Picturing History: Palestinian Political Cartoons, 1967 to 2009

By

Sadam H. Issa

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(African Languages and Literature)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2013

Date of final oral examination: May 8th, 2013

The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Tejumola Olaniyan, Professor, English and African Languages and Literature

Dustin Cowell, Professor of Arabic Language and Literature

Seth Ofori, Assistant Professor, African Languages and Literature

Mary Layoun, Professor, Comparative Literature

Christa Olson, Assistant Professor, Rhetoric

ABSTRACT

PICTURING HISTORY: PALESTINIAN POLITICAL CARTOONS, 1967 TO 2009

Sadam H. Issa

Under the supervision of Professor Tejumola Olaniyan

At the University of Wisconsin-Madison

This dissertation argues that Palestinian and Arab political cartoons participate in building the Palestinian nationalist project in opposition to "the Israeli occupation" through their dissemination of patriotic feelings across deceptively simple cultural symbols. My dissertation focuses on cartoons published in two Palestinian newspapers and three neighboring Arabic newspapers. These cartoons deal with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict from the aftermath of the 1967 War until the end of the Gaza War in 2009. While acknowledging that political cartoons are fundamental to construct what Benedict Anderson calls "the imagined community" of the nation, this dissertation explicates the reading of these cartoons' manifest content by looking at the image-text interaction to reveal their latent content. This latent content is illustrative of the social, political, and aesthetic values underpinning the cartoons. The cartoons surveyed utilize several strategies to foster the growth of the Palestinian nationalism, such as tapping into historical events such as *al-Nakbah* (The Catastrophe) and *al-Naksah* (The Setback). *Al-Nakbah* and *al-Naksah* provide the basis for Palestinian nationalism to flourish by connecting the Palestinians to their past while opening up the wound of Palestinian plight since 1948. Women also have a central importance in the selected Palestinian cartoons, as the cartoons underscore the association of honor spearheading a nationalist drive. In addition, the cartoons show that the Palestinian struggle against Israel to be of an alienating governing presence over Palestinian lