work should “make a contribution to knowledge” and involve combining “ideas” in a new way (163). Moreover, both analysts have analysed the texts in light of culture and politics of the time. They also encouraged the readers to dig out the hidden meaning of the texts. This methodology, therefore, helps a textual analyst study texts according to the culture and political history and uncover the underlying meaning of the texts.

The present research employs textual analysis which will be carried out in the light of the aforementioned views of Catherine Belsey and Alan McKee. By using this method, the researcher will undertake an in-depth study of the selected Palestinian short fiction under the lens of necropolitics and Fanon’s ideas regarding violence. This research takes into account the context of the Israeli occupation of Palestine in order to interpret the necropolitics portrayed in the selected texts. Using this method, the researcher will take out appropriate examples from the text to support her argument and answer the research questions posed at the beginning of this research work. This method is appropriate for analysing the selected Palestinian short stories. This is because, by using this methodology, the researcher will be able to analyse the selected texts in accordance with the culture and political history of Palestine in order to draw a plausible interpretation of the selected texts. Moreover, it will help the researcher uncover the deeper meaning of the texts to develop a suitable analysis. Furthermore, since textual analysis assists in interdisciplinary research, this method is suitable for this study as it involves the overlapping of politics and humanities. The researcher will provide examples from the texts to demonstrate how Israel governs Palestine based on the relationship of enmity from a necropolitical perspective. The study will also use textual evidence to analyse how Palestinians have been spending their lives as dead individuals under foreign occupation and highlight their means of resistance through Mbembe’s ideas and Fanon’s theory of violence and decolonization.

The research model which the researcher utilizes in her study is the postcolonial model. The model has been applied to develop discussion on Mbembe’s theory of

necropolitics and Fanon's ideas about violence and decolonization. The researcher employs the theory of necropolitics to study the depiction of pain and suffering in the narratives of Palestinian Arabs as represented in these ten short stories. The researcher uses the theory of necropolitics to show how these stories depict Israeli soldiers as using their authority to kill Palestinian Arabs at the slightest suspicion. Moreover, by using this theory, the researcher shows how the selected texts represent the population of Palestine as constantly "in pain" (Mbembe 91). Furthermore, the researcher utilizes Mbembe's ideas about martyrdom and Fanon's ideas about violence and decolonization to analyse the resistance of the Palestinian Arabs against Israel as represented in the selected fiction. The research utilizes Mbembe's notion regarding how a "suicide bomber" kills the enemy with his "own body" to achieve martyrdom (88) to study the resistance of suicide bombers highlighted in the selected texts. Moreover, it uses Fanon's theory regarding how the use of "violence" is necessary for the colonized subjects to achieve "freedom" (Fanon 83) to study the acts of armed resistance presented in the texts. The model which the researcher employs in her study is appropriate as it incorporates the depiction of the sufferings of Palestinians under Israeli occupation as well as explores the resistance the Palestinians pose against their oppressors in the selected Palestinian short fiction.

Qualitative research, being subjective in nature, often reveals personal inclinations of the researcher and unbiasedness is difficult to achieve. However, in this research, the researcher has attempted to reduce the biasness of the work by citing various sources including Jewish, Christian and Muslim works. This study has also portrayed Israel's relationship with Palestine as that of colonization mainly based on the viewpoint of "new historians," a group of "Israeli writers recasting the standard Zionist narrative" (Bronner n.p.). This study, similarly, does not promote violence but illuminates the circumstances leading Palestinian Arabs to adopt violent resistance.

## **1.8 Significance of the Study**

The repressed narrative of the Palestinian Arabs presented in their fiction deserves attention around the world. The previous studies, undertaken in the selected field, address the topics such as the collective trauma of Palestinians, their loss and suffering, refugee childhood, double colonization of Palestinian women and the intact family structure of Palestinians amidst trouble. The present study utilizes Mbembe's theory of necropolitics and Fanon's theory of violence to read the Palestinian narrative

in their short fiction. The researcher has chosen to examine Palestinian short stories in her research work rather than the novels because the short stories written by Palestinians are known for highlighting their national cause as well as their sufferings under Israeli occupation. Moreover, by choosing ten different Palestinian short stories, this research work is able to examine various narratives of the gravity of their pain and the consequent resistance of Palestinians. The researcher has not selected Palestinian novels for her research study as a significant number of scholarly researches have already been conducted that exclusively focus on Palestinian novels, whereas there is significantly less scholarship available in English on Palestinian short stories (Sheetrit 244, 245). Therefore, this study on Palestinian short stories is a modest addition to the research conducted on Palestinian short stories.

This study is significant in determining how a literary piece portrays the working of global politics in the contemporary world. It highlights how, as a result of such politics, the suppressed nations suffer and fight back to avert the situation. Moreover, it is beneficial in making the readers understand the necropolitics exercised by India in Kashmir and interpret the Kashmiri struggle as a struggle for freedom. Furthermore, the present study highlights how the superpowers continue to colonize either their former colonies or the dependent nations by using their necropower. This study also paves the way for the upcoming researchers to investigate if freedom could only be achieved through counter-violence or could also be attained through peaceful measures.

## **1.9 Delimitation**

This research work is delimited to the study of ten Palestinian short stories under the lens of Mbembe's theory of necropolitics and Fanon's theory of violence and decolonization. The short stories, the researcher is working on, include Nour Al-Sousi's "Canary," Yousef Aljamal's "Omar X," Refaat Alareer's "House," Jehan Alfarra's "Please Shoot to Kill," Aya Rabah's "Scars," Shahd Awadallah's "Once Upon a Dawn," Donia ElAmal Ismaeel's "Dates and Bitter Coffee," Raeda Taha's "A Single Metre," Nayrouz Qarmout's "White Lilies" and "Our Milk." The researcher examines how Israel, as a sovereign authority, exercises its power to kill Palestinians as well as explores the living dead condition of Palestinian Arabs in the context of the selected texts. In addition, this research studies how these fictional works portray the resistance

of the Palestinian population against the necropolitics of Israel using Mbembe's concept of martyrdom and Fanon's theory of violence and decolonization.

## **1.10 Organization of the study**

### Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter presents the background of the study, briefly introduces the Palestinian-Israel conflict, necropolitics and Fanon's theory of violence and decolonization, the selected works and their writers. It presents the thesis statement, objectives of the study and the research questions. It also discusses the methodology according to which the study is conducted, and presents the rationale of the study, its delimitations and its significance.

### Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter discusses the research already undertaken in the field to find the research gap. The researcher reviews the works done on the selected texts as well as the works which employ necropolitics or Fanon's theory to establish the newness of the study.

### Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of the study. It discusses in detail those aspects of Mbembe's theory of necropolitics and Fanon's theory of violence and decolonization that provide theoretical grounding of this research for the analysis of the selected Palestinian works.

### Chapter 4: Survival Under Israeli Occupation

This chapter sheds light on how the selected works present Israel, as a sovereign power, exercising its right to kill. It also discusses how the relation of enmity acts as a driving force for aggression and how Israel kills either on the basis of mere suspicion or indiscriminately. This chapter further highlights how the selected fiction depicts Palestinians as constantly under the fear of getting caught and killed.

### Chapter 5: Palestinian Resistance to the Israeli Occupation

This chapter underscores how the selected texts portray the armed resistance of the Palestinian Arabs against the necropolitics of the oppressors. It also takes into



consideration the texts' representation of suicide attacks as well as other methods of armed resistance adopted by Palestinian Arabs against Israel's oppression.

#### Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter presents the findings of this research work, lists its social implications and offers recommendations for future research.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This chapter reviews the research conducted on necropolitics, Fanon's theory and the selected Palestinian literature, in order to identify the research gap. The researcher examines the working of necropolitics in Post-independence Guinean, Hungarian, Nigerian and Kashmiri literary works so as to study the sovereign power's use of violence on the common people and their sufferings. This chapter further explores how necropolitics has been used to study the precarious predicament of asylum seekers in the UK and to discuss the issue of withholding dead bodies in Palestine. Moreover, it incorporates the research work already conducted on Fanon's theory. The researcher explores the application of Fanon's theory on Korean literature on the Vietnamese War to study the Korean experience in the Vietnamese War and Palestinian political situation to read the Israeli neo-colonialism and Palestinian alienation. This chapter also studies how Fanon's theory has been utilized to examine the oppression of the African masses in postcolonial Zimbabwe as well as the suppression of the Muslim population of occupied Kashmir. In addition, the researcher reviews the previous work done on the selected Palestinian literature to highlight the aspects of loss, suffering, strong family structure and hope for the future. Lastly, this chapter states the research gap and deduces how the necropolitical aspect as well as Fanon's theory of violence and decolonization have not yet been utilized to study Palestinian literature.

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Necropolitics is a relatively recent term coined by Achilles Mbembe in his 2003 article with the same name. Mbembe considers death as central to the working of politics and uses this concept of necropolitics to explain the contemporary politics of death. He draws his theory on the idea of biopower which has been introduced by Foucault in his book *History of Sexuality* (1978) in which Foucault presents biopower as a "positive" force over life that seeks to "administer" it (Foucault 137). This concept deals with the "management" of a human population by "quantify(ing)" and dividing it into different categories (Means 1). According to Foucault, biopower is often practiced by employing

racism through which the population is divided into “those who must live” and “those who must die” (Mbembe 16, 17). However, Mbembe believes that the concept of biopower falls short in explaining present-day politics. Therefore, he introduced the term “Necropolitics” to explain the “subjugation of life to the power of death” (39). Mbembe believes that the sovereign authority has the power to decide who should live and who must die. Merriam-Webster dictionary defines the term “sovereignty” as either the “authority” of a country to “govern itself” or as a “supreme power” over a political body (such as a country) (“Sovereignty” n.p.). Carl Schmit, in *Political Theology*, defines the sovereign as the one “who decides on the exception” (Chakkour 19). However, Mbembe links the concept of sovereignty to mortality and considers the sovereign as the power which has the ability to decide who will live and who must die. According to Mbembe, the sovereign authority decides who should be killed on the basis of the “relation of enmity” and “state of exception” (Mbembe 16). The concept of the state of exception has been coined by Schmitt and used by Agamben in his work. Schmitt argues that “sovereign” power “decides on” the state of exception which is a state in which moral and legal laws are suspended for the greater good (Vinx n.p.). Mbembe also considers “state of exception” as an “important mechanism” for carrying out necropolitics (Chakkour 31). The term relation of enmity refers to how the “Other” is considered as a threat to “one’s life” and, so, its “physical elimination” becomes necessary for one’s survival (ibid.). Mbembe explains how the sovereign power imagines that it needs to eliminate the Other which it believes to be a threat to its life. He explains how the sovereign authority governs its population by exposing it to conditions that force it to become “living dead” (Mbembe 40). He also talks about the resistance of the necropolitical conditions by the repressed individuals by using their bodies to fight the oppressors such that they achieve “martyrdom” (death in the name of religion or country) (25, 26).

Mbembe considered Fanon as his “guide” for deciphering the “contemporary social and political order” which is also true for his work on “Necropolitics” (Bose 174). Mbembe says in his early essay regarding how “Fanon” should not be forgotten when dealing with colonization (Syrotinski n.p.). Fanon explores the violence that characterizes a colonial era and argues that the colonialists use violent means to establish themselves in the land of the natives. He establishes that the violent actions undertaken by the colonizers to control the

colonized subjects force them to use the same technique of violence to counter them. He asserts that counter-violence is indispensable for colonial subjects to regain their self-respect and acquire independence from colonial rule. He argues that “violent struggle” is required to disrupt “colonial structures” (68). He believes that only through the use of “force”, colonized man can achieve his “liberation” (Fanon 59). Fanon explicitly states, in his book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), that the “colonized man finds his freedom in and through violence” (83). It shows that Fanon considered the use of violence as a necessary instrument for the colonized to achieve their freedom from the shackles of colonization.

Palestine has no “autonomy” and “independent control” over its territory and its people (Hughes 8, 9). Instead, Israel “exercises sovereignty” over the occupied Palestinian population” (17). Ronit Lentin, in his article “Palestine/Israel and State Criminality: Exception, Settler Colonialism and Racialization,” theorizes “Israeli occupation” of Palestine as an “illegal state of exception” (Lentin 37). The article explains how Israel “extends its laws” to govern Palestinian population but exempts Israeli public from the “legal instruments of occupation and siege” which is against the “international law” (33). Lentin cites Yehouda Shenhav’s (2006) work to underscore how “state of emergency” has constantly been active in Israel/Palestine where the law has been suspended and different rules are present for Palestinian and Israeli populations (35). Consequently, Israel has become the sovereign power which establishes the besieged region as a state of exception and “racialize[s]” (Lentin 47) the occupied Palestinians and subjects them to unjust policies.

## **2.2 Palestine as a Colony in the New Historian Context**

The relationship between Israel and Palestine was not portrayed as colonization in the beginning due to the Israeli narratives about Palestine as their “promised land,” and it was only with the “emergence” of “new historians” that the term “colonization” began to be used to identify this relationship (Saccol 79). It was Simha Flappan who “explicitly” used the term “Zionist colonization” in one of his works named “Zionism and the Palestinians (1979)” (80). The relationship between the two communities is categorized as colonialism also because it has continued for “over 40 years” which is longer than an

occupation should “last” (Scobbie 3). The new historians pointed out how the “Zionists” violently “seized” the Palestinian land that was “not empty,” evicted the Arabs from their residences and caused “great sufferings” (76). Moreover, Ilan Pappé, a new historicist, considers Israeli colonization as a type of colonization where the colonizers prefer to “live independently” in the occupied lands and aim at “eliminating the native population” (81). Similarly, M Muhannad Ayyash, in his article “Israel is a Settler colony, annexing native land is what it does,” points out how Israel, as a settler colony, is continuously expanding its settlements in the Palestinian territory and displacing “natives” from their land (n.p.). Ayyash, moreover, underscores how the “underlying” ambition of the state of Israel is the “erasure” of “Palestinian sovereignty” (ibid.). In addition, Palestinian Arabs are also constantly “subject[ed]” to “military occupation,” their mobility is “restricted” and even the Palestinian “refugees” are often denied permission to “return” to their homeland (Avelar and Ferrari n.p.). They are, similarly, discriminated against in all the “fields” (Sacco 84). Furthermore, even the “lives” of the Palestinian Arab population living under the authority of the Palestinian National Authority are “heavily shaped by Israeli occupation” and blockades are often imposed on them (Avelar and Ferrari n.p.).

The above-mentioned arguments establish Israel as a colonizer and its relationship with Palestine as that of colonization. Thus, Israel, as a settler colonialist, “asserts sovereignty” over the Palestinian land and the population, (Barkar and Lowman n.p.) depriving the Palestinians of their “right to self-determination” and denying them a “free choice” in their affairs (Scobbie 2). Consequently, Israel’s “extraordinary power” (Barkar and Lowman n.p.) over the Palestinian population gives it the status of a sovereign authority which has the power to control the life and death of the Palestinian Arabs. The present research takes Israel as a colonizer, with a sovereign authority, which uses its power to endanger the lives of the Palestinian Arabs. As a consequence, the Palestinian population is resisting the oppression of Israel by using counter-violence. In this research, considering colonialism as a kind of prolonged occupation, the researcher has used the terms colonialism and occupation interchangeably in order to reduce redundancy.

### **2.3 Research conducted on the Application of Necropolitics**

Necropolitics refers to how, in the contemporary world, “life” is subjected to the “power of death” (Mbembe 39). Mbembe considers that the main purpose of a sovereign is “to kill or to allow to live” (11). He further establishes how a sovereign authority decides who will live and who must die on the basis of relationship of enmity (16). Moreover, Mbembe also explains how a sovereign power, by using different instruments, destroys the unwanted masses resulting in the creation of “death worlds” where the undesirable masses are forced to live in such terrible circumstances in which they are more dead than alive (40). He, in addition, talks about how the repressed individuals show resistance against the necropolitical conditions by using their bodies to fight the oppressors such that they achieve “martyrdom” (25, 26).

The Palestinian context has only been interpreted through necropolitics in reference to the issue of detaining the dead bodies of the Palestinian Arabs. The article “Colonial management of death: To be or not to be dead in Palestine,” by Suhad Daher-Nashif, discusses the issue of withholding and freezing of Palestinian dead bodies by employing Mbembe’s theory of necropolitics, Agamben’s notion of bare life and death and Nixon’s ideas about slow violence. The said article studies how Israel manages the “death” of the Palestinians and by doing so, controls the lives of the “bereaved (Palestinian) families” (Daher-Nashif 3). The article principally argues that Israel’s power exercised on Palestinians is a combination of “disciplinary, biopolitical and necropolitical” powers (12). The researcher also emphasizes on how the conditions given to the bereaved Palestinian families for the release of corpses of their loved ones aim to “erase their death” (7). Moreover, she talks about how colonialism manages the “senses of the colonized” by withholding and freezing the dead bodies of their loved ones. Nevertheless, she also points out that the Palestinians show their resistance against the authority of the Israeli state by rejecting the inhumane conditions posed by the colonizers. In essence, this study predominantly foregrounds that Israel’s necropower aims to “cancel” the “agency” of the Palestinian Arabs “over their death and its rites” (14) but also points out that through resistance, the Palestinians have regained their authority over the dead bodies of their loved ones. This research study departs from this research work as it will focus on the Israeli

politics of killing Palestinians and the cruelty exercised over the living rather than the Israeli politics over the dead bodies as is the focus of this study. Moreover, the aforementioned research is a study of the geopolitical condition of Palestine under occupation and does not study its depiction in literary texts. On the contrary, this research work will emphasize on how the Palestinian short stories depict Israel's power of killing Palestinians, the miserable lives of Palestinians under occupation as well as the resistance posed by the Palestinian population through armed rebellion.

Necropolitics has only been utilized to study the Palestinian situation to underscore Israel's political act of withholding and freezing Palestinian dead bodies. However, necropolitics has also been used to interpret the political predicament of other repressed populations who have been suffering due to sovereign power's use of violence. This theory has been employed to analyse the political condition of Post-independence Guinea, Hungary and Kashmir through their literary works. Throughout history, Guinea's political climate has been "turbulent" (Darboe 2). Even after it achieved independence from France in 1958, it came under the "dictatorship" of the first president Ahmed Sekou Touré (Toure n.p.). Touré's reign was characterized by "arrests" and "execution" of political rivals and little "economic development" (ibid). The article "Necropolitical Violence and Post-independence Guinean Literature," by Charlotte Baker, examines how the literary works, written by the writers such as Camara Laye, Alioum Fantouré, Tierno Monenembo and Williams Sassine, represent the violent dictatorship of the first president of Guinea, Ahmed Sekou Touré, after the country got its independence from France. This work employs Arendt's ideas about power and violence and Mbembe's theory of necropolitics to study Touré's regime in Guinean texts. The researcher examines how Guineans lived under the cruel Touré rule in an "unpredictable" world in which any action could be considered "offensive to the regime" and the accused could be punished and killed (Baker 1). She, while examining the texts through necropolitics, shows how the "bodies," in the postcolonial states, become sites where "authority" is exercised (9).

Hungary's tumultuous political history has also been interpreted by using necropolitics. It had been under the Soviet Union's control from 1947-1989 during which the non-communist "elites" were ill-treated (Andorka 358). Moreover, during the post-communist period, the Western influence increased and the country moved towards the

“Western model” of the political system (Kehoe 3). The article “Necropolitics and Contemporary Hungarian Literature and Cinema” by Ryan Michael Kehoe argues how Hungary in the post-communist period moved towards a “transnational regime of repressive political and economic manipulation and control” which he believes to be necropolitical in nature (7). The article examines the novel *War and War* (1999) by Krasznahorkai and the film *Kontroll* (2003) by Nimrod in order to explore how this transition resulted in the “collective feeling of anxiety” for Hungarian people (4). By doing so, he examines the “psychological power of necropolitical” (8). Kehoe presents how the Hungarian writers use narrative techniques in their texts to challenge the necropolitics prevalent in their society and to establish the “politics of resistance” (Kehoe 1). He examines how the film *Kontroll* (2003) presents a ticket inspector, in a living dead condition, who is made to maintain the “necropolitics” of which he does not approve and therefore, he eventually leaves his job to show resistance (7). Michael Kehoe also explores that the novel *War and War* (1999) presents the protagonist Korin in an archive, containing “records of all arrests, tortures” which the Hungarians have suffered under “imperial and authoritarian politics,” which can be taken as Mbembe’s death-world (8). Through the examination of this work, Kehoe also examines how necropolitics isolates “individual subjects” through “marginalization” and suppresses the “resistance” against it (ibid.).

Necropolitics has also been used in reference to the atrocities faced by the Kashmiri population under Indian occupation. The occupied Kashmiri Muslim population has also been suppressed by the Indian army and oppressive policies by the Indian government. The situation has become worse since India has “revoked Kashmir’s semi-autonomous status” and has fully colonized it (Sarfraz n.p.). As a result, the Kashmiri Muslims are subjected to constant “surveillance and harassment” by the Indian military and are faced with endless “lockdowns and restrictions” (ibid). However, despite the physical and psychological torture they are subjected to, the Kashmiri population continues to resist Indian aggression and is earnestly fighting for their freedom. Necropolitics has also been used to discuss the atrocities faced by the Kashmiri population under Indian occupation. The article “Reading Discourses of Power and Violence in Emerging Kashmiri Literature in English: *The Collaborator* and *Curfewed Night*,” by Amrita Gosh, utilizes necropolitics to examine Kashmiri fiction. This research highlights the representation of the state’s process of



“subjugation and Panoptic gaze of surveillance” against the Kashmiri Muslims (Gosh n.p.) in the novel. Gosh also explores the impact of uninterrupted war and continuous violence on the psyche of the Kashmiri Muslim population. Labelling Kashmir as a “unique post-coloniality,” she argues, through Agamben’s concept of bare life, how “Kashmiri Muslim subjects” are made to inhabit the space of bare life in which they could be “killed with impunity” (ibid.). She points out that Kashmiris are not only made to live a bare life but are also living continuously “under the threat of death” (ibid.). She also examines how the “terror” in the Kashmiri context is difficult to study due to its “unique position” and requires combining the concepts of “biopower and necropower” to sufficiently understand the Kashmiri dilemma (ibid.). Gosh underscores how the text represents the Kashmiri subjects as “excesses of sovereign power” who face abjection “not only in life but also...in death” (Gosh n.p.).

Necropolitics has also been invoked to dissect the predicament of Asylum seekers in the United Kingdom where they are spending their lives in unliveable conditions. Asylum seekers or refugees also face many challenges when they have to leave their homeland and live in a different country. The article “Necropolitics and the Slow Violence of the Everyday: Asylum Seeker Welfare in the Postcolonial Present” by Lucy Mayblin, Mustafa Wake and Mohsen Kazemi studies the daily lives of “asylum seekers” in the “UK” by employing the theories of “necropolitics, slow violence and sociology” in order to explore how the “hierarchical conceptions of human worth” affects the daily lives of asylum seekers (Mayblin et al. 107). It argues, using Mbembe’s necropolitics and Nixon’s slow violence, how the asylum seekers are merely “kept alive” while being constantly subjected to “gradual wounding” so that “more asylum seekers” are not encouraged to seek refuge in the UK (120). Mayblin also mentions how the bodies of asylum seekers are made “docile” due to the constant pain suffered by them (120). It further points out that the “unequal treatment” of asylum seekers is due to the “practices of human classification” which separates certain people who matter from certain others who don’t (ibid.)

Necropolitics has also been taken as a theoretical lens to dissect the political context of literary works like African-futurist novels and Kamila Shamsie’s novels. African futurist works have also been studied according to Mbembe’s theory of necropolitics. The article “Africanfuturist Socio-Climatic Imaginaries and Nnedi Okorafor’s Wild Necropolitics” by

Carl Death also employs Mbembe's necropolitics to examine Okorafor's novel *Who Fears Death* (2010). The researcher explores the novel as an expression of "new ways of being and becoming human" under the light of the "Wild Necropolitics of the climatic apocalypse" (Death 8). The researcher argues that the mythical novel highlights the "violence of destruction" as a prerequisite to "new forms of being and becoming" (8). It shows resistance against the necropolitics as the protagonist is a rebel, a child of a war-time rape, who intends to exterminate her father to terminate the "genocide" and to "rewrite" the holy book that legalizes the war between the two ethnic groups (9). The researcher examines how the novel represents "the violence of birth and death, genocide and the apocalypse" (10) and underscores how the "question" of who lives and who dies is indispensable in the text (11). Carl Death argues how the text not only gives hope that new world order is probable but also underscores that some will die and others will survive in the process. Kamila Shamsie's novels have also been analysed through necropolitics. The article "Necropolitical Trauma in Kamila Shamsie's Fiction" by Amina Yaqin examines how Shamsie's novels combine "necropolitics" and "trauma" to form "necropolitical trauma" (Yaqin 249). In the context of Shamsie's novel *Broken Verses* (2005), the researcher asserts that the 1980s in Pakistan constituted a "state of exception and siege by the military state" (238). She explains how the protagonist's mother who resists Zia's regime is faced with the necropolitics of the state and commits "suicide" to avoid being caught "by the state" while a Marxist poet is captured and "murdered" (239). Yaqin argues, in the context of the same novel, how "law" and "sovereignty" join hands with "religious ideology" to create a "state of emergency" in which "violence" inflicted on the rebels could be "overlooked" (ibid). It also notes how the protagonist develops a "necropolitical trauma" upon discovering the story of her mother (240). In the context of Kamila Shamsie's *Broken Shadows* (2009), the researcher argues how North America as a "leading democracy" suspends the laws and exercises necropolitics across its territory (241). Moreover, according to the researcher, Shamsie's novel *Home Fire* (2017) displays the necropolitics of Britain which "excludes" and "racializes" the "British Muslims" and puts them "outside" the "British" laws (242, 243). She considers the "home secretary" a "sovereign," who does not allow Pervaiz's dead body to return to England, because he considers the Muslim boy a terrorist (244). In addition, Pervaiz is also shown as suffering from

“necropolitical trauma” because his father was also considered a terrorist (246). Furthermore, his family is “declared unBritish” because “their actions” are considered to be “outside” the British law (*ibid.*). In short, Shamsie’s aforementioned novels depict how “states” are “at war with their migrant communities” and impose restrictions on them (249).

Based on the aforementioned research studies, it can be inferred that necropolitics has only been employed to study the geo-political condition of Palestine and that this aspect has not yet been explored in Palestinian fiction. However, the necropolitical aspect has been studied in the literary works on Guinean literature, Hungarian literature and Kashmiri literature. It has also been used to explore the living dead condition of asylum seekers in UK. While the work done on Guinean literature addresses the cruelty of the regime of the dictator Touré after independence, the Hungarian literature presents the anxiety of the Hungarian population under the influence of two superpowers. Both these works represent the violence of post-colonial governments and promote resistance through non-violent means. The work done on Kashmiri literature addresses the violence and surveillance on Muslim subjects by Indians and highlights the impact of the violence on the psyche of Kashmiri subjects by combining the notions of biopower and necropower. The work done on Africanfuturist Socio-Climatic Imaginaries sets the mythical novel in future and presents a conflict between two ethnic groups legitimized by a holy book and promotes violence for correcting the wrongs. Moreover, the necropolitical interpretation of Kamila Shamsie’s novels address the necropolitics of Zia’s dictatorial regime, America’s cross-border oppression and discrimination of Muslims in Britain as well as underscore how different characters suffering from necropolitical trauma bravely resist the oppression of the aggressors. However, the theory of necropolitics has not yet been employed to analyse Palestinian fiction. This research uses Mbembe’s theory in order to explore Israel’s use of necropolitics on the Palestinian population as depicted in the selected Palestinian short stories. Focusing on the selected fictional works, this work highlights how Israel uses its sovereign power to kill the Palestinians on the basis of the relationship of enmity. It also underscores, in accordance with Mbembe’s theory, how the lives of Palestinian Arabs are made wretched and that they are continuously living under the fear of death. Moreover, this research also examines Palestinian violent resistance to Israeli oppression in the selected texts by combining Mbembe’s view on martyrdom and Fanon’s theory of violence.

## 2.4 Research Conducted on the Application of Fanon's ideas

Fanon, in his work *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), highlights the consequences of colonialism for the colonized and underlines the resistance undertaken by the repressed populations. Fanon believes that “colonial rule” is maintained by “violence” and “repression” (Razak n.p.). Hence, he claims that in order to rid themselves of the colonizing power, the colonized people have to employ counter-violence. He believes that the colonized man can achieve his “liberation” only through the use of “force” (Fanon 59). However, Fanon also mentions the “physical” and “psychological” effects of war and violence in his works and proposed that “violence” should not be taken as an “end in itself” (Razak n.p.).

Fanon's ideas have often been taken into account to understand the political and psychological condition of the colonies and the postcolonial literature. Palestinian political environment and the psychological condition of the suppressed Palestinians have also been interpreted according to Fanon's notion of decolonization. In the article “Palestine through the Lens of Frantz Fanon,” the researcher Nick Rodrigo asserts that the Palestinian population has retaliated, by using stone-pelting and other violent methods, against the ruthless “Israeli colonialism” which “plunders their future” (Rodrigo n.p.). He declares “Israeli occupation” as a “neo-colonial project” and establishes that the counter-violence by the Palestinian population is a “struggle” for “recognition as human being[s]” against colonialism which denies this “recognition” (ibid.). Similarly, in the article “Alienation and Violence: Frantz Fanon and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,” the researcher Mauro Saccol reads Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the light of Fanon's theory and his concept of alienation. He discusses that the causes leading to the alienation of the Palestinian population are “Judaization” (Saccol 82) of Palestine, “discrimination” and “inequality” in institutions and “laws” of the state, “political oppression” (84) and “cultural degradation” (85). The researcher further establishes that the aforementioned reasons make the Palestinians feel as if they are “strangers in their land” (84) and, as a result of the development of this “feeling of alienation” among the Palestinian masses, they have resorted to the use of “violence” against the Israeli state (87). Saccol, in light of Fanon's

words, argues that the violent techniques used by the Israeli military to subdue the Palestinian population “can only” result in counter-violence by Palestinians (88).

Fanon’s theory has also been used to dissect the political scenario and the psychological condition of other troubled nations like Zimbabwe and Kashmir. The political condition of post-colonial Zimbabwe has also been interpreted using Fanon’s ideas in order to understand the lack of advancement in post-colonial Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe achieved its independence from European domination in 1980 but it has not been able to develop considerably. In the article “Frantz Fanon and the Problematic of Decolonization: Perspectives on Zimbabwe” by Munyaradzi Hwami, the researcher utilizes Fanon’s works to explain why African states like Zimbabwe failed to make considerable advancements after their independence from colonial rule. In this article, the “decolonization process” in Zimbabwe is examined through the lens of Fanon’s ideas (Hwami 20). It points out how the “indigenization process” was adopted by the Zimbabweans as a part of decolonization with the objective of freeing the state of European influence as well as for “reestablishing black African agency” (19, 20). However, according to the Hwami, this decolonization process has merely benefitted the “elite nationalists”, as anticipated by Fanon, who have, in turn, suppressed the local masses (29). Moreover, it points out how, as a result of the indigenization process, Zimbabweans faced “economic challenges” (34). It, further, highlights how Fanon’s ideas are most appropriate for investigating the condition of Zimbabwe as Fanon has not only acknowledged the “necessity” of decolonization but has also disclosed the “problems” associated with it (29). Moreover, the study indicates that Fanon had already pointed out the problems related to the “development programs” which are completely detached from the international institutions (34). In addition, it highlights Fanon’s anticipation regarding how the elite nationalists would get hold of the “means of production” after independence and acquire their “interests in the name of decolonization” which is now revealed by the Zimbabwean case (ibid.). Fanon’s work has been utilized to understand the political environment of Kashmir and to explain the plight of the Kashmiri Muslim population. In the article “Kashmir: Beyond Imbroglios,” the researchers Usman W. Chohan and Omar Aamir have used Fanon’s ideas mentioned in his book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) to explain the plight of Kashmiri Muslims. They describe that Kashmiris have lived under the Indian

occupation and Dogra regime as economically dependent on the “Pandits and the Dogras” who have “employ[ed]” them for meagre wages and exploited them (Chohan and Aamir 5). They conclude that the subjugation and suffering of the Kashmiri population is a clear example of “Fanon’s colonial depiction of the *Wretched of the Earth*” (6). However, they also point out how the Kashmiris have decided to counter the “oppression,” even though their “pleas” have rarely been heard by the “global community” (19).

Korean literature on the Vietnamese War has also been interpreted by using Fanon’s theory to trace the experiences of discrimination and ambivalence of Korean soldiers, who were fighting on behalf of Americans, in the Vietnamese war. In the article “The Colonized Colonizers: Korean Experiences of Vietnam War” by Jinim Park, the researcher employs Fanon’s ideas to study three Korean novels about the Vietnam War, *Mugi ui gunul* (1992) by Hwang Suk-young, *Monamon Song-Bagang* (1992) by Park Youngg-han and *Hayan junjaeng* (1989) by Ahn Jung-hyo, in order to explore the status of Korean soldiers who participated in the Vietnam War on the behalf of Americans. The research uses Fanon’s argument that the “colonized” individuals acquire an “ambivalent attitude” which is an indication of “colonial subjugation” in order to ascertain that the attitude of Korean soldiers towards the Vietnamese was “ambivalent” (Park 223). Jinim Park establishes, in reference to the selected Korean literature, that the Korean soldiers, who were only fighting for America for the material gains they were promised, “bravely” (224) fought against the Vietnamese and felt “superior” to them but, at the same time, they also “felt” a strong sense of “sympathy” towards them (223). He mentions how the selected Korean writers express a strong affinity toward the Vietnamese in their works, emphasize the economic benefits that lured Koreans into the war and point out that the Vietnamese War was a “colonial war,” (226) rather than an “anti-Communist war,” which was “fought for economic benefits” (230). Moreover, the research emphasizes that, regardless of being “American allies,” Korean soldiers were treated as “subaltern subjects” (229) and were paid less than American soldiers. Finally, the researcher underscores how the Korean army faced an “identity” (240) crisis and “confusion” due to its “ambivalent position” but was also able to develop a “new sense of self” (228).

Hence, many pieces of research have been composed which make use of Fanon’s concepts to interpret many postcolonial literary narratives as well as to analyse the political

scenario and psychological condition of post-colonial states. It has been used to briefly describe the Palestinian situation where the aspects of Israeli neo-colonialism and the alienation of the Palestinian population are the prime focus. It has been utilized to interpret the political scenario of Zimbabwe and Kashmir as well as to explain the psychological status of Korean soldiers fighting in the Vietnam War. However, Fanon's ideas of violence have rarely been used to study literary texts in general and to Palestinian literature in particular. Consequently, this research work utilizes Fanon's notion of violence and decolonization in combination with Mbembe's theory of necropolitics in order to interpret the necropolitics in practice in Palestine and the consequent resistance of the Palestinian population against Israeli occupation.

Frantz Fanon's conception of decolonization can be invoked to analyse the Palestinian decolonization. Fanon has based his work on Algerian Revolution. He considers "revolutionary violence" to be the "logical consequence of colonialism" (Karklins 97). He has emphasized the need of decolonization for the repressed Algerian colonized population to regain its freedom from the aggression of the colonialists. According to Fanon, a colonized man can achieve his liberation only "through" the use of "violence" (Fanon 85). He has also pointed to how the violence undertaken by the French colonialists led to the counter-violence by the Algerian population. In this research work, the researcher has utilized Fanon's conception of decolonization to understand the violent resistance of the Palestinian population against Israeli aggression. This is done because the Palestinian population is also counter-reacting with violence as a result of Israel's colonial violence. Since the Palestinian population has been subjected to hostility by the Israeli colonialists, they have consequently resorted to the use of force in order to get rid of the oppression. Nick Rodrigo, in his article titled "Palestine through the Lens of Fanon," writes how the violent practices like "stone throwing, the stabbings and the bombings" undertaken by the Palestinian population "are a reaction to the colonial regime" (Rodrigo n.p.). Thus, Fanon's ideas regarding the necessity of decolonization and violence for the colonized against the colonial tyranny can be utilized to explain the Palestinian decolonization and counter-violence.

## 2.5 Palestinian Literature

Palestinian literature is “diverse, imaginative and revolutionary” in nature, indicates the “resilience” of Palestinian people (Mir 127) and highlights the “Palestinian national cause” (Darraj n.p.). Many excellent short story collections have been written by Palestinians in the last two decades. Some of the collections which the researcher has chosen to work on are *Qissat (2006)*, *Gaza Writes Back (2014)* and *The Sea Cloak and Other Stories (2019)*.

Several research studies have been conducted on the selected Palestinian short story collections. The collection *Gaza Writes Back (2014)*, from which most of the short stories included in this research are taken, has been analysed and reviewed by a few researchers. The article “Oppressed and Challenged but not Defeated: Families in *Gaza Writes Back*” written by Elham T. Hussein argues that the collection *Gaza Writes Back (2014)* portrays that the “traditional and patriarchal structure of the (Palestinian) family” has remained intact despite the “aggression” and torture the Palestinians have to face (Hussein 2). Moreover, he argues how the oppression of Israeli forces has not been able to force the Palestinians into total submission. The researcher has also highlighted, in the context of the short story collection, how the acts of narrating the “loss” and countering the “colonial narrative” count as resistance (4). He labels this collection as “resistance literature,” highlights how it encourages the native Palestinians to represent themselves and argues how the use of the word “Palestine” in the title of this collection is in itself an act of resistance as it counters the efforts of Israel at wiping out its identity (4, 5). Moreover, the article underlines the important themes of the collection as “existential insecurity”, attachment to one’s “land”, “resistance” and “moral and ideological justness of the Palestinian cause” (5). He points out that the stories represent the hope that is still found among the Palestinians who have chosen to counter the mainstream narratives through their writings. Similarly, Gary Corseri, in his review of this collection, also points out how the short stories of the collection portray the desire of the Palestinian Arabs to hold on to their lives. He, in addition, argues that *Gaza Writes Back (2014)* represents “war in slow motion” and depicts the acts of “writing” and “reading” as means by which to survive in the cruel times (Corseri n.p.). Moreover, according to the researcher, the stories represent



Palestinians as people who have upheld their “identity,” have deeply rooted memories of their land and are hopeful about regaining their lost place (ibid.).

In the review of *Gaza Writes Back* (2014) by Mara Sprenkel, it is emphasized that the collection sheds light on the impact of “Operation Cast Lead,” which destroyed Gaza and claimed lives of many Palestinians (Sprenkel 39-41). Sprenkel, like Hussein, also underscores how the oppression of Israel on Palestinian population is unable to discourage Palestinians from voicing their concerns. She notes that the main “concerns” voiced in the collection are that of “ever diminishing place and land” (40). Focusing specifically on Jehan Alfarra’s story “Please Shoot to Kill,” Sprenkel highlights the “challenging daily life” in Gaza where the Palestinians suffer from “inconceivable violence” (39). Moreover, the review also points towards how this story depicts the lives of Palestinians “subject[ed] to trade sanctions and ...lack of medical supplies” (40). The reviewer concludes how the “stories” of this collection portray human who wish to spend “their lives without the persistent treat of attack” (41). In her review of the same collection, Dr Rosemary Sayigh considers “death” as “omnipresent” in these short stories (Sayigh 263). He mentions how, in the short story “Omar X” where two young boys get “killed” in a “military operation,” the “family love” is “weave[ed]” into “death” and that the protagonist of the story “Scars” loses “her whole family to occupation” (263). She also mentions how the story “Please Shoot to Kill” by Alfarra “best epitomizes Gazan suffering” (264). Referring to the story “House,” the reviewer discusses the “subtler purpose” behind Abu Salem’s placing of “explosives” in the house which is to teach a lesson to the Israeli occupation that he considers “intrinsically evil” (265). Reviewing the story “Canary,” Dr Sayigh points towards the “interact[ion]” between “Israelis” and “Palestinians” in a “park” where they “mix”, specifically highlighting the death-ridden interaction between an Arab boy with an intention of “suicide bombing” and an Israeli “armed” woman (265). She also emphasizes the importance of “words” to counter “Israel’s attempt” to silence Palestinian narrative (263).

*Qissat* (2006), the second collection from which the selected short stories are taken, has also been reviewed by reviewers such as Tania Tabbara, Mira Mattar, Hala Nassar and Nicholas Barney. They have pointed out the features of the collection such as Palestinian identity, migrant experiences, restriction on mobility, struggle of Palestinian women,

presence of Israeli checkpoints and the emotional trauma experienced by the family of a martyr. In the review of the collection by Tania Tabbara, she mentions that the stories of this collection mainly revolve around the themes of “identity, mobility, and migrant experiences” (Tabbara 101). She notes that the short story “Dates and Bitter Coffee” by Donia ElAmal Ismaeel seems like a “parody of the politicized mourning rituals” which are undertaken by the neighbourhood when someone is martyred (101). She points out how the mourning parents of the deceased have to deal with “politically motivated” loud demonstrations and sloganeering glorifying the martyr and how the demonstrators prohibit the family from expressing their grief (ibid.). In her review of the collection, Mira Mattar also discusses Ismaeel’s story to study the martyr feature and notes how the story “ironically” represents how the death of the “so-called martyr” is manipulated (Mattar n.p.). The reviewer also talks about how Raeda Taha's short story “A Single Metre” includes a “check-point feature” and portrays a group of people about to get martyred near the check-post. She also notes that “freedom” is a prevalent theme of the collection and that the stories efficiently dispel the wrong assumptions about Arabs as ignorant (ibid.). Furthermore, she mentions how the stories written in the collection are well-written, “diverse” and “brave” (Mattar n.p.) which illustrates the richness of the developing Palestinian English literature.

Hala Khamis Nassar, while reviewing the collection *Qissat (2006)*, points out that the short stories in this collection are compiled in order to “voice the plight of (Palestinian) women” and their aspirations during the time of “brutal occupation” (Nassar 93). She also directs the readers’ attention towards how, in these short stories, “travel” has become a “metaphor for larger Palestinian experience” (94). While referring to the short story “Dates and Bitter Coffee” by Donia El Amal Ismaeel, Nassar links it to the “Palestinian-Israeli conflict” and mentions how it deals with the issue of “martyrdom and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism” (95). In her review of the same collection, Nicholas V Barney draws the attention of the readers towards how “Palestinian” women are “occupied twice over,” first by Israeli “occupation” and second by religious and social traditions” (Barney n.p.). In the second part of her review on *Qissat (2006)*, she argues how the story “Dates and Bitter Coffee” departs from the common assumption that the entire “Palestinian” population is in favour of “jihad” and martyrdom (ibid.). She mentions how in the story “the son’s death”

is turned into a “propaganda” by “Islamic Jihad members” to “increase their membership” (Barney n.p.).

*The Sea Cloak and Other Stories (2019)* is the third collection from which two short stories included in the research have been taken. Nayrouz Qarmout’s collection has also been reviewed by many reviewers. The review of the said collection by Ramona Wadi explores how the collection does not merely depict the lives of Palestinians and politics that curtail their “freedom” but also represents their “culture and traditions” as well as their maturation process (Wadi n.p.). Wadi highlights that the collection brings forward the “cultural and social issues” of Palestinian society, instead of hiding its flaws, and highlights the importance of “education” and the rights of “women” (ibid.). While analysing the short story “White Lilies,” she highlights the “dissociation” of the Israeli drone operators who murder innocent Arabs and the objectification of the Palestinian subjects as targets (Wadi n.p.). Wadi further mentions how the stories in this collection also present a “hope” for regaining the lost (ibid.). Qarmout’s collection has also been reviewed by Reshma Ruia who proposes that the stories of the collection represent the “emotional and cultural landscape” of the Palestinian community “caught in the crossfire of politics and tradition” (Ruia n.p.). She mentions how the stories present the longing of Palestinian Arabs for “self-betterment” as well as their dissatisfaction and lament over the scarcity of “choices” (ibid.). Through her analysis of the collection, Ruia also highlights how, in Palestinian society, “love,” enjoyment, cynicism and “violence” exist side by side. She moreover points out how the young female protagonists portrayed in the collection are “questioning” patriarchal norms which are upheld by the older generation of women (Ruia n.p.). The reviewer, furthermore, underscores the “callousness” of an Israeli drone operator, in the story “White Lilies,” who “carelessly” targets an Arab and kills him in a manner of playing video games (ibid.).

In her review of the collection *The Sea Cloak and Other Stories (2019)*, Aisha Yusuff notes that the stories of this collection are “set in Gaza” which, according to her, is the “largest open prison in the world” (Yusuff n.p.). She notes how the stories of this collection depict Palestinian children as being “prematurely” deprived of their “childhood” (ibid.). Moreover, she explores the “hardship[s]” faced by Palestinians in Gaza and also the “struggle” of Palestinian women “against the misogynistic expectation” (Yusuff n.p.).

She, moreover, discusses the “ever-realistic nature” of the stories of this collection. She refers to the short story “White Lilies” and points towards the cordial “encounter” between the Arab florist and “French customer” in the beginning and how, “30 years later,” the same Frenchman is shown targeting the Arab florist “holding some white lilies” (Yusuff n.p.). Yusuff also notes the multiple “layers of irony, horror and sadness” depicted within this story by the author (n.p.). Rhea Rollman, in her review of the collection, also highlights the emphasis placed on the endeavour of Palestinian Arabs, especially “women and children,” in “build[ing] lives for themselves in Gaza” (Rollman n.p.). She notes how the collection portrays the “political realities” and presents how the “protagonists” “struggle to weave normal lives” in the face of forces beyond “their control” (ibid.). She mentions how, in the story “White Lilies,” an Israeli “drone operator” aims to kill “a Palestinian” who simply intends to deliver a lily to “his neighbour’s young daughter” (Rollman n.p.). Rollman, moreover, discusses how the short story “Our Milk” “vivid[ly]” portrays the scenes before “two destructive terrorist bombings” in the history of Palestine (n.p.). She also notes that the stories also display “Palestinian perseverance and strength” and their hope for a better “future” (ibid.).

Through the examination of the above-mentioned works, the researcher has discovered that the previous work done on the selected collections depict that Palestinians have maintained a tightly-knit family structure despite the oppression of Israel which has not been able to force them into total submission. In addition, the struggle of Palestinian women is also discussed by the examiners. These works also indicate that writing the tales of Palestinian misery is a form of resistance as it counters the mainstream narrative on Palestine. Moreover, these works have underscored that the desire for freedom, education and self-betterment are prevalent themes in the collections of short stories selected by the researcher. However, these studies do not explore the said works through Mbembe’s ideas of necropolitics or Fanon’s theory of violence but present the general discussion of the stories. On the other hand, the present research employs necropolitics and Fanon’s theory of violence in order to analyse Israel’s necropolitics over Palestine and the consequent resistance of the Palestinian population in light of the selected texts.

In this chapter, the researcher has reviewed the previous work conducted on necropolitics, Fanon’s theory and Palestinian literature, in order to identify the research

gap. It has established how the research conducted in the selected field has not yet discussed Palestinian literature in relation to necropolitics or Fanon's theory of violence. However, on the contrary, this research work draws on Mbembe's theory of necropolitics and Fanon's theory of violence and decolonization to examine Palestinian fiction. By employing Mbembe's ideas on necropolitics, this work will analyse the fictional representation of Israel exercising its right to kill the Palestinian Arabs as well as the miserable circumstances the Palestinians are subjected to under occupation. Moreover, by using Fanon's theory of violence and Mbembe's notion of martyrdom, the researcher also aims to analyse the representation of Palestinian armed resistance against the necropolitics of Israel in the selected texts.

## 2.6 Research Gap

Numerous studies show that Palestinian Arabs have long been using "non-violence" as a means of resistance to Israeli rule (Mason and Falk 163). However, the non-violent struggle of the Arabs has neither resulted in any positive outcome nor has it "received" any "constructive response" from the "international community" (ibid). Rodrigo, in his article "Palestine through the lens of Frantz Fanon," has also expressed how counter-violence by Palestinian Arabs is a "struggle" for "recognition as human being[s]" (n.p.). Due to the aforementioned reasons, the Palestinian Arabs have resorted to violence as they consider it the sole means by which they could counter the Israeli forces and achieve freedom.

This study does not glorify violence but considers it indispensable in achieving liberation from colonial rule. It emphasizes that it is necessary for the colonized to use the violent means in order to gain freedom from misery and suffering that they are subjected to under occupation. Fanon, in his book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), emphasizes how violence and decolonization are the direct consequences of the colonial oppression. He further explains that the native population can find its "liberation" from colonization only through "violence" (Fanon 83). However, Fanon does not promote violence, but rather views it as the "only route out" of colonial violence (Rodrigo n.p.). Moreover, Mbembe defends Fanon's ideas on violence by emphasizing that Fanon was not an "advocate of indiscriminate political violence" but that his ideas on "violence were conditioned by very

specific historical conditions” and due to the use of necropolitics by the “European” colonizers (Bangstad n.p.). This research reinforces Fanon’s ideas regarding how violence encountered by the colonized forces them to use the same technique of violence to counter them. It also establishes how decolonization and violence are the necessary means by which a colonized community can fight the necropolitics of the colonizers and achieve independence.

The researcher’s work is different from the previous research works as it draws on Mbembe’s theory of necropolitics and Fanon’s theory of violence and decolonization to examine Palestinian fiction. This work utilizes Mbembe’s ideas, in reading the Palestinian fiction, to present how Israel acts as a sovereign authority and exercises its rights to kill the Palestinian Arabs based on the relation of enmity which it has developed against the Palestinians. It also shows how the annihilation of the Palestinian population is undertaken by labelling Palestinian Arabs as terrorists who threaten the Israeli state. Moreover, this research highlights how texts represent the Palestinian population living constantly in pain under the Israeli occupation. Moreover, by using Fanon’s theory and Mbembe’s notion of martyrdom, the researcher analyses the representation of Palestinian armed resistance against the Israeli necropolitics in the texts. The study also indicates how the violence used by the Palestinian population is undertaken as a result of the oppression by the Israeli colonizers. Furthermore, this research also points out the instances of non-violent resistance in the selected texts in order to emphasize that Palestinians are not violent by nature and that they have decided to use violence only after their non-violent efforts failed.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This chapter presents the theoretical framework adopted for the analysis of the selected Palestinian texts based on Mbembe's theory of necropolitics and Fanon's ideas regarding violence and decolonization. It describes in detail the aspects of these two literary theories that provide theoretical grounding of this research for the analysis of the selected Palestinian works. In particular, Mbembe's ideas regarding the extermination of colonized population on the basis of the relationship of enmity, the living dead condition of the colonized and the idea of martyrdom will be reviewed in detail for the purpose of this study. Moreover, Fanon's theory of violence and decolonization will also be discussed in depth in this chapter.

#### **3.1 Survival under Occupation and Necropolitics**

Mbembe, a Cameroonian postcolonial theorist, in his work on necropolitics, links the concept of sovereignty, the absolute power over a political body, with mortality and claims that "sovereignty" means to "exercise" power over the life and death of individuals (Mbembe 23). He establishes that the sovereign power has the right to decide who will live and who must die. Mbembe's work on necropolitics intends to reveal "the dark underside" of present-day politics by unveiling the necropolitics prevalent in our present system (Davis n.p.). Necropolitics means the "subjugation of life to the power of death" (Mbembe 39). Mbembe has brought forward his theory mainly by combining Foucault's concept of "biopower" with the concepts of "state of siege" and the state of exception" (16).

##### **3.1.1 Sovereign Power's Right to Kill**

Mbembe considers death as central to the working of global politics and links it with sovereignty. He is concerned with the type of "sovereignty" whose aim is the "instrumentalization" and "destruction" of "human bodies" (Mbembe 14). According to Mbembe, the sovereign authority decides on "who matters" and accordingly, exercises its power to kill the unwanted populations (27). He highlights that "state of exception" and the "relation of enmity" are the basis on which the sovereign power exercises his right to

kill (16). He believes that “sovereignty” functions in a way in which the killings of some people “becomes necessary” for others to survive (31). According to Mbembe, sovereign power seeks to eliminate the unwanted masses to maintain sovereignty over its population.

Mbembe takes into account the necropolitics prevalent in the systems where the state of exception is in practice. According to Mbembe, colonies are sites where the “state of exception” is the main “mode of governance” (31). In such systems, “sovereignty” typically involves “the exercise of a power outside the law” (23) and the sovereign power has the authority to decide on the state of exception. Moreover, according to Mbembe, the “state of exception” is a situation which “activates necropower” and provides the sovereign with an opportunity to decide who should be killed (Chakkour 30). The relation of enmity is also important in helping a sovereign determine “who matters and who does not” (Mbembe 27). Mbembe establishes how the “existence of the Other” (perceived enemy) is considered a “mortal threat” to the sovereign whose sovereignty will be secured only by its “elimination” (18). Taking Foucault’s concept of racism, Mbembe considers how the relation of enmity is often established on the basis of racism, which decides who should be killed and who should be allowed to live. In such systems, the death of the imagined enemy is considered necessary for the “lives” of others (Chakkour 34) and sovereign authority poses that such a killing is for the greater good. Moreover, Mbembe highlights that in late modern occupation, the lives of the colonized are “militarized” and “military commanders” are given the authority to kill according to their “discretion” (Mbembe 30). He also points out that the sovereign power has the authority to “kill” the colonized people “at any time or in any manner” without being held accountable for it (25).

### **3.1.2. Colonized as Living-Dead**

Mbembe also substantiates that in the present-day world, repressed populations are continuously “subjected” to such “conditions of life” that they are spending their lives as “living dead” inhabiting “death-worlds” (Mbembe 40). He also points out how the slaves in the past lived in a constant “state of injury” (21). He, moreover, takes into account the “terror” prevalent in a colonial setup (22) where the colonized population is continuously living “in pain” (39). Mbembe notes how, in a late modern occupation, the colonized population is threatened by combining methods for “precision killing” with the techniques



of “medieval siege warfare” (29). The suppressed populations are intimidated by using weapons such as “Apache helicopter gunship[s]” as well as “armored bulldozer[s]” (29). He mentions how the colonized populations are made to live in fear by the demolition of their houses, “uprooting” of their fields and endless “bombing” (ibid.). Moreover, the populations are further made to live miserable lives by “seal[ing] off” their settlements, deploying soldiers, restricting their “movement” and robbing them of their “means of income” (30).

## **3.2 Resistance Against the Occupation**

### **3.2.1 Fanon on Violence and Decolonization**

Frantz Fanon is an “important figure” associated with Post-colonialism (McLeod 19) whose “anti-colonial” (23) critical works have made a great contribution to Post-colonial thought. Afflicted by his experience of French colonization, Fanon brought to light the “damage” caused by “colonization” (19), explored how the colonized was made to believe himself as an “other” and examined the “psychological” impact of colonization (20). His work on decolonization mainly deals with the resistance of the colonized population against colonization. Fanon’s work, like Mbembe’s theory, also addresses the impact of colonization on the colonized. However, whereas Mbembe’s necropolitics focuses mainly on how colonization involves the subjugation of the population to the power of death, Fanon’s work on violence and decolonization mainly underlines how the oppressed recourse to counter-violence in reaction to the subjugation they are subjected to.

Fanon establishes his argument initially by unveiling the violence which characterizes colonial rule and mentions how colonizers establish their authority in the occupied land through violence. He argues that colonization damages the “society” of the “native” (Fanon 93) and reduces him to an “animal” (42) who is “torture[d]” (92), exploited and humiliated by the oppressive settlers. Fanon also establishes that colonizers are responsible for initiating the “process of domination” (51) and using force to confine and control the natives. Moreover, according to Fanon, the process of decolonization originates from the realization of the “native” that he is as much a human as the “settler” and it is this consciousness which induces the colonized to fight for his liberation (43). As a result, the colonized individual begins to harbour the desire to replace the settler. Furthermore, Fanon

mentions how the aggressiveness of the oppressed springs out from the oppression and “immobility” he faces due to colonization (52, 53). The native, according to Fanon, realizes that only by putting an end to “colonization” (51) can he get rid of the oppression of the colonizer and relive his prior life. As a consequence, he decides to counter “colonialism” (58) and achieve his “liberation” by using “all means” including the use of “force” (61). Fanon also points out that the “starving peasant[s]” are the “first” ones among the colonized to realize that “only violence pays” (61).

Fanon further theorizes that “colonialism” is “violence in its natural state” and that it requires “greater violence” in order to be suppressed (Fanon 61). He proposes that since the settlers have used the method of “force” to manage the “natives,” they have taught natives the technique they should use if they aim to be “free” (84). According to him, the natives eventually realize that only “force” can be used to counter the colonizers (72). As a result, the natives resort to “violence,” in response to the violence used by the colonizers, in order to break down the “colonial system” (72). Fanon substantiates that the “colonized” population can achieve their liberation “in and through violence” (85). In addition, he points out that the creation of a “new state” and the destruction of the “colonial structures” often result from the “violent struggle” of the colonized (70). He also sheds light on how the attempt of the colonized to “repress” the revolution with greater violence only serves to aggravate the “aggressiveness” of the colonized people (71, 72). Fanon, moreover, points out that the “magnitude” of the violence undertaken by the settler is always greater than that of the “natives” because of the use of advanced weapons (89). However, according to Fanon, the counter-violence of the natives also results in changing the “attitude” of the colonizers who begin planning to “decolonize” the natives (70).

Frantz Fanon, contrary to what is normally believed, does not advocate violence in his works but considers it a natural result of colonialism. He believes that the counter-violence undertaken by the colonized population is the direct consequence of the violence used by the colonizers. Fanon argues: “[h]e of whom they have never stopped saying that the only language he understands is that of force, decides to give utterance by force. In fact, as always, the settler has shown him the way he should take if he is to become free” (Fanon 84). It indicates that, since the colonizers have used violence to establish themselves in the land of the colonized, the occupied population consequently uses violence to get rid of

them. Nick Rodrigo, in his article “Palestine through the Lens of Fanon,” similarly claims that “Fanon” did not intend to “valorize violence” but that he considered “violence” as the “only way out” of colonialism since the colonizers had taken over everything that belonged to the colonized (Rodrigo n.p.). Mbembe also believes that Fanon was not a proponent of “indiscriminate political violence” but that his views on violence were “conditioned” by “very specific historical” circumstances (Bangstad n.p.). He further proposes that the “necropolitical” intent of “European colonialism” resulted in the counter-violence in the colonies (ibid.). Moreover, Fanon, while mentioning the positive impact of counter-violence on the colonized in his works, has also discussed the damage caused by a violent struggle. Furthermore, he believes that the counter-violence should not be “an end in itself” and that if it is undertaken “without a clear plan for decolonization,” it will only result in the production of similar “power relations” as that of colonialism (Razak n.p.).

### **3.2.2 Mbembe’s Conception of Suicide Bomber and Martyrdom**

Mbembe also sheds light on the resistance of the colonized population through self-sacrifice and the idea of martyrdom. He refers to the “figure of the Suicide Bomber” (Mbembe 36) and points out that the individual who has chosen martyrdom turns his body into a “weapon” to kill his “enemy” (36). Mbembe mentions that, through the act of suicide bombings, “resistance” and self-sacrifice are performed simultaneously (36). The colonized individual is “willing to die” so as to take the life of his “enemy” along with his own in order to achieve martyrdom (37). Achille Mbembe also mentions that the places such as “café[s]” and “marketplace[s]” are often the targets of the suicide bomber (36). He, moreover, points out how in a case of suicide attack, the “logic of martyrdom” and the “logic of survival” are in conflict as the repressed individual kills his enemy at the “cost of [his own] survival” (37). Furthermore, Mbembe mentions how the oppressed individual “takes power over his [own] death” (38) by suicide bombing and is also able to attain freedom from “occupation” through this act of self-sacrifice (37).

The researcher uses Mbembe’s theory of necropolitics and Fanon’s viewpoint on violence for providing the theoretical framework for the present study. This framework will be used to study the depiction of suffering in the narratives of Palestinian Arabs as represented in the selected Palestinian short stories. The theoretical framework of this

research is restricted to the aspects of Mbembe's and Fanon's theories mentioned above. The researcher will use Mbembe's conception of necropolitics as the suppression of life to the "power of death" (Mbembe 39, 40) to analyse Israel's necropolitics on Palestine. The research will use Mbembe's necropolitics to study how the selected texts represent Israel, a sovereign power, using its authority to kill and subdue the Palestinian Arabs. It demonstrates how the selected stories depict Israeli soldiers using their authority to kill Palestinian Arabs at the slightest suspicion. Moreover, by using this theory, the researcher will show how the selected texts represent the population of Palestine as constantly "in pain" (39) and permanently living under the fear of death due to continuous bombing. Furthermore, the researcher will be using Mbembe's ideas about martyrdom and Fanon's ideas about violence and decolonization in order to analyse the resistance of the Palestinian Arabs against Israel as represented in the selected fiction. Fanon's theory regarding the necessity of using "violence" to achieve "freedom" (Fanon 83) will be used to study acts of armed resistance presented by the texts. Similarly, Mbembe's theorization on martyrdom and his ideas regarding how a "suicide bomber" kills the enemy with his "own body" to achieve martyrdom (Mbembe 88) will be specifically used to study the resistance of suicide bombers highlighted in the selected texts. In addition, using Fanon's theory of violence, the researcher will further point out that the violent resistance of the Palestinian Arabs, as demonstrated in the selected fictional works, is the direct consequence of the necropolitics of Israel. The concepts of Mbembe and Fanon mentioned above provide the theoretical framework through which the textual analysis of the selected Palestinian short stories will be conducted.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **SURVIVAL UNDER ISRAELI OCCUPATION**

This chapter presents the first part of the analysis of the selected Palestinian short stories which studies Israel's necropolitics over Palestine and the survival of the Palestinian population under Israeli occupation. It highlights how the selected Palestinian short stories depict the Palestinian population to be suffering under colonization. The short stories analysed in this section include "Canary," "White Lilies," "Once Upon a Dawn," "Scars," "Omar X," "Dates and Bitter Coffee," "Please Shoot to Kill," "House" and "A Single Metre." The researcher has utilized textual analysis to analyse the selected Palestinian short stories and has taken out examples from the selected Palestinian works to answer the research questions, presented at the beginning of this work, under the lens of Mbembe's theory of necropolitics. Textual analysis is used as the research methodology to conduct this analysis. By using this methodology, the researcher is able to conduct an in-depth analysis of the Palestinian short stories by taking into account the political history of Palestine and Israel. Moreover, this methodology would help the researcher to explicate the necropolitics of Israel by incorporating appropriate instances from the selected texts.

In this chapter, the researcher has analysed, utilizing Mbembe's necropolitics, how the selected texts represent Israel as governing Palestine by exercising its right to kill the Palestinian Arab population based on the relation of enmity. Furthermore, the researcher also uses Mbembe's ideas to highlight how, in the selected texts, Palestinians are seen as spending their lives in the occupied territory as living dead.

#### **4.1 Israel's Extermination of the Palestinian Population**

Israel has been governing Palestine by using its power to kill the unwanted Palestinian population. Mbembe establishes how a sovereign power governs the masses by deciding on "who matters" and, accordingly, exercising its power to kill the repressed population (Mbembe 27). He also highlights how this right to exterminate the unwanted population is exercised based on the "relationship of enmity" (16). Moreover, he emphasizes how the unwanted population is killed by the sovereign power for the survival of the rest of the population (18). This is done by the sovereign power, according to

Mbembe, in order to maintain its sovereignty over the region. Furthermore, Mbembe emphasizes how the lives of the colonized people, under the colonial rule, are “militarized” and that the “military commanders” are given the power to kill according to their “discretion” (30). He further states that the repressed populations could be killed “at any time or in any manner” by colonizers (25). Likewise, the selected Palestinian short stories depict how this right to kill has been exercised by Israel, which is a colonizer and a sovereign power over Palestine, to kill the Palestinian Arabs either at the slightest suspicion or without any reason. The selected short stories also highlight how the Palestinian Arabs are killed by Israel mainly due to Israel’s relation of enmity with Palestinian Arabs due to their clash over Palestinian land. These stories also highlight how this killing is mainly undertaken by the Israeli military soldiers who are given a free hand to kill the Palestinian Arabs. These stories also indicate how Israel presents the Palestinian population as a threat, which needs to be eliminated for the survival of the Israeli population, in order to validate its extermination.

In the selected Palestinian texts, the killing of the innocent Palestinian population by the Israeli settlers is witnessed quite frequently. These short stories demonstrate how Israel uses its right to kill the Palestinian Arabs in a similar manner to what Mbembe discusses in his work on necropolitics. In the short story “Canary” by Nour Al-Sousi, it is observed that when the two young Palestinian boys are returning home after getting their “jerry cans” filled from “UNRWA water truck,” they see a “canary” near a “Jewish settlement” (Alareer 50). When the older brother, Ghassan, goes to catch the little bird for his younger brother, he gets shot by the Jewish settlers. The short story states: “[i]t took only one gunshot. His brother and the canary were silenced forever, in front of his eyes” (50). This situation follows Mbembe’s view that the sovereign power exercises its authority “to kill” the unwanted populations (Mbembe 16). Similarly, when the younger brother seeks to avenge his brother, he is targeted even before the boy takes any action and is killed by the gun of a female Jewish soldier. Mbembe considers the “relationship of enmity” as a major reason based on which the sovereignty’s “right to kill” is exercised (Mbembe 16). In the context of this short story, it is quite evident that the aggression against Palestinian Arabs is based on the relationship of enmity. The protagonist’s elder brother is killed because of mere suspicion and so is the protagonist. His brother is killed while simply

catching a canary near the Israeli encampment merely because he is an Arab. Likewise, the protagonist is killed because of his “Arab looks” (Alareer 52) and without any prior substantial evidence of his criminality. The aforementioned incidences, in which brothers are killed merely for being Arabs, are in accordance with Mbembe’s claim that the colonial power can kill the colonial subjects “at any time” (Mbembe 25). Mbembe also asserts that the sovereign power intends to “kill” the enemy to ensure its survival (18). Similarly, in the context of the short story, the Arab boy on a suicide mission is killed in order to ensure the safety of the Jews as he is seen as a threat to the Israeli state. He is probably considered a threat firstly because he is an “Arab” (Alareer 52) and secondly because he is wearing a “wintery jacket” (52) in summer that hints on his suicide mission. Consequently, the Israeli woman must have killed him to protect Israel thus justifying Mbembe’s claim. This story, meanwhile, also points towards how Israel uses force in order to deprive Palestinians of their daily pleasures. The story details that catching a “canary” has been a “hobby” of the boys (50) and the elder brother gets shot when he tries to catch the bird, “attracted” by its “Sound” (ibid). Consequently, by killing the boy, Israel displays its power over the daily lives of Palestinians. In essence, this short story perfectly encompasses how Israel uses its right to kill the Palestinian Arabs merely based on the relationship of enmity.

The short story “White Lilies” by Nayrouz Qarmout similarly portrays how the Palestinian Arab population is killed without any evidence of committing a crime. The story depicts that a young Palestinian Arab florist named Ali is killed by a drone operator mainly on the basis of mere suspicion. He is shot down when he is running towards a children’s school in order to deliver a white lily to his friend’s daughter Zahra on time. Moreover, even after the Jewish drone operator recognizes the florist as the Arab “with a dimple” (Qarmout 35) with whom he had had a friendly encounter years ago, he still kills him just for being an Arab. Mbembe postulates that the relation of enmity, often based on racism, is an important basis on which the sovereign power decides “who matters” (Mbembe 27). He hypothesizes how the “existence” of a perceived enemy is deemed as a “mortal threat” whose annihilation is considered necessary for the sovereign to safeguard his sovereignty (18). The relation of enmity which Israel has developed against Palestinians is what forces the drone operator to consider the young Arab man a suspect. The Arab man’s mere act of running is deemed suspicious and the phone call he receives, saying

“The lilies have blossomed, Ali. It’s time” (Qarmout 34), is comprehended as a “coded message” (35). Moreover, even after the drone operator has witnessed that the young Arab man has simply given flowers to a little girl, he does not “hesitate” but waits for the children to “disperse” (35) so as to kill him. The story narrates the incident of his death as “the figure on the screen drops to the pavement...Zahra is blown backwards by a blast of hot air” (35). The story further highlights how the Israeli drone operator kills the Palestinian man as if he is killing a “character in a computer game” (34). This scene shows how killing Palestinians is not a great deal for Israelis, who consider them mere characters in a game. The indifference of an Israeli man to Palestinian public is further depicted when, right after murdering the Arab, he is shown as browsing “possible destinations” for his “holiday” (36). Mbembe also points out that the repressed population in occupied territories can be murdered “at any time or in any manner” without any accountability (Mbembe 25). The Palestinian population, similarly, is always at risk of being killed by Israel, as represented in the text. Due to this situation, the Palestinians are also often forcefully deprived of undertaking pleasurable pursuits like delivering a lily to someone. In short, this short story chiefly unveils the necropolitics of Israel over Palestine, where the Palestinian population is treated as disposable by the Israeli oppressors who kill them with impunity.

The short story “Once Upon a Dawn” by Shahd Awadallah demonstrates the indiscriminate killing of Palestinian Arabs. The story illustrates that a Palestinian mother loses her child during the bombardment of her building by Israeli missiles. It shows how Israel decides on “who matters” (Mbembe 27) and uses its authority to kill the unwanted Palestinian Arabs. In the story, all of a sudden, three missiles target the building in which the protagonist has been living along with her family and, as a result, the protagonist’s son dies in the bombardment which destroys their house. Addressing her son, the mother writes: “The massive explosion of the F-16 missile vaporized the sound of the prayer calls and deafened us... I left our neighbour’s house and saw ours burning like a volcano. Nothing but fire... That night, I lost my son” (Alareer 132). This assertion is also in accordance with Mbembe’s view regarding how the “sovereign right to kill” is not restricted by “any rule in the colonies” (Mbembe 25). It is because, in the story, the missiles started targeting their building without any instigation. The story details, before mentioning the incident, how “bombings ...dominated Gaza’s nights and days” (Alareer 128) and that



“warplanes ... had been hovering over Gaza for two weeks” (129). The story subsequently details that, after a short period of peace following those stressful days, their building is unexpectedly “target[ted]” by Israeli missiles. It shows that, most of the times, Israel’s killing of Arabs is unprovoked and thus not limited to any clear cut rules. Mbembe also highlights how colonizers can “kill” the colonized population “at any time or in any manner” in a colonial setup (25). The story highlights how Palestinians often become victims of the indiscriminate killing of Israel. This story further mentions how the lamenting Palestinian mother had also lost her husband some time ago due to Israeli attacks. The story also depicts how such bombing incidents undertaken by the Israeli state leave the Palestinians with life-long traumas, which impact their normal lives, by portraying the misery of the grieving mother who is constantly being “torture[d]” by the memory of her dead son (Alareer 127). In this way, the current story illustrates how Palestinians are always at risk of being killed by Israel and how it impacts their lives. Similarly, in the short story “Scars” by Aya Rabah, the protagonist is the only surviving member of her family. It is found out that the rest of her family has been exterminated due to Israeli attacks. She writes that her “family” has been “killed” by “a shell” (142). This story thus also indicates the indiscriminate killing of Palestinian Arabs by Israel, the sovereign power. Moreover, as per Mbembe’s theorization, it can also be said that the sovereign power, Israel, kills the Palestinian Arabs using the latest weapons to ensure the “maximum destruction” (Mbembe 40). This is done, according to Mbembe, to ensure the survival of the sovereign and to maintain its “sovereignty” (18) over the region. In the same way, as observed in the selected texts, Israel kills the Palestinians, which are seen as a threat to Israel, utilizing deadly weapons such as “missile[s]”, to ensure the survival of Israel and the Israeli population (Alareer 143). Furthermore, in the aforementioned story, the protagonist’s son, Salam, is also later killed by a “stray bullet” from an Israeli’s gun which “conquered his chest” (145). Mbembe likewise points out how, during the late-modern occupation, the occupied population also falls victim to “invisible killing” in addition to “outright executions” (Mbembe 30). This short story similarly highlights that many Palestinian Arabs have become targets of Israel’s intentional execution as well as accidental killing. This story, like the previous one, also depicts how the memories of the killed Palestinians often haunt the living just as the protagonist’s “miserable memories,”

given by “war,” constantly torture her (Alareer 146). This is also Israel’s way of paralyzing the Palestinian public so they do not dare go against their regime. In essence, these two short stories thus indicate how Israel exterminates Palestinians in order to ensure its sovereignty over the region.

Alternatively, in the short story “Omar X” by Yousef Aljamal, it is observed that the freedom fighters Sa’ad and Omar, who are trying to protect the people of their camp, are also shot down by Israeli forces. Omar’s murder is recounted as: “[b]ullets poured from the building into them. Omar fell down, shot.” (Alareer 89, 90). It proves Mbembe’s claim regarding how Israel uses its power “to kill” the Palestinian Arabs (Mbembe 16) and that soldiers are used as the main instruments of the sovereign to accomplish this task of eliminating the enemy. Moreover, it also validates Mbembe’s view that the sovereign power “kill[s] in order to live” (18). Since the armed Palestinian boys, in “khaki uniform” and a “gun” in hand (Alareer 89), who seem to be planning a counter-attack on Israel, are considered as a threat to Israel. Consequently, in the context of the selected story, the freedom fighters are killed by Israeli soldiers to make them unable to resist the state of Israel as well as to ensure the survival of Israeli state. Furthermore, the story indicates that Israeli soldiers kill the freedom fighters even before they could attack the Israeli soldiers. The story further shows how the Israeli soldiers not only kill the adult male population but also “kill children and women” (92). It reflects how the entire Palestinian population is always in danger of being exterminated by Israel with or without committing any offence. The story also depicts how the occupation robs the children of their childhood and involves them in the struggle for survival just as Omar, because of witnessing killings of Palestinian Arabs, decides to resist the occupation from a very young age. “Dates and Bitter Coffee” by Donia ElAmal Ismaeel, like “Omar X,” also deals with the death of a freedom fighter. It is demonstrated in the short story that a young Palestinian freedom fighter Salim is imprisoned and killed by the Israeli state. The story recounts that “[t]he martyr was a prisoner of the Zionists.” (Glanville 85). The freedom fighter is imprisoned by Israeli soldiers due to his resistance against their necropolitics and is consequently killed by them. Mbembe notes that a sovereign power considers the “existence of the Other” as a “threat” and exterminates him to maintain its sovereignty (Mbembe 18) and to ensure the lives of the rest of the population. Correspondingly, Israel considers Palestinians, especially those

resisting against its supremacy, as threats which must be eliminated for the Israeli population to survive. In short, in light of the above pieces of evidence, this story underscores the necropolitics of Israel over the Palestinian population and emphasizes how the sovereign power targets Palestinian to maintain its supremacy over the region.

The short story “Please Shoot to Kill” by Jehan Alfarra also demonstrates the suffering of the Palestinian population due to Israeli oppression and depicts how the Israeli state target Palestinians on the basis of their Arab identity. In this short story, the protagonist, Laila, is reminiscing about the tragic incident in the past which wounded her family. She recalls how the Israeli soldiers entered their house by force, hit her father and shot him, which left him severely injured, leading to his early demise. Moreover, their house is also bombed on the pretext that the house is inhabited by ““Arab mekhabel!” Arab terrorist!” (Alareer 81). This incident shows how Israeli soldiers display their relation of enmity with Palestinians. It is in accordance with Mbembe’s view that the “relation of enmity” helps the sovereign power to decide who can be killed (Mbembe 16). The story, likewise, demonstrates how the Israeli soldiers declare Arabs as terrorists and a threat to their lives to justify their acts of torture and murder committed against innocent Palestinians. Moreover, it is indicated in the same short story that a large number of Arab dead bodies are brought to the hospital where this family is taken. The huge influx of patients in the short story indicates how the whole Palestinian population is indiscriminately targeted by the Israeli state. It shows how Palestinian Arabs are always at a risk of death under Israeli colonization, which deprives them of a normal life.

The above-mentioned instances from the selected Palestinian short stories portray, in the light of Mbembe’s theory of necropolitics, how Israel exterminates the Palestinian population based on the relationship of enmity. Moreover, the stories foreground how Palestinians are killed chiefly for being Arabs, either on the basis of mere suspicion or indiscriminately. Furthermore, the above-mentioned examples also indicate how Israeli soldiers declare the Arabs as terrorists in order to justify their murder. In addition, the previously discussed instances from the selected texts further highlight how the Palestinian population is chiefly killed to ensure the survival of Israel.

## 4.2 Palestinians in a Living Dead Condition

Palestinian Arabs are merely surviving under Israeli occupation and existing more as living dead under constant oppression. Mbembe establishes that in the present-day world order, the colonized or repressed populations are “subjected” to such “conditions of life” that they are spending their lives as “living dead,” living in the “death-worlds” (Mbembe 40). He emphasizes how the everyday lives of the colonized populations are “militarized” (30) because of which they are constantly living under “terror” (38) and “in pain” (39). Mbembe also underscores how in the “late modern colonial” setup, different warfare weapons like “Apache helicopter[s]” and “armed bulldozers” are used as “weapons” of “intimidation” (29). Moreover, according to him, the colonized population is further threatened and made to live miserable lives due to constant “bombing” (29), “seal[ing] off” their settlements, restriction on their “movements” and deprivation of their “means of income” (30). The selected Palestinian short stories illustrate how the Palestinian Arabs are in a constant state of pain and terror surviving under the Israeli occupation. This is because, their lives are militarized and they are threatened while living amidst non-stop firing and bombing, and being constantly exposed to weapons of warfare. Moreover, they are forced out of their houses, deprived of their means of income, faced with curfews and are always at risk of losing their lives in the bombardment of their settlements. This makes their survival under Israeli colonization arduous.

The short story “Please Shoot to Kill” by Jehan Alfarra demonstrates how the Palestinian Arabs have been spending their lives as living dead. The story depicts that, even before the Israeli soldiers attack their family, they have already been living in “immense horror and fear” (Alareer 80). Their constant state of fear is due to the continuous hovering of the “Apache” helicopter over their house, the presence of “tanks” nearby and the sound of “bullets” (ibid.). The story recounts that when the “four soldiers” with “M16 rifles” forcibly enter the house of the protagonist’s family, they harass the family members and ransack their belongings (80) in order to terrorize them. The story also mentions how the soldiers frequently visit the houses of Arab families and “harass” the family members “anytime they felt like it” (80). This short story thus demonstrates how Palestinian Arabs are constantly living in intimidation and validates Mbembe’s claim regarding “terror” as

the most prominent feature of colonial rule (Mbembe 29). The presence of Israeli soldiers also depicts how Israel “militarize[s]” the lives of Palestinians and gives its soldiers the authority to kill at their “discretion” (30). Moreover, the constant presence of “Apache, M16, Tanks” (Alareer 83) shows how the sovereign power uses different weapons to instill this fear in the Palestinian population in order to make them submit before the occupation. It also proves Mbembe’s argument regarding how “precision killing” weapons like M16 and Apaches are combined with the “medieval siege warfare” using tanks as “weapons” of “intimidation” (Mbembe 29) in the “late modern occupation” (27) in order to subdue the enemy. Furthermore, the story highlights that even after the protagonist’s house is hit by a bomb, there is still more bombing which destroys the area they “lived off” (Alareer 82). It is also pointed out in the story that “their plot of land” has become “a pile of debris” and the “entire harvest of the year” is destroyed (84). It shows how Israel damages the possessions and means of income of Palestinian Arabs in order to subdue them so that they continue to live in fear. This argument also goes along with Mbembe’s point that in late modern occupation; the “besieged population” is dispossessed of their “means of income” (Mbembe 30). Moreover, as a result of the bombing, Laila’s little sister, Salma, loses her leg, her father is in critical condition because of his kidney rupture and Laila also gets badly hurt. Moreover, the story demonstrates how Israel controls the supply of electricity and food to Gaza as well as controls the phone lines. In the beginning, the story also points out that it is rare for Gaza to have “electricity for two days in a row” (Alareer 78) and that for “fifteen nights,” the Gazans “barely” had any “electricity, any phone lines, or any food” (80). These lines show how the Gazans depend on Israel for their basic necessities and how Israel cuts off the power supply to Gaza at will in order to torture and subdue them. In addition, this anecdote points out how Palestinian population, especially children, are left with lifelong traumas when they witness such horrific incidents. The story shows how the protagonist’s sister, Sara, after witnessing Israel’s cruelty towards her family, suffered from “psychological disturbance” (88). This story also points towards how the Gaza is deprived of medical facilities, forcing doctors “to choose” which patients to send abroad for treatment (79). The story, in essence, shows that the Palestinian Arabs are incessantly suffering and living under the fear of death under Israeli colonization.

The short story “Omar X” by Yousef Aljamal also depicts the suffering of the Palestinian population under Israeli occupation. In this story, the presence of helicopters and tanks is also witnessed, and it is observed that the Palestinian Arab population is constantly being disturbed because of their sounds. The story mentions how the “thump-thump sound of a helicopter” is disrupting the “peace of the crowded refugee camp” and the “noise of tanks” is breaking the “silence of the night” (Alareer 89). In the context of this story, helicopters and Tanks are being used as weapons to instil fear into the population as per Mbembe’s claim. This story also highlights how the Palestinian Arabs are merely surviving under colonization and are constantly in pain and suffering. Moreover, the story depicts that when the protagonist is born, his refugee camp in Gaza is under “curfew” (90) and that the Israeli soldiers stop their car for checking when the family returns home with the child. It shows how Palestinians are stopped and checked even when they are entering their settlements. It also displays how Palestinian Arabs are constantly living under curfews and lockdowns which makes it difficult for them to travel freely. Furthermore, this story reveals that the Israeli soldiers often intrude into Palestinian houses at will by illustrating that the soldiers “stormed Omar’s bedroom” at night to search for kids involved in stone-pelting (91). The story further reveals that the Israeli soldiers “used to scare” the protagonist “as a five-year-old boy” and even after many years “still invaded every little aspect of his life” (ibid.). The situation depicted in this short story is in accordance with Mbembe’s claim that, in a late modern occupation, the everyday lives of the “besieged” populations are “militarized” (Mbembe 30). Similarly, the story reveals how the Israeli soldiers are often patrolling the Arab settlements and that their presence also serves to induce fear in the Palestinian Arab population. Moreover, it is also depicted that the Israeli soldiers are given the authority to invade the personal spaces of the Palestinian public in order to keep them in check. The story also sheds light on how Israel snatches childhood from Palestinian children and entangles them in the struggle of survival. The story portrays how the Israeli soldiers, when forcefully entering the child’s room, “spoil[ed] his imagining moon as a white balloon” and also scared him as a child (Alareer 91). It shows how Israel prematurely deprives the Palestinian children of their normal childhood and little pleasures. As a result, Omar, started protesting against the occupation from a very young age. In

conclusion, this story demonstrates how the Palestinian population is made to live a miserable life under Israeli occupation.

Similarly, the short story “White Lilies” by Nayrouz Qarmout reflects the pitiable condition of the Palestinian Arabs due to colonization. It indicates the constant presence of Israeli drones in the lives of the Palestinian Arabs and highlights how they disturb the lives of Palestinians. In the story, Zahra tells her father about the discussion of students regarding “a big mosquito that launches rockets from the sky” (Qarmout 32). The story depicts how the hissing sound of drones tortures the people of Palestine, especially the little children. Considering the drone as a mosquito, little Zahra says that the constant buzzing sound is “hurting (her) ears” (32). The story narrates: “[t]he drone’s buzzing seems to irritate some of the children: a girl leaning against the school wall covers her ears” (35). These lines point out how the daily lives of the Palestinians are militarized and how such weapons are used to disrupt the everyday lives of the Palestinians. Moreover, besides being a nuisance in the lives of the Palestinian Arabs, the weapons such as drones also act as instruments to induce fear in Palestinian people so as to make them live in terror. Mbembe highlights how the sovereign authority uses such weapons as tools of “intimidation” in order to threaten and subdue repressed populations (Mbembe 29). Likewise, the presence of drones in the short story depicts how such weapons are used by Israel to make the lives of the Palestinian people miserable. Consequently, being constantly exposed to death, the Palestinian population is living as Mbembe’s living dead, as it is living in a situation in which it is more dead than alive. Moreover, the story also depicts the wretched condition of “al-Shatea Camp,” in which Ali and Zahra live, (Qarmout 31) which reflects how the occupied Palestinian population is living in unliveable conditions under occupation. Also, the story highlights that occupation induces Palestinians to live an abnormal life where they are always distraught and troubled. In the story the hovering of drones disturbs the little girl doing her “homework” (33). Moreover, a friendly act of delivering a Lily to a little girl is turned into an horrific incident leading to the man’s death. In addition, just as depicted in the story, the children are often made to witness such horrendous incident which impact their mental wellbeing. These incidences indicate that Israel aims to keep the Palestinians from living a stress-free life. The short story “Canary,” by Nour Al-Sousi, similarly demonstrates that the Israeli community targeted an Arab boy even when he is simply

catching a canary. It shows how the Israeli occupation forcefully deprives children of their little pleasures such as catching a canary. In this way, Israeli occupation forces the Palestinians to live in a stressful condition, which robs them of a peaceful life. This story predominantly highlights the miserable condition of the Palestinian population under Israeli occupation. The story reveals that the “camp” in which they lived “did not have fresh water for days” so they had to get water from the “UNRWA water truck” (Alareer 50). It shows that the condition of the camps, in which the Israeli occupation has forced Palestinian Arabs to live, is uninhabitable, and they have to depend on the UN for their survival. It demonstrates how the Palestinian Arab population lives an unbearable life under occupation, which makes it a living dead in its land. This wretched condition of the Palestinian Arabs has been further displayed in the same short story in the depiction of “wrinkles of misery inscribed” on the face of the boys’ mother (48). In short, these two short stories depict how the Palestinian population has constantly been living in pain under Israeli occupation, which deprives them of a normal life in order to display its supremacy over it.

The short story “Dates and Bitter Coffee” by Donia ElAmal Ismael also draws attention to the suffering of the Palestinian population due to constant bombing and firing undertaken by Israel. The story underlines that “gunfire” is a constant feature of the everyday lives of Palestinian Arabs (Glanville 83). When the Arab mother is terrified because of the gun firing outside, the father exclaims that it is a “normal” situation in the occupied Palestine (83). It is in accordance with Mbembe’s claim that “terror” is a constant feature of a late-modern occupation (Mbembe 22). Israel makes the Palestinian population live in fear in order to subdue it. The story underscores the agony of the Palestinian population by depicting how they are living under the constant fear of their death and that of their loved ones. The story also unveils Palestinian parents’ concern for their children who have gone outside their houses. It is portrayed in the short story that the Arab mother is anxious and worried about the safety of her son who has not returned home all night. The story narrates: “The sound of bullets like heavy rain came ominously from Jabal al-Mintar, growing louder...She was scared of what was happening and prayed to God that Salim was nowhere near the fighting” (Glanville 83). It indicates that the fear of death is forever present in the Palestinian population, due to which it cannot live a normal life.



Rather, Palestinians are merely surviving in the cruel world as Mbembe's "living dead" inhabiting "death-worlds" (Mbembe 40). The story also reflects how Palestine under occupation is not a secure place for Arabs as they are constantly at risk of getting killed. The story further underscores the pain the Palestinian parents go through when their children become victims of Israeli oppression. The story depicts Salim's mother's constant "weep[ing]" and fainting on hearing the news of her son's demise and after seeing his dead body. Moreover, his father also "collapsed on the floor" on seeing his son's face for the "last time" (Glanville 85). Furthermore, it is highlighted in the short story that the body of the martyr is withheld by the Israeli state in order to further torture the family of the deceased freedom fighter. The story points out that Israeli soldiers withheld his body for "thorough examination," for taking "photos" of the dead body and for doing "other things to humiliate" (ibid.) because of which the mourners have to wait a long time before they could see the dead body. This is done in order to discourage the Palestinian population from resisting Israeli occupation and to keep Palestinians under Israeli control. In short, this story chiefly depicts how the Palestinian population is constantly living in pain and under the fear of death under occupation and that they are more dead than alive.

The short story "Once Upon a Dawn" by Shahd Awadallah, similarly, demonstrates how Palestinian Arabs are embodiments of Mbembe's living dead, constantly living in pain and fear under Israeli oppression. This story reveals how Gazans are always living under the fear of death because of the non-stop bombings. The story mentions how "bombing...dominated Gaza's nights and days" (Alareer 128). Consequently, the protagonist's family has been sleeping in the dining room so they do not get hurt if the windows of their rooms break due to endless bombing. Mbembe claims that "terror" is a characteristic feature of the "late-modern colonial" occupation (Mbembe 38). Similarly, due the fear of death caused by constant bombing, the family decides to sleep away from the windows. Moreover, the story indicates how sleeping in Gaza at night gets difficult because of constant bombings and the "buzzing of dozens of warplanes" (Alareer 129). These tactics, according to Mbembe, are used as instruments of "intimidation" to induce fear in the besieged population (Mbembe 29). In the story, three missiles target the building, in which the protagonist has been living along with her family, leading to its destruction. The story underlines how the family is "terribly frightened" and "shaken"

because of being suddenly “target[ed]” by the Israeli “missiles” (Alareer 130). These instances underscore how Israel makes the Palestinian population live in fear and intimidation in order to subdue them. Moreover, the story also depicts the grief of a mother who has been suffering from “pain” and “sleepless nights” since the death of her child (126). She is constantly being tortured by the memory of her child’s death and is living as a living dead individual. She exclaims that she is bound to live with “those melancholic recollections” throughout her life (ibid.) and consequently writes a “letter” to her son to rid herself of the “torturing regret” (127). The story thus visibly highlights her trauma and survivor’s guilt on being alive when she could not protect her son. This story emphasizes how the Palestinian population is constantly living in pain and under the fear of death due to which it is deprived of living a normal life and is perpetually in a living dead situation.

Moreover, the story “Scars” by Aya Rabah further demonstrates the never-ending suffering of Palestinian Arabs under Israeli occupation. The protagonist feels as if “Gaza had turned into a vast hospital where everyone was suffering” (Alareer 140). This line demonstrates how Israel makes Palestinians live miserable lives to keep them under its control. Furthermore, it is also discovered that the protagonist has been injured due to Israeli attacks and has received a scar which remains with her all her life, reminding her constantly of the horrific incident which killed her family. Similarly, her son Salam is also scarred when an Israeli “missile” targeting a nearby car damages her house and injures him (143). Mbembe argues how the repressed population is made to live in such miserable circumstances that it is constantly “in pain” and is spending its life as “living dead” (Mbembe 39, 40). Likewise, the story depicts how the lives of Palestinian Arabs are constantly at risk and that they are spending their lives as the embodiment of Mbembe’s definition of the living dead. Moreover, it underscores how the Israeli colonization not only physically affects the Palestinian population but also impacts them psychologically. It is also depicted in the story that the protagonist is constantly tortured by the memories of her deceased family members. She writes that she could still hear the sounds of her children and brothers, and could see her brothers’ “dismembered bodies in [her] dreams” (Alareer 138). The aggrieved mother also seems to be suffering from survivor’s guilt as she is unable to “face the terrible fact of being the only survivor” of the “massacre” which killed her family (139). Moreover, the Palestinian mother also reveals how her daughter Hayat,

before her death from a disease, “saw death everywhere” (142). These lines show how the mentality of Palestinian children is also immensely affected by constantly witnessing violence and death. Similarly, the protagonist’s son never “smile[s],” especially when his mother is before him because of her scar and the “tragic story” it reminds him (141). It also points towards the premature deprivation of Palestinian childhood at the hands of Israel. The story, in conclusion, portrays that the lives of Palestinians are always in danger and that the occupation is damaging the mental health of Palestinians along with their physical well-being.

Alternatively, the short story “House” by Refaat Alareer depicts how the Israeli occupation seizes the properties of Palestinian Arabs to accommodate Israeli settlers. In the short story, the father, Abu Salem, and his son are revisiting their house, which has forcefully been confiscated by Israeli settlers. This story depicts how Israel takes over the personal belongings of the Palestinian Arabs, like their houses, and deprives them of a place to live, thus forcing them to live in refugee camps. The story displays how Abu Salem is deprived of the house he had “built himself” (Alareer 105) and that, as a result, his family is displaced. In this way, Israel causes the displacement of Palestinian Arabs and disrupts their daily lives. This narrative thus demonstrates how the Israeli state make the lives of Palestinian Arabs miserable. It is in accordance with Mbembe’s claim that the sovereign power governs by exposing the colonized population to death, such that it achieves the status of “living dead” (Mbembe 40). The story depicts that, while making the journey to their old house, the men are constantly afraid of dying on their way to visit their house. In the story, both the men anticipate that the “last steps” toward their house “would be the most perilous, even deadly” and that they might be “shot” or get “arrested” by the Israeli soldiers (Alareer 103). Moreover, the son, Salem, seems hesitant to step towards their house and warns his father that “between [them] and [their] house stands death!” as the soldiers are always observing that plot of land (106). The story thus portrays how the fear of death is always present in the hearts of the Palestinian population which deprives it of a normal life. This conforms with Mbembe’s claim that “terror” is the “defining feature” of “late modern colonial regimes” (Mbembe 38). This story also indicates how the men have to secretly visit the house that belonged to them and have to undergo so much difficulty in trying to see their own house. It also illustrates the helplessness of the Palestinian Arabs

under colonization. Moreover, the story reveals that previously Salem's father had tried endlessly to get his house back by legal means but could not succeed. In the story, Abu Salem notes how the court procedures "allowed by the occupation are fake formalities" (Alareer 108). Furthermore, the story also points out that the father was unable to stop the Israeli "bulldozer that razed parts of his field" (104). This is also a manifestation of Mbembe's claim that the colonizers "deprive" the occupied population of "their means of income" (Mbembe 30). In addition, the story further points out that the Israeli soldiers also "steal" the "olives" from the fields of the Arab farmers "at the end of the year" (Alareer 107) and "damage" their property (111). Such incidences further indicate how the lives of the Palestinian Arabs under Israeli occupation are barely liveable, making them more dead than alive. Due to such circumstances, the father considers "occupation" as "evil" because it brings suffering to the occupied people and "teach[es]" them "hate" and "distrust" (109-111). These incidences highlight how the Palestinian Arabs have been living a painful life under Israeli colonization, constantly fearing death and suffering endlessly.

In contrast, the short story "A Single Metre," by Raeda Taha, depicts how check posts set up by the Israeli forces between different Palestinian cities have made the lives of Palestinians difficult. The protagonist expresses that it is extremely difficult to visit Jerusalem through the "Qalandia checkpoint" (Glanville 95) without an "Israeli Divers Licence" (95). As the protagonist's Israeli driver's license has expired, she has to cross the checkpoint on foot but decides to enter a van due to Israeli soldiers and the dust storm. The story also indicates that due to the presence of the check-post, Jerusalem has become a "close-by far away city" (95). Mbembe points out how, by imposing curfews on their cities, deploying soldiers and restricting their "movement," the colonized people in the late modern occupation are further made to live miserable lives (Mbembe 30). These strategies also play a role in suppressing the occupied population and maintaining the supremacy of the sovereign power. Moreover, the story also indicates that the Arab woman chooses to enter the van because she feels insecure to pass the Israeli checkpoint alone as a woman due to the presence of Jewish soldiers. It further highlights the sense of insecurity that Palestinians feel in the presence of Israeli soldiers. In essence, the story highlights how the Israeli occupation makes the lives of occupied Palestinians difficult by erecting check posts

between their cities to control them and to demonstrate their authority over the Palestinian Arabs.

The aforementioned examples from the selected Palestinian short stories reflect, under the lens of necropolitics, how the Palestinian population is constantly subjected to pain and fear under Israeli occupation. The instances taken from the short stories also indicate the constant presence of Drones, Apaches and Tanks in the lives of the Palestinian Arabs which serves to induce fear in the Palestinian population. Moreover, it is demonstrated how the lives of Palestinian Arabs are militarized and that they are constantly tortured by Israeli soldiers. Furthermore, their houses are bombed or taken away by the Israelis and their movement is also restricted. In short, the selected examples from the texts indicate how the colonization has made the survival of Palestinian Arabs extremely difficult and that the colonized Palestinian Arabs under Israeli occupation are more like dead than alive.

### **4.3 Conclusion**

This chapter has analysed, in light of the evidence derived from the selected Palestinian short stories, Israel's acts of aggression against Palestinians and the suffering of the Palestinian Arab population, under the lens of Mbembe's theory of necropolitics. It highlights how the selected short stories depict Israel, as a sovereign power, which is governing Palestine by exercising its right to kill the Palestinian population at will, without any set rules. Moreover, it is emphasized, based on textual evidence, how the Palestinian Arabs are exterminated mainly on the basis of the relation of enmity between the two communities. The selected texts also emphasize how the oppressed Palestinians are killed indiscriminately or on based on mere suspicion. Furthermore, this study underlines that the selected texts depict the Palestinian population living in a living dead situation where they are constantly in pain and permanently under the fear of death. The texts portray how bombing and firing are the constant features in the lives of Palestinians which deprive them of living normal lives. This study also highlights, with reference to the selected texts, how the daily lives of the Palestinian Arabs are militarized and how soldiers are given the right to torture and kill the Palestinians. It further points out how the life of the Palestinian population, as depicted in the texts, is further made difficult due to the imposition of

curfews, erection of checkpoints and confiscation of Arab properties. In addition, this study on the Palestinian short fiction also puts emphasis on the constant presence of drones, Apache helicopters and bulldozers in the selected texts and depict how Israel uses such weapons as instruments for instilling fear in the Palestinian population and asserting its authority over them. In short, this chapter studies the necropolitics of Israel over the Palestinian Arabs, which deprives them of living normal lives, making it difficult for them to survive under Israeli occupation.

## CHAPTER 5

### PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE TO ISRAELI OCCUPATION

The previous chapter has established, under the lens of Mbembe's necropolitics, how the selected Palestinian texts depict the necropolitics of Israel over Palestine which has made the survival of Palestinian Arabs in Palestine extremely difficult. It has highlighted, in the context of the selected short stories, how Israel has been governing Palestine by exercising its right to kill the Palestinian Arabs at the slightest pretext. Moreover, it has demonstrated how the texts represent the repressed Palestinian Arabs as being forced to live in a living dead condition under Israeli occupation where they are perpetually living in agony and are constantly surviving under the fear of death.

This chapter presents the second part of the analysis of the selected Palestinian short stories and studies the resistance of the Palestinian Arabs against the necropolitics of Israel. It highlights how, in response to the necropolitics of Israel, the Palestinian Arab population has resorted to the use of violence to show resistance to the Israeli colonization. Firstly, this chapter mentions the instances of non-violent resistance in order to depict how Palestinian Arabs have also been non-violently resisting against the occupation alongside countering it with violence. Moreover, it emphasizes how Arabs have resorted to violence when their non-violent methods failed. This chapter then highlights the violent struggle of Palestinian Arabs against the oppression of Israel. It employs Fanon's views on violence and decolonization and Mbembe's theorization on martyrdom in order to interpret the armed resistance of the Palestinian population against the Israeli aggressors depicted in the selected Palestinian short stories. Fanon's views regarding how the suppressed population is forced to use violence in reaction to the oppressor's violence (Fanon 84) are used to interpret the armed resistance of Palestinians as portrayed in the texts. Moreover, the researcher will utilize Fanon's argument regarding how the use of "violence" is necessary for the colonized to achieve freedom (85) in order to provide the grounding for the Palestinian population's use of violence in the texts. Moreover, Mbembe's view on how a suicide bomber kills the enemy with his own "body" (Mbembe 36) is used to specifically study the representation of suicide bombing in the selected texts. The main short stories

analysed in this section include “Omar X,” “House,” “Please Shoot to Kill,” “Dates and Bitter Coffee,” “Once Upon a Dawn,” “Canary,” “A Single Metre” and “Our Milk” whereas the stories “White Lilies” and “Scars” are analysed only with respect to non-violent resistance.

### **5.1 Counter-resistance Using Non-violence**

The major portion of the Palestinian population has been constantly resisting the occupation in non-violent ways. The selected Palestinian short stories depict how non-violent resistance is undertaken by the repressed Palestinians alongside violent resistance. Some instances of non-violent resistance can be found in the short story “Omar X”. The story portrays that Omar used to sing “freedom” songs and take part in “protests” before he became a freedom fighter (Alareer 90). Moreover, the story also depicts that the driver, who brings Omar home when he is born, listens to the freedom song of “Fairouz singing ‘we will return someday to our neighbourhood’ while passing through the “checkpoint” so that the Israeli “soldiers” could hear it (90,91). This is his way of opposing the undue Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory. Similarly, in the short story “White Lilies,” an extract from “Mahmoud Darwish’s poem” is given which is titled “A Soldier Dreams of White Lilies” (Qarmout 36) which is based on an Israeli soldier’s point of view about land and “national pride” (Muscat n.p.). The inclusion of lines from this extract is also an act of non-violent resistance as the author seems to be questioning Israeli ideology. Moreover, the short story “Scars” indicates that a Palestinian mother names her son “Salam, meaning peace” and her daughter “Hayat, meaning life” in order to “defy the atmosphere of the world they came into” (Alareer 138). This is the Palestinian mother’s way of showing resistance to the colonization of Palestine as it indicates that Palestinians possess a hope to live their lives in peace. However, in short stories such as “House” and “Please Shoot to Kill,” the protagonists are more actively expressing their resistance against Israel. The short story “Please Shoot to Kill” illustrates that the protagonist Laila “stare[s]” at the Israeli soldiers out of anger when they forcibly enter their house and start “terrorizing” her family (81). By staring straight into an Israeli soldier’s eyes, Laila makes Israeli soldiers realize her hatred and anger towards them and her unwillingness to submit before them. This reflects the spirit of resistance in the Palestinian population, who is no longer willing to



passively submit to Israeli oppression. The short story “House” also points towards how Abu-Salem non-violently resisted the occupation before placing a bomb inside the house. His son recalls how, in the past, his father tried to “block the bulldozer” which was razing “his field” and also “filed” a “lawsuit” against the unlawful “confiscation” of his house (Alareer 105). The story also mentions how the father decided to adopt a violent strategy when his non-violent methods of seeking justice failed. In addition, composing fictional stories in English aimed at enlightening the world about the life of Palestinians under Israeli occupation is essentially an act of non-violent resistance undertaken by the authors of the selected short stories. The abovementioned instances from the selected stories indicate that the Palestinian population is restless and dissatisfied with the unjust occupation of their land and is using all its non-violent methods to protest against it. Moreover, these incidences depict that the Palestinian Arabs chose to resist violently when, in Abu Salim’s words, “all other means failed” (108). The researcher has included a couple of instances of non-violent resistance in order to indicate that Palestinians are not violent by nature and that only after they had failed to achieve freedom through non-violent methods did they resolve to use violence to achieve their liberation. The following paragraphs detail the violent resistance undertaken by Palestinian Arabs in light of Fanon’s and Mbembe’s works.

## **5.2 Counter-resistance Using Violent Measures**

Palestinians have mainly protested Israeli oppression non-violently. However, some Palestinians have resorted to violence because of the failure of their non-violent methods. Thus, they are ardently fighting against Israeli necropolitics by using conventional weapons. Fanon points out how the colonizers use violence in order to control the colonized. As a consequence, according to Fanon, the colonized populations resort to the same technique of “force” in order to confront their oppressors (Fanon 84). He believes that the “liberation” for the colonized can only be achieved “through violence” (85). As a result, according to him, the colonized man “gun in hand” decides to “stand” against the “forces of colonialism” in order to achieve freedom (58). Moreover, Fanon emphasizes that the colonized are “ready to take all... consequences” of their resistance against the settlers (92). In essence, he establishes how the colonized are forced to resort

to violence to achieve their freedom from the cruel occupation. The following paragraphs discuss, employing Fanon's theorization, how the selected Palestinian short stories depict the violent resistance of the colonized against their aggressors. The selected texts include freedom fighters who have chosen to counter the oppression of Israel in order to protect Palestinian families and achieve freedom. Moreover, the selected texts display that not only the freedom fighters but common men and children are also resisting the continued colonization of Palestine by challenging Israel's authority. The stories highlight the spirit of resistance in the Palestinian people who have resorted to violence only as a result of the necropolitics of the colonizers and when their non-violent methods failed to bear fruit.

The selected Palestinian texts reflect how the Palestinian population, instead of passively submitting before the Israeli oppression, has decided to counter the occupation. The short story "Omar X" depicts two young Palestinian freedom fighters carrying "guns" to counter the Israeli attacks (Alareer 89). Fanon notes how a colonized man "gun in hand" decides to "stand face to face" with the "forces of colonization" (Fanon 58) after realizing that he can attain "freedom" only "through violence" (85). However, the story later recounts that, while they are getting close to a "building in the middle," so they can "see things clearer," the young freedom fighters are shot down by the "bullets" coming from that building even before they have time to counter-fire (Alareer 89). As he is dying, Omar recalls his journey of resistance against the occupation from childhood. He recollects how, as a child, he spent his "pocket money" to participate in "protests," sang "freedom" songs, and later even led "protests" before he became a freedom "fighter" (90). It shows how he has been resisting against the colonization of Palestine since his childhood and has resorted to violent methods of resistance only when his non-violence efforts failed to bear fruit. The story also points out that the refugee camp, in which he was born, has been known for "children throwing stones, rocks" and other things at the "soldiers" (91). These lines indicate the spirit of resistance of Palestinian Arabs who are determined to fight against the oppressive occupation. Fanon points out that when the colonizers treat the occupied population with continuous violence, it "decides to give utterance by force" because it believes that it is the only way out of colonization (Fanon 84). Similarly, it is underscored in the story that the violent reaction of the Palestinian Arabs is due to the oppression they had encountered at the hand of the Israeli state. The story underlines that Omar had chosen

to join the resistance in order “to protect the camp from continuous raids” (Alareer 91). Moreover, while asking his mother for money to buy “an AK-47,” the young fighter claims that it is his “duty” to fight the Israeli soldiers because “they kill children and women” (92). Moreover, his father also advises him to “fight” against the “Israeli soldiers” if they “hurt” him (90). These lines indicate that the Palestinian Arabs have decided to undertake resistance only in reaction to the tyranny they are subjected to by the Israeli soldiers. It is in accordance with Fanon’s ideas that the natives resort to violence only as a result of violence undertaken by the “settler[s]” (Fanon 84). Similarly, in the short story “Please Shoot to Kill,” the protagonist Laila also wishes that the “baby, whose file [is] sent” to Cairo for operation in place of “her father’s,” turns into a “freedom fighter” in future (Alareer 88). This desire in her is in reaction to what Laila, as a Palestinian Arab, has suffered due to Israel’s unprovoked oppression on Palestinians. It also follows Fanon’s view that colonial oppression induces the colonized population to recourse to violence to resist colonial rule (Fanon 84).

Similarly, the short story “Dates and Bitter Coffee” from the collection *Qissat* (2006) also revolves around a figure of a freedom fighter. The story reveals that the Palestinian young man, Salim, and his young friends join the “resistance” (Islamic Jihad Movement) against Israel for “taking revenge on the Jews” (Glanville 83). These lines point out how the Palestinian young people have decided to use counter-violence to respond to the Israeli violence directed against them. Fanon notes how “colonialism” is “violence in its natural state” and that it can be confronted only by using “greater violence” (Fanon 61). Consequently, the colonized adopts violent means against the colonizers in order to counter colonial violence and achieve their liberation. Similarly, this short story also highlights that the freedom fighter has only taken to violence as a result of violence inflicted on his fellowmen. Moreover, it is indicated in the story that, as a result of his resistance, the Palestinian freedom fighter Salim gets captured by “Zionists” and is martyred by them (Glanville 85). It shows how resistance against the occupation is responded with greater violence. However, the colonized, according to Fanon, are “ready to take all its consequences” since they have decided to counter-attack their colonizers (Fanon 92). Similarly, Palestinians, as depicted in these short stories, are ready to lay down their lives in fighting against the Israeli state. It indicates that the Palestinian population

would rather die fighting for their freedom than passively submitting themselves before the occupation. It is also discovered in the short story that the Arab boy who is murdered while fighting against Israel is considered a martyr and is respected and praised by the rest of the Arab community. They are seen to be “bless[ing]” the “martyr”, announcing “heavenly rewards” for him and asking other men to “follow his example” (Glanville 84, 85). It shows that those who die while resisting against the Israeli state are honoured by the Palestinian population. Similarly, in the short story “Once Upon a Dawn,” a song is mentioned in which the martyr “asks his mother not to be sad after his martyrdom, for he will be in paradise” (Alareer 129). This also indicates that for Palestinians, achieving martyrdom while fighting against the Israeli colonizers is an honourable act.

In contrast, the short story “House” does not involve a figure of a freedom fighter but a common Arab man named Abu Salim who wants to show resistance to Israeli colonialism. Fanon notes that the colonialists are responsible for beginning “the process...of domination, of exploitation and of pillage” (Fanon 51). In reaction, according to Fanon, the repressed man decides to employ the same tool of violence in order to get rid of his oppressors (84). It is because the colonized man has understood that the “colonist understands nothing but force” (ibid.). In the story, Abu Salim takes his son to secretly revisit their old house, which was “forcibly” taken away from them by Israeli settlers “three years ago” (Alareer 104). Additionally, the story also indicates that the painstaking effort the father had made in the past to reclaim his house was unsuccessful. Thus, Abu Salim believes that the Israeli occupation degrades Palestinian Arabs and decides to show resistance to them in order to “show them what [Palestinians] are capable of” (107). As a consequence, he plans to place “a bomb” inside the house which belonged to him (108). Moreover, in accordance with Fanon’s ideas, it is observed that Abu Salim resolves to use violence in order to show resistance to the oppressive occupation. He states: “I am destroying what was taken from me, by force... I am doing this when all other means failed” (ibid). These lines also underscore that Abu Salim has resorted to violent means only when his non-violent efforts failed. However, as the story unfolds, it is discovered that Abu Salim did not plan to destroy the house but just wanted to “put explosives there” without activating them (Alareer 110). He places a “bomb” inside the house “without connecting the wires” so as to make Israelis “live in fear” (110, 111). He says that, by

“leaving the bomb behind,” he wants to give a “message” to the Israeli state that he “can destroy the house but do[es] not want to” so that Israelis “start asking questions about the morality of their position towards [Palestinians]” (111). It shows that Abu Salim, by placing the inactivated bomb, intends to inform the Israeli state that he is capable of killing Israelis but he does not want to because of his morality. By doing so, the father resists the cruel occupation “in his own way” (111). The story highlights the spirit of resistance in the Palestinian population who has refused to passively suffer under colonial violence.

The Palestinian population has also been resisting the Israeli colonization by undertaking suicide attacks in addition to the use of conventional weapons. Whereas Fanon highlights the importance of counter-resistance for the colonized, Mbembe specifically discusses resistance by suicide attacks. He highlights how a suicide bomber uses his “body” as a “weapon” (Mbembe 36) to show resistance to the occupation and achieve martyrdom. He emphasizes how the repressed individual, on a suicide mission, is “will[ing] to die” so as to “take [his] enemy with [him]” (37). As a result, according to Mbembe, the colonized individual is able to undertake “resistance” by committing “homicide” along with “suicide” (36). Mbembe further foregrounds how the aspirant for “martyrdom” selects “spaces of daily life” such as a “bus stop,” a “café,” a “checkpoint” or a “marketplace” (36) in order to conduct a suicide attack and achieve martyrdom. Moreover, by accomplishing such acts of martyrdom, according to Mbembe, the repressed population is able to “take power over” its “death” (38) and can, thus, “escape” the repression of the “occupation” (37). The selected Palestinian short stories depict, in the light of Fanon’s ideas and Mbembe’s views, how some Palestinian Arabs recourse to suicide bombing to kill the Israeli aggressors in reaction to Israel’s oppression on the innocent Palestinian population. The stories highlight that the Palestinian Arabs are willing to die in order to kill the Israeli colonizers to show resistance to the occupation and achieve martyrdom. Moreover, the selected texts underscore how these Palestinian suicide bombers choose to undertake suicide bombing in locations such as parks, restaurants and checkpoints in order to ensure the maximum destruction of Israeli colonizers.

The selected Palestinian stories indicate that the Palestinian Arabs have also been resisting the occupation by using their bodies as weapons as in suicide bombing in order to achieve martyrdom. The Palestinian short story “Canary,” by Nour Al-Sousi, depicts a

young Arab man, who plans on conducting a suicide attack to kill Israeli soldiers. He is in a park and is shown to be waiting for the appropriate time to bomb the Israeli soldiers. The story indicates that he is relieved to see “more soldiers...gathering for the lunch break at the usual place” and mentions how “everything [is] going as” he has “planned” (Alareer 51). These lines show how the Arab man has decided to kill Israeli soldiers during the lunch break because it is the time when he would be able to kill many of them. Mbembe, while discussing martyrdom and the figure of a suicide bomber, mentions that “the candidate for martyrdom” chooses “spaces of daily life” (Mbembe 36) for suicide bombing and achieving martyrdom. The story further highlights how the unprovoked murder of his innocent brother, who was killed by Israelis while catching a “canary” near an Israeli “settlement”, incites him to take his revenge (Alareer 50). It shows how the undue aggression of Israel on the Palestinian Arabs has forced them to use violence in reaction. Thus, this violent action undertaken by the Arab boy is merely a reaction to the aggression and cruelty of Israel. Fanon points out how, due to the oppression of the colonizers, the colonized individual decides to stand up against the “forces of colonialism” (Fanon 58). This, according to Fanon, is because he has realized that he would be able to relive a free life only “out of the rotting corpse of the settler” (93). Fanon believes that only by using “force,” the colonized man would be able to attain “his liberation” from the colonizers’ aggression (61). Similarly, the Arab man also wants to kill the Israeli soldiers who have made the lives of Palestinians miserable. The story also points out that the Palestinian young man is wearing “a heavy jacket” in summer indicating that he is quite prepared to make a suicide attack (Alareer 52). However, when an Israeli female soldier suddenly moves towards him on finding him suspicious and places her gun to his “forehead”, he also positions his hand on the “trigger” in his pocket and blows himself and the female soldier up (52). The story ends with the death of both the Arab man and the Israeli woman. Nour Al-Sousi writes: “Her finger was on the trigger. His finger was on the trigger. Death carried them both to the unknown” (ibid). Explaining the logic of martyrdom, Mbembe notes how the “candidate for martyrdom” turns his “body into a mask” that conceals the “soon-to-be-detonated weapon” (Mbembe 36). Consequently, his body turns into a “weapon” which at the “time of detonation” destroys his own body along with the body of his enemy (36). He emphasizes how in such cases, “homicide” and “suicide” are carried out simultaneously

and “resistance” is accomplished alongside “self-destruction” (ibid). Likewise, in the story, the young Arab boy is determined to show resistance to the occupation by bombing the Israeli soldiers while also killing himself. In conclusion, the story reflects how the Palestinian people have decided to counter the oppressive occupation by using force as they consider it the only way out of colonization.

The short story “A Single Metre,” also involves resistance by suicide bombing. It revolves around an Arab woman who wants to visit “Amman” but, as her “Israeli driver’s license” has expired and she does not want to walk through the checkpoint amid dust storms and Israeli soldiers, she decides to enter a van which is on a suicide mission (Glanville 95). She realizes soon after boarding the bus that the driver must be “planning to blow himself up, to bomb the soldiers at the checkpoint” (96). As the checkpoints erected by the Israeli state hinder the lives of the Palestinian Arabs, the driver decide to blow up his van in front of the checkpoint to destroy the checkpoint and kill the Israeli soldiers. The “spaces of daily life” such as “checkpoints”, according to Mbembe, are significant locations for undertaking suicide bombing (Mbembe 36). Since, the Israeli checkpoints are the sites where Israeli soldiers, who constantly hinder the lives of the Palestinians, are present, the bus passengers decide to bomb the Israeli checkpoint. By planning to conduct a suicide blast near the checkpoint, the repressed Palestinians demonstrate their resistance against the Israeli occupation. Moreover, Fanon, in his theory on violence, notes that the “immobility to which the native is condemned” can be challenged only when the colonized native decides to “put an end to the history of colonization” (Fanon 51). It shows that the only way for the colonized population to achieve its liberation is by actively resisting against the colonialism. The story, similarly, indicates that the Palestinian population has learnt to violently resist the Israeli occupation in order to achieve freedom from them. The story further highlights that the Arab woman initially hesitates to die with van passengers but then decides not to “abandon” the driver who helped her “in her time of need” (Glanville 96). The author narrates her words as: “[i]t looks like I’ll be dying with them...[m]ay be I want to be the heroine” (96). It shows that the Palestinian population considers laying its life in the path of its resistance against the Israeli state as martyrdom and an honourable act. The story shows that although the woman has not initially planned to perform martyrdom, but willingly joins the passengers in their plan to show resistance

to the occupation by suicide bombing. Mbembe, explaining the logic of martyrdom, highlights that in the case of a suicide bomber, “willingness to die is fused with the will to take the enemy with you” (Mbembe 37). In the same way, the passengers on a suicide mission are willing to die to show resistance to the occupation and to achieve martyrdom. In addition, by doing so, they are also able to “escape” the cruel “occupation” by embracing martyrdom (*ibid.*). In short, this story depicts the willingness of the Palestinian Arabs to die and achieve martyrdom while fighting against Israeli oppression.

The story “Our Milk” by Nayrouz Qarmout similarly features a Palestinian suicide bomber who bombs an Israeli hotel to show resistance to the Israeli colonization. The story points out that, in order to reach the restaurant, he takes a ride with a female journalist probably to avoid being caught at the “checkpoints” on his way (Qarmout 39). The story recounts how a young Arab boy, on a suicide mission, enters the “Sbarro’s Restaurant in Jerusalem” (38) with a bomb in the “ukulele case” and probably a remote in his “bumbag” (39). Mbembe emphasizes how the body of a martyr is “transformed into a weapon” in order to kill the enemy (Mbembe 36). Similarly, the Arab boy converts his body into a weapon to kill his enemy and challenge the authority of the Israeli settlers. This situation also follows Mbembe’s claim that the suicide bomber is willing “to die” only because he wants to “take [his] enemy” along with him in order to achieve martyrdom (37). By suicide bombing, according to Mbembe, “homicide” and “suicide” are carried out simultaneously and “resistance” is accomplished alongside “self-destruction” (36). In the same way, the Arab suicide bomber decides to carry a bomb with him in order to destroy the Israeli restaurant, killing the Israeli settlers and himself, in order to show resistance to the occupation. The fact that the restaurant is Israeli is indicated in the story by the presence of an Israeli manager and the use of the “Hebrew” language (Qarmout 39). In addition, a “Café” according to Mbembe is an important site for suicide bombing as it is one of the “spaces of daily life” (Mbembe 36). The Arab boy has decided to bomb the Israeli restaurant in order to kill the maximum number of Israeli men. This act of bombing is recounted as “[the] teenager stares down at his pasta and white sauce, as his right-hand makes its way to the coarse fabric casing attached to his belt” (Qarmout 40). It seems that he activates the bomb in his ukulele case by using a remote which is probably in the bag attached to the belt. Fanon indicates that colonial violence can only be countered by



“greater violence” (Fanon 61). He notes that since the colonialists have used the technique of “force” in order to manage the colonized population (84), they have taught the colonized the method of violence using which it can achieve its liberation from the “colonial system” (72). Likewise, the Arab boy decides to resort to violence in order to rebel against the oppression of Israel and achieve martyrdom. By doing so, in accordance with Mbembe’s ideas, he is also able to “escape” (Mbembe 37) Israeli occupation and its tyranny. Moreover, the story points out that the teenage Arab suicide bomber hesitates when he hears an “Arab word” in the restaurant and he tries to keep the “ukulele case” away from the little Arab boy who is interested in it (Qarmout 40). It reflects that the suicide bomber does not want to kill other Arabs along with himself. This story is based on the real incident in which “Sbarro’s Restaurant” was “demolished” (40) by an Arab suicide bomber. The sources indicate that, in 2001, during “lunch time,” a young Arab carrying a bomb in his “guitar case” bombed “Sbarro’s pizzeria” in Jerusalem (“Suicide Bombing” n.p.). Furthermore, by mentioning the bombing of King David Hotel in Jerusalem, at the beginning of the story, which was bombed by Jews in reaction to British oppression, the story seems to indicate that the colonizer’s oppression leads to such repercussions. Just as the King David Restaurant, an important base of British in 1946, was bombed by the “Jewish terrorist organization” in response to the “continued” occupation of Palestine by the British (Hoffman 594), the Sbarro’s was bombed in reaction to the continued occupation of Palestine by Israel. Similarly, the young Arab boy in the short story bombed the restaurant to show his resistance against the occupation in response to the oppression on Palestinians. The story, in short, indicates that the Palestinian population has adopted violent measures to counter the occupation as a result of the oppression of Israel on Palestinian Arabs.

The aforementioned instances from selected Palestinian short stories establish, in light of Fanon’s views on violence and decolonization, that the Palestinian Arabs have resorted to violence as a result of Israeli oppression. Moreover, the previously mentioned examples from the texts also highlight how the freedom fighters have adopted counter-violence in order to defend their fellow Palestinians and to achieve freedom from colonial rule. Additionally, the stories depict that alongside freedom fighters, the common Arab population of Palestine has also refused to sit passively and is resisting the occupation in

its own way. The above-mentioned instances from the selected Palestinian short stories also highlight, under the lens of Fanon's theorization on counter-violence and Mbembe's view on the Suicide bomber and martyrdom, how a portion of Palestinian population has been resisting the occupation by using its body as a weapon as in suicide attacks. Such attacks, in the context of the selected texts, are undertaken in spaces of daily life such as Israeli parks, cafés and checkpoints in order to kill the maximum numbers of the enemy in a single attack. The stories highlight how the Palestinian public is willing to die in order to kill the Israeli people, especially the soldiers who have made their lives miserable. This is done in order to show resistance to the necropolitics of Israel and to achieve martyrdom and liberation from colonial rule. In essence, the selected short stories present, under the lens of Fanon's theory and Mbembe's view on martyrdom, how the Palestinian population is actively resisting the necropolitics of Israel through the use of violence since it believes it to be the only way to achieve liberation.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

This chapter underscores how the selected Palestinian texts depict the Palestinian Arab population as resisting against the Israeli occupation rather than passively submitting before it. The resistance of the Palestinian population, portrayed in the selected Palestinian texts, has been analysed by employing Fanon's ideas regarding counter-violence and Mbembe's theorization on martyrdom. In this chapter, the view of Fanon on violence is used to interpret the acts of violent resistance depicted in the texts. Whereas, Mbembe's ideas on martyrdom are specifically used to study suicide attacks undertaken by the Palestinian Arabs in the selected texts. This study also illustrates how the selected texts depict the colonized Palestinians to have adopted violent means in order to achieve their liberation from colonial rule as per Fanon's theory. It further highlights, in the context of the selected texts, how the Palestinian young men have become freedom fighters in order to protect their fellow Palestinians and show resistance to the continued oppression of Israel. Moreover, the selected texts underline, in accordance with Mbembe's ideas, that a Palestinian suicide bomber resists using its own body as a weapon to kill the enemy along with itself in order to achieve martyrdom as seen in the texts. Furthermore, the researcher notes how the "spaces of daily life" (Mbembe 36) such as check posts, parks and restaurants

are shown as the significant places in the selected texts for suicide bombing. It is also highlighted, using textual evidence, that the counter-violent measures adopted by the colonized Palestinians are a reaction to the violence that the Israeli occupation has employed against them. This study further reveals that the Palestinians prefer achieving death and martyrdom while resisting against the Israeli colonization than succumbing before it. Moreover, it is also indicated that those Palestinians who die while fighting against the Israeli occupation are honoured as martyrs and are glorified by the rest of the Arab population. In addition, this chapter also lists the instances of non-violent resistance seen in the selected Palestinian texts to emphasize that the Palestinians have constantly been resisting the occupation in a non-aggressive manner and have only resorted to the use of violence when their non-violent methods failed. In conclusion, this chapter underscores the spirit of resistance of the Palestinian population who has refused to passively endure the violence of the Israeli colonizers.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

This research work has examined the selected Palestinian short stories through Mbembe's theory of necropolitics and Fanon's ideas regarding violence and decolonization. The present research has qualitatively analysed the suffering of the Palestinian population depicted in the selected Palestinian short stories. This research study is descriptive in nature and, accordingly, the researcher has discussed how the selected texts portray the necropolitics of Israel over Palestinian Arabs and the counter-resistance of the Palestinian population using Mbembe's and Fanon's theories. Textual analysis has been utilized as a research method for this research using which the researcher has answered the research questions by undertaking an in-depth study of the selected texts. The research has included the Palestinian short stories "Canary," "Please Shoot to Kill," "Omar X," "House," "Once upon a Dawn" and "Scars" from the collection *Gaza Writes Back* (2014), "A Single Metre" and "Dates and Bitter Coffee" from the collection *Qissat* (2006) and "White Lilies" and "Our Milk" from the collection *The Sea Cloak and Other Stories* (2019). Whereas, Mbembe's article on Necropolitics and Frantz Fanon's book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) has provided the theoretical underpinning of the research.

This chapter has aimed to establish the importance of this research work. It discusses the findings of the study and answers the research questions. Moreover, it has presented the social implications of this research work as well as provided recommendations for further research.

#### **6.1 Findings of this Research**

This research on the selected Palestinian short stories aimed to study the representation of necropolitics and the survival of the Palestinian population under Israeli occupation in the selected texts. It further intended to investigate the ways in which the selected Palestinian short stories depicted the resistance of Palestinian Arabs against Israeli oppressors. The researcher has utilized Mbembe's theory of necropolitics and Fanon's viewpoint on violence and decolonization for providing the theoretical grounding of the research to study the predicament of the Palestinian Arabs in the selected texts. After

conducting a textual analysis of the selected Palestinian short stories, under the lens of Mbembe's theory of necropolitics and Fanon's theorization of violence and decolonization, the researcher has come to the following conclusions.

The first question posed by the researcher was regarding the portrayal of necropolitics and the survival of the Palestinian population under Israeli occupation. For the purpose of answering this question, the researcher has employed Mbembe's theory of necropolitics. Mbembe's view on necropolitics as the suppression of "life" to the "power of death" (Mbembe 39) has been used to analyse Israel's necropolitics over Palestine as observed in the selected fiction. This study has emphasized, in the light of necropolitics, how the selected texts depict Israel as a sovereign authority which uses its power to kill the Palestinian Arabs at the slightest pretext. The short stories "Canary" and "White Lilies" depict how the Palestinian Arabs are killed on the basis of mere suspicion whereas the stories "Once upon a Dawn" and "Scars" portray the indiscriminate killing of the Palestinian Arabs. This research study has further underscored, in the context of the selected texts, how the Palestinian Arabs are exterminated mainly on the basis of the relationship of enmity which Israel has developed against them due to their conflict on land. The first two short stories mentioned above also explicitly depict how the relation of enmity is the basis on which the extermination of the suppressed Arabs is undertaken. In these short stories the protagonists are killed merely for being Arabs. In "Canary," the female Israeli soldier draws out her gun after recognizing the protagonist as an Arab. Likewise, in "White Lilies," an Arab running towards a school is deemed suspicious and is killed. Similarly, it is also portrayed in the short story "Please Shoot to Kill" that Palestinians are mainly targeted because of their Arab identity and are attacked on the pretext of being terrorists. In the context of the above-mentioned examples, it is deduced that Palestinians are murdered mainly based on the relationship of enmity, to ensure the lives of Israeli settlers and to maintain the supremacy of Israel.

This study has also employed necropolitics to investigate the living dead condition into which the Israeli colonization has forced the Palestinians to live as presented by the selected texts. It emphasizes how the texts represent the Palestinian population as living constantly in pain and continuously under the fear of death due to non-stop bombing and endless firing as well as due to the constant presence of drones, Apaches and bulldozers.

The short stories “Please Shoot to Kill,” “Omar X,” “White Lilies,” “Once Upon a Dawn” and “Scars” illustrate how such weapons of warfare are used to induce fear in the Palestinian population. The short story “Please Shoot to Kill” demonstrates how the family of the protagonist has been living in “immense horror” due to the presence of “Apache[s]” and “tanks” (Alareer 80). Moreover, such weapons of intimidation are also observed in the short stories “White Lilies,” “Once Upon a Dawn” and “Scars”. Furthermore, the stories such as “Please Shoot to Kill” and “Omar X” depict how the daily lives of Palestinian Arabs are militarized and how Israeli soldiers constantly harass Palestinian Arabs. Also, the short story “House” depicts how the personal property of Palestinian Arabs is also snatched away from them. In essence, this research work initially establishes how the selected Palestinian texts represent the necropolitics of Israel over Palestine which has made it difficult for the Palestinians to survive under Israeli occupation.

The second question which the researcher set out to answer was regarding how the selected Palestinian short stories unveil the resistance of the Palestinian population against Israeli oppression. This research has highlighted how the selected Palestinian works depict that the Palestinian Arabs have been resisting the Israeli occupation, instead of succumbing to it. It has employed Fanon’s ideas on violence, as presented in his book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), to interpret the representation of the resistance of the Palestinian Arabs against Israeli oppression in the selected texts. Fanon’s viewpoint regarding how the use of violence is necessary for the colonized to achieve freedom has been used to study the armed resistance of the Palestinian Arabs in the texts. Whereas, Mbembe’s conception of martyrdom and his ideas regarding how a suicide bomber uses his body to kill his enemy in order to achieve martyrdom has been utilized specifically to study the resistance by suicide bombing presented in the texts. Moreover, this research has also highlighted, in light of Fanon’s ideas, how the violent resistance of the Palestinians, as observed in the selected short stories, is the direct consequence of the necropolitics of Israel. It has further emphasized how the Palestinians have resorted to violent means of resistance only after their non-violent struggle failed. The short stories such as “Omar X,” “Dates and Bitter Coffee” and “House” depict how conventional weapons are used to show resistance to the occupation. The stories “Omar X” and “Dates and Bitter Coffee” include freedom fighters who have resorted to violent means of resistance due to the violence inflicted on their

fellow Palestinians. Alternatively, the short story “House” reflects how an Arab father decides to place a bomb in the house only after his non-violent efforts of resistance failed. On the other hand, the stories “Canary,” “A Single Metre” and “Our Milk” illustrate how some Palestinians have started using their bodies as weapons to kill their enemies in public places in order to show resistance to the Israeli occupation. In short, the research has emphasized how the Palestinian Arabs have resolved to violently counter the necropolitics of Israel, which has made the lives of Palestinian Arabs miserable.

In conclusion, this research work analyses how the Palestinian population has been suffering horribly under Israeli colonization by employing Mbembe’s necropolitics and Fanon’s theory on violence. It emphasizes, in the light of the selected Palestinian short stories, how Israel, as a sovereign power over the region, exercises its authority to kill the Palestinian Arabs on the basis of mere suspicion. Due to this reason, as emphasized by the present research, the Palestinian Arabs have been constantly spending their lives as living dead under Israeli occupation and are continuously living under the fear of death. However, as underscored by this research study, the Palestinian population has refused to passively submit before the occupation and is using violence to show resistance against the oppression of Israel as seen in the selected texts.

## **6.2 Social Implications**

The politics of death, necropolitics, which according to Mbembe is the “subjugation of life to the power of death” (Mbembe 39) has always been a common phenomenon in world politics. It has been profoundly observed during the “Nazi state” in Germany where the “state exercise[ed]” the power “to kill” and “manage[d]” its population in accordance with this authority (17). Moreover, as Mbembe notes, this phenomenon has been prominently witnessed during the “French revolution” (19) and the “Apartheid regime in South Africa” (26). Furthermore, it has also been perceived during “slavery” in old times where the slaves lived in a living dead condition as they were “kept alive but in a state of injury” (21). Necropolitics is still prevalent in our present-day world. It is observed under autocratic governments and even in democratic societies where the weak population is subdued by the authorities holding ultimate power over their lives. In addition, it has been witnessed that the unwanted portions of the population or the rebels are made to live

miserable lives in order to keep them under check. Moreover, necropolitics has been profoundly witnessed in India where the Kashmiri Muslim population is subjected to the necropolitics of the Indian authorities, who hold power over their lives and force them to live in wretched conditions. In addition, it is also witnessed how repressed communities such as Kashmiri Muslims have been countering the necropolitics of their oppression by using counter-violence.

Necropolitics has also been observed at various stages in the history of Pakistan. It was first seen when the central government of Pakistan in 1971 sent military against the separatist elements in East Pakistan to “repress... dissent” (Lionel n.p.) resulting from the disparity between the two wings and the rejection of Mujeeb-ur-Rehman’s six-point agenda. Along with “Mukhti Bahini” and “Bengali armed mobs,” “Bengali civilians were also believed to be “indiscriminately targeted” (ibid.). It was similarly witnessed under some of the military dictatorships as well as democratic governments that followed. Many literary works examine the “disastrous effects of military dictatorships” (Ali et al. 2). Naveen Zahra Minai, while discussing the Pakistani nationalist narrations in her dissertation, emphasizes how in military regimes, “military is an institutional manifestation of nation-state’s necropower” (Minai 242). She highlights the “necropolitics” prevalent in Gen Zia-ul-Haq’s “dictatorship” where “deaths of some” were considered necessary for the “lives of others” (243). Aimina Yaqin, in her analysis of Kamila Shamsie’s *Broken Verses* (2005), emphasized how military dictatorship of Zia used “violence” in order to subdue those it considered anti-state elements (Yaqin 236). Similarly, before the imposition of Martial law by General Zia, Bhutto is also said to have imposed “curfew” on the cities of “Karachi, Lahore and Hyderabad” in order to repress the “people who have been trying to force his resignation” and those “violating the curfew” were ordered “to be shot at” (Borders n.p.). General Musharraf, in order to assist USA in its War on Terror, similarly took “aggressive actions” in the “tribal areas” and the “Pakistani military launched a major campaign to combat militants” especially in “Waziristan” which also affected those uninvolved with the militants (Ziring n.p.). Moreover, the central government of Pakistan has placed army in Balochistan to deal with Baloch insurgent movements resulting from the “resentment and resistance” of the Baloch community “against the federal government” due to “political and economic marginalization of Baloch” (“The State of Conflict” n.p.).



However, as a necropolitical tool, it has been allegedly involved in “extrajudicial killings” in the province (“Pakistan Dispatch” n.p.). Necropolitics has also been exercised in Karachi during the MQM rule. MQM is believed to use violence against the people of Karachi for its political interests and has “a long record of political harassment, extortion, torture and targeted killings” (“Pakistan” n.p.). The novel *The Prisoner* (2013) by Omar Shahid Hamid also indicates how the party decided the “life and death” of the citizens (Hamid 23). In addition, “sectarian and ethnic violence” has also been a prominent characteristic of the political history of Pakistan which includes violence “against religious and ethnic minorities” (“The State of Conflict” n.p.).

This research work will assist the readers in gaining a deeper understanding of how literary works represent the working of global politics in the contemporary world. It will help the Pakistani students understand the necropolitics prevalent in the world today as well as will assist them in deciphering the predicament of the repressed societies which are coping with the necropolitics of their supreme authorities. It will also make them aware of how the superpowers of the world continue to colonize and suppress either their former colonies or the dependent nations using their necropower. Moreover, this study will help the readers gain a better understanding of the Palestinian population’s dilemma under Israeli occupation. It will also be able to make them comprehend the Kashmiri oppression under Indian colonization. Furthermore, this research will provide the readers with a better understanding of the violent resistance undertaken by the suppressed populations. It will help them understand how the colonized population is compelled to use violence as a result of violence they encounter and after their non-violent efforts fail to bear fruit.

### **6.3 Recommendations for Future Research**

As literary texts can be interpreted in multiple ways. Further research can be conducted on the Palestinian literature by viewing it from different perspectives. The future researchers can analyse the discrimination and objectification of the Palestinian Arabs in the Palestinian short stories or Israeli texts. They may also analyse how the colonial violence faced by the Palestinian population has impacted them psychologically in accordance with the Palestinian texts. Moreover, the upcoming researchers can compare the necropolitics of the Nazi state and that of the Palestinian case by comparing these short

stories with the literature of the holocaust. Furthermore, necropolitics in Palestine can also be analysed in comparison with the necropolitics prevalent in Kashmir using the texts from both societies. Finally, this research also paves the way for the forthcoming researchers to investigate if freedom can only be achieved through counter-violence or can also be attained through peaceful measures.

## WORKS CITED

- "Pakistan Dispatch: Violent Crackdown on Peaceful Baloch Protesters in Islamabad Highlights Ongoing Injustices in Balochistan Region." *JURIST - Legal News & Commentary*, 27 Dec. 2023, [www.jurist.org/news/2023/12/pakistan-dispatch-violent-crackdown-on-peaceful-baloch-protesters-in-islamabad-highlights-ongoing-injustices-in-balochistan-region/](http://www.jurist.org/news/2023/12/pakistan-dispatch-violent-crackdown-on-peaceful-baloch-protesters-in-islamabad-highlights-ongoing-injustices-in-balochistan-region/). Accessed 6 Jan. 2024. Web.
- "Pakistan: Broadcast Media Muzzled by Musharraf's Decree." *Human Rights Watch*, 28 Oct. 2020, [www.hrw.org/news/2007/06/06/pakistan-broadcast-media-muzzled-musharrafs-decree](http://www.hrw.org/news/2007/06/06/pakistan-broadcast-media-muzzled-musharrafs-decree). Accessed 6 Jan. 2024. Web
- "The State of Conflict and Violence in Asia - Pakistan." *The Asia Foundation*, 11 Oct. 2017, pp. 128-141, [asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Pakistan-StateofConflictandViolence.pdf](http://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Pakistan-StateofConflictandViolence.pdf). Accessed 6 Jan. 2024. PDF.
- " Hamas". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 13 May. 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Hamas>. Accessed 11 May 2022. Web.
- "I Survived the Bombing of the King David Hotel.'" *BBC News*, 18 July 2018, [www.bbc.com/news/av/stories-44862029](http://www.bbc.com/news/av/stories-44862029). Accessed 22 May 2022. Web.
- "Nayrouz Qarmout." *Comma Press*, Arts Council England, [commapress.co.uk/authors/nayrouz-qarmout/](http://commapress.co.uk/authors/nayrouz-qarmout/). Accessed 23 May 2022. Web.
- "Operation Cast Lead | IMEU." *Institute for Middle East Understanding (IMEU)*, 4 Jan. 2012, [imeu.org/article/operation-cast-lead](http://imeu.org/article/operation-cast-lead). Accessed 19 May 2022. Web.
- "Raeda Taha." *The Lark*, 31 May 2018, [www.larktheatre.org/about-us/playwrights/raeda-taha/](http://www.larktheatre.org/about-us/playwrights/raeda-taha/). Accessed 23 May 2022. Web.
- "Six-Day War". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 8 Jun. 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Six-Day-War>. Accessed 8 May 2022. Web.

- “Sovereignty.” Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, *Merriam-Webster*,  
<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sovereignty>. Accessed 10 Nov. 2022.  
 Web.
- “Suicide Bombing at the Sbarro Pizzeria in Jerusalem.” *gov.il*, 9 Aug. 2001,  
[www.gov.il/en/Departments/General/suicide-bombing-at-the-sbarro-pizzeria-in-jerusalem](http://www.gov.il/en/Departments/General/suicide-bombing-at-the-sbarro-pizzeria-in-jerusalem). Accessed 16 Feb. 2023. Web.
- Alareer, Refaat. *Gaza Writes Back: Short Stories from Young Writers in Gaza, Palestine*.  
 Just World Books, 2014. PDF.
- Ali, Sadia, et al. "Fictionalizing the Language of Power: A Comparative Study of  
 Pakistani and Latin American Novels." *SAGE Open*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2023, pp. 1-10.  
 PDF.
- Andorka, Rudolf. "Regime Transitions in Hungary in the 20th Century: The Role of  
 National Counter-Elites." *Governance*, vol. 6, no. 3, July 1993, pp. 358-371. PDF.
- Avelar, Daniel, and Bianca Ferrari. "Israel and Palestine: a story of modern colonialism."  
*openDemocracy*, 29 May 2018, [www.opendemocracy.net/en/north-africa-west-asia/israel-and-palestine-story-of-modern-colonialism/](http://www.opendemocracy.net/en/north-africa-west-asia/israel-and-palestine-story-of-modern-colonialism/). Accessed 27 July  
 2022. Web.
- Ayyash, M. M. "Israel is a Settler Colony, Annexing Native Land is What It Does."  
*Breaking News, World News and Video from Al Jazeera*, 7 July 2020,  
[www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2020/7/7/israel-is-a-settler-colony-annexing-native-land-is-what-it-does](http://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2020/7/7/israel-is-a-settler-colony-annexing-native-land-is-what-it-does). Accessed 27 July 2022. Web.
- Baker, Charlotte. "Necropolitical Violence and Post-independence Guinean  
 literature." *International Journal of Francophone Studies*, vol. 17, no. 3, 2014,  
 pp. 305-326. PDF.
- Bangstad, Sindre. "Achille Mbembe's Fanonian Meditations." *Africa Is a Country*,  
[africasacountry.com/2018/12/achille-mbembes-fanonian-meditations](http://africasacountry.com/2018/12/achille-mbembes-fanonian-meditations). Accessed 2  
 Aug. 2022. Web.

- Barkar, Adam, and Emma B. Lowman. "Settler Colonialism." *GLOBAL SOCIAL THEORY*, 4 Aug. 2015, [globalsocialtheory.org/concepts/settler-colonialism/](https://globalsocialtheory.org/concepts/settler-colonialism/). Accessed 15 Nov. 2022. Web.
- Barney, Nicholas V. "The Voice of Palestine's Second Occupation, Part 1 - Book Review." *Palestine Chronicle*, 9 Aug. 2019, [www.palestinechronicle.com/the-voice-of-palestines-second-occupation-part-1-book-review/](http://www.palestinechronicle.com/the-voice-of-palestines-second-occupation-part-1-book-review/). Accessed 2 Sept. 2023. Web.
- Barney, Nicholas V. "The Voice of Palestine's Second Occupation, Part 2 - Book Review." *Palestine Chronicle*, 12 Sept. 2019, [www.palestinechronicle.com/the-voice-of-palestines-second-occupation-part-2-book-review/](http://www.palestinechronicle.com/the-voice-of-palestines-second-occupation-part-2-book-review/). Accessed 2 Sept. 2023. Web.
- Bin Said, Muhammad Jeffery H. "The Palestine-Israel Conflicts." *ResearchGate*, 2018, doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.31995.00801. Accessed 2 Oct. 2021. PDF.
- Borders, William. "Bhutto Puts 3 Cities under Martial Law." *The New York Times*, 22 Apr. 1977, [www.nytimes.com/1977/04/22/archives/bhutto-puts-3-cities-under-martial-law-pakistani-leader-in.html](http://www.nytimes.com/1977/04/22/archives/bhutto-puts-3-cities-under-martial-law-pakistani-leader-in.html). Accessed 6 Jan. 2024. Web.
- Bose, Anuja. "Necropolitics." *Contemporary Political Theory*, vol. 20, no. S4, 24 Aug. 2020, pp. 172-175, doi.org/10.1057/s41296-020-00438-w. PDF.
- Bronner, Ethan. "Nytimes.com." *The New York Times - Breaking News, US News, World News and Videos*, 9 Nov. 2003, [www.nytimes.com/2003/11/09/books/the-new-new-historians.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2003/11/09/books/the-new-new-historians.html). Accessed 1 Jan. 2024. Web.
- Brym, Robert J. and Araj, Bader. "Intifada". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 21 May. 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/intifadah>. Accessed 11 May 2022. Web.
- Cervantes, Ainara R. "Palestinian Oppression and Human Rights Violations in Israel." *BORGEN*, 19 May 2021, [www.borgenmagazine.com/palestinian-oppression/](http://www.borgenmagazine.com/palestinian-oppression/). Accessed 19 May 2022. Web.
- Chakkour, Soukaina. *Speaking near Necropolitics: Sovereignty, Geopolitics of Death and Sexual Difference*. 2015. Utrecht U, Netherlands, MA thesis.

- Chohan, Usman W., and Omer Aamir. "Kashmir: Beyond Imbroglios." *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs*, 2020,  
[www.airuniversity.af.edu/JIPA/Display/Article/2211008/kashmir-beyond-imbroglios/](http://www.airuniversity.af.edu/JIPA/Display/Article/2211008/kashmir-beyond-imbroglios/). Accessed 8 June 2022. PDF.
- Cohen, Raphael S., et al. "Lessons from Israel's Wars in Gaza." *RAND Corporation Provides Objective Research Services and Public Policy Analysis / RAND*, 2017,  
[www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_briefs/RB9975.html](http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9975.html). Accessed 19 May 2022. Web.
- Corseri, Gary. "Gaza Writes Back – Book Review." *Palestine Chronicle*, 18 July 2015,  
[palestinechronicle.com/gaza-writes-back-book-review/](http://palestinechronicle.com/gaza-writes-back-book-review/). Web.
- Daher-Nashif, Suhad. "Colonial Management of Death: To Be or Not to Be Dead in Palestine." *SAGE*, 2020, doi:10.1177/0011392120948923. Accessed 23 Jan. 2022. PDF
- Darboe, Alieu. "Guinea: 1958-Present." *ICNC*, Oct. 2010, [www.nonviolent-conflict.org/guinea-1958-present/](http://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/guinea-1958-present/). Accessed 16 Nov. 2022. Web.
- Darraj, Fiasal. "The Palestinian Short Story." Interactive Encyclopedia of the Palestine Question – Palquest, [www.palquest.org/en/highlight/10518/palestinian-short-story](http://www.palquest.org/en/highlight/10518/palestinian-short-story). Accessed 6 Dec. 2022. Web.
- Death, Carl. "Africanfuturist Socio-Climatic Imaginaries and Nnedi Okorafor's Wild Necropolitics." *Antipode*, 2021. PDF.
- El-Nimr, Sonia. "Oral History and Palestinian Collective Memory." *Oral History*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1993, pp. 54–61, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40179316>. Accessed 11 May 2022. PDF.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. PDF, Grove Press, 1963. PDF.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction*. Pantheon books, New York, 1978. PDF.

- Ghosh, Amrita. "Reading Discourses of Power and Violence in Emerging Kashmiri Literature in English: The Collaborator and Curfewed Night." *Review of Human Rights*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2018, pp. 30-49. PDF.
- Glanville, Jo. *Qissat: Short Stories by Palestinian Women*. Telegram Books, 2012. PDF.
- Griffin, Gabriele, editor. *Research Methods for English Studies*. 2nd ed., Edinburgh UP, 2013. PDF.
- Habib Allah, Nahed M. *Palestinian Mothers Telling Their Stories as Mothers of Martyrs*. 2004. Eastern Michigan U, MA thesis.
- Hamid, Omar S. *The Prisoner: A Novel*. Arcade, 2015. PDF.
- Hoffman, Bruce. "The Bombing of the King David Hotel, July 1946." *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, vol. 31, no. 3, 2020, pp. 594-611. PDF.
- Hughes, Sara N. *Territoriality, Sovereignty and the Nation-state System in Israel-Palestine: The Creation of the Palestinian Bantustan "state" and Shifting Palestinian Resistance Tactics*. 2011. U of San Francisco, MA thesis.
- Hussein, Elham T. "Oppressed and Challenged but not Defeated: Families in Gaza Writes Back." *International Journal of Arabic-English Studies*, vol. 21, no. 1, 2021. PDF.
- Hwami, Munyaradzi. "Frantz Fanon and the Problematic of Decolonization: Perspectives on Zimbabwe." *African Identities*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2015, pp. 19-37. PDF.
- Karklins, Alexander C. *Albert Camus, Frantz Fanon, and French Algeria: The colonial experience and the philosophy of revolt*. 1996. The University of Montana, MA thesis.
- Kehoe, Ryan M. "Necropolitics and Contemporary Hungarian Literature and Cinema." *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture*, vol. 11, no. 4, 2009. PDF.
- Lionel, Baixas. "Thematic Chronology of Mass Violence in Pakistan, 1947-2007." *SciencesPo*, 24 June 2008, [www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-](http://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-)

resistance/fr/document/thematic-chronology-mass-violence-pakistan-1947-2007.html#title4. Web.

- Mason, Victoria and Richard Falk. "Assessing Nonviolence in the Palestinian Rights Struggle." *State Crime Journal*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2016, www.jstor.com/stable/10.13169/statecrime.5.1.0163. Accessed 26 Sept. 2022. PDF.
- Mattar, Mira. "Review of Qissat." *The Short Review*, theshortreview.com/reviews/Qissat.htm. Accessed 19 Oct. 2021. Web.
- Mayblin, Lucy, et al. "Necropolitics and the Slow Violence of the Everyday: Asylum Seeker Welfare in the Postcolonial Present." *Sociology*, vol. 54, no. 1, 2019, pp. 107-123. PDF.
- Mbembe, Achille, et al. "What is Postcolonial Thinking? An Interview with Achille Mbembe", *Esprit*, vol., no. 12, 2006, pp. 117-133. PDF.
- Mbembe, Achille. "Necropolitics." *Public Culture*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2003, pp. 11-40. PDF.
- McKee, Alan. "Textual Analysis: A Beginner's Guide." *ResearchGate*, 2003, pp. 1-24, www.researchgate.net/publication/27470712\_Textual\_Analysis\_A\_Beginner's\_Guide. Accessed 9 Jan. 2024. PDF.
- McLeod, John. *Beginning Postcolonialism*. Manchester UP, 2000. PDF
- Means, Alexander J. "Foucault, Biopolitics, and the Critique of State Reason." *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 2021, pp. 1-2. PDF.
- Minai, Naveen Z. *The Gendered and Sexual Politics of Excess in Nationalist Narrations of Pakistan*. 2014. U of California, PhD dissertation.
- Mir, Salam. "Palestinian Literature: Occupation and Exile." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 2, 2013, pp. 110-129. PDF.
- Moughrabi, Fouad. "Israeli Control and Palestinian Resistance." *Social Justice*, vol. 19, no. 3 (49), 1992, pp. 46-62. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29766693>. Accessed 20 May 2022. PDF.



- Muscat, Dean. "A Soldier Dreams of White Lilies: Background Information when Reading Sadness Is a White Bird." *BookBrowse.com*, [www.bookbrowse.com/mag/btb/index.cfm/book\\_number/3702/sadness-is-a-white-bird](http://www.bookbrowse.com/mag/btb/index.cfm/book_number/3702/sadness-is-a-white-bird). Accessed 9 Feb. 2023. Web.
- Nassar, Hala K. "Qissat: Short Stories by Palestinian Women, and: Hikayat: Short Stories by Lebanese Women (review)." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2009, pp. 93-96. PDF.
- Park, Jinim. "The Colonized Colonizers: Korean Experiences of the Vietnam War." *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, vol. 7, no. 3-4, 1998, pp. 217-240. PDF.
- Qarmout, Nayrouz. *The Sea Cloak*. Comma P, 2019. PDF.
- Razak, Muneerah A. "Can Violence Be Moral? Revisiting Fanon on Violence in The Wretched of the Earth." *Middle East Centre*, 8 Jan. 2018, [blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2018/01/08/can-violence-be-moral-revisiting-fanon-on-violence-in-the-wretched-of-the-earth/](https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2018/01/08/can-violence-be-moral-revisiting-fanon-on-violence-in-the-wretched-of-the-earth/). Accessed 29 Nov. 2022. Web.
- Rodrigo, Nick. "Palestine Through the Lens of Frantz Fanon." *Middle East Monitor*, 19 Oct. 2015, [www.middleeastmonitor.com/20151019-palestine-through-the-lens-of-frantz-fanon/](http://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20151019-palestine-through-the-lens-of-frantz-fanon/). Accessed 2 Aug. 2022. Web.
- Rollman, Rhea. "'The Sea Cloak and Other Stories' and the Everyday Life of Gaza's Embattled Residents, PopMatters." *PopMatters*, 12 Sept. 2019, [www.popmatters.com/sea-cloak-other-stories-qarmout-2640263796.html](http://www.popmatters.com/sea-cloak-other-stories-qarmout-2640263796.html). Accessed 5 Sept. 2023. Web.
- Ronit Lentin. "Palestine/Israel and State Criminality: Exception, Settler Colonialism and Racialization." *State Crime Journal*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2016. PDF.
- Ruia, Reshma. "The Sea Cloak and Other Stories." *Words of Colour*, 2 Oct. 2019, [wordsofcolour.co.uk/the-sea-cloak-and-other-stories/](http://wordsofcolour.co.uk/the-sea-cloak-and-other-stories/). Accessed 19 Oct. 2021. Web.
- Saccol, Mauro. "Alienation and Violence: Frantz Fanon and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." *Malala*, vol. 3, no. 4, 2015, p. 75. PDF.

- Sarfraz, Hammad. "No End to Suffering in Kashmir." *The Express Tribune*, 13 July 2020, [tribune.com.pk/story/2254674/no-end-to-suffering-in-kashmir](http://tribune.com.pk/story/2254674/no-end-to-suffering-in-kashmir). Accessed 21 Nov. 2022. Web.
- Sayigh, Rosemary. "Refaat Alareer (ed.) Gaza Writes Back: Short Stories from Young Writers in Gaza, Palestine." *Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2, 2019, pp. 263-266. PDF.
- Scobbie, Iain. "Colonialism under International Law, and Economic Aspects of Israeli Colonialism in the OPT." *Al-Haq*, 2009. [www.alhaq.org/cached\\_uploads/download/alhaq\\_files/images/stories/PDF/IainScobbie.pdf](http://www.alhaq.org/cached_uploads/download/alhaq_files/images/stories/PDF/IainScobbie.pdf). Accessed 26 Aug. 2023. Web.
- Sheetrit, Ariel M. "Politics and Palestinian Literature in Exile: Gender, Aesthetics and Resistance in the Short Story, by Joseph R. Farag." *Mediterranean Historical Review*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2018, pp. 244–248. PDF.
- Sprengel, Mara. "Gaza Writes Back [Book Review]." *Journal of Internal Displacement*, vol. 4, no. 2, July. 2014, pp. 39-41. PDF.
- Syrotinski, Michael. "Violence and Writing in the African Postcolony" *Deconstruction and the Postcolonial*, Sept. 2007, pp. 98-116, [doi.org/10.5949/UPO9781846312922.007](https://doi.org/10.5949/UPO9781846312922.007). Accessed 3 Aug. 2022. PDF.
- Tabbara, Tania. "Qissat: Short Stories by Palestinian Women." *Al-Raida Journal*, 1970, pp. 100-101. PDF.
- Toure, Maeleenn K. "Ahmed Sékou Touré (1922-1984)." *BlackPast.org*, 14 Feb. 2009, [www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/toure-ahmed-sekou-1922-1984/](http://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/toure-ahmed-sekou-1922-1984/). Accessed 16 Nov. 2022. Web.
- Vinx, Lars. "Carl Schmitt." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2019, [plato.stanford.edu/entries/schmitt/](http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/schmitt/). Accessed 19 Oct. 2021. Web.
- Wadi, Ramona. "The Sea Cloak & Other Stories." *Middle East Monitor*, 13 Sept. 2019, [middleeastmonitor.com/20190913-the-sea-cloak-other-stories/](http://middleeastmonitor.com/20190913-the-sea-cloak-other-stories/). Accessed 19 Oct. 2021. Web.

- Wilkins, Jan. "Postcolonialism in International Relations." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, 2017. Web.
- Yaqin, Amina. "Necropolitical Trauma in Kamila Shamsie's Fiction." *The Muslim World*, vol. 111, no. 2, 14 May 2021, pp. 234-249. PDF.
- Yusuff, Aisha. "The Sea Cloak and Other Stories: Gaza as a Literary Prism." *The New Arab*, 19 Jan. 2022, [www.newarab.com/features/sea-cloak-and-other-stories-gaza-literary-prism](http://www.newarab.com/features/sea-cloak-and-other-stories-gaza-literary-prism). Accessed 5 Sept. 2023. Web.
- Ziring, Lawrence. "The Pervez Musharraf government." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, [www.britannica.com/place/Pakistan/The-Pervez-Musharraf-government](http://www.britannica.com/place/Pakistan/The-Pervez-Musharraf-government). Accessed 6 Jan. 2024. Web.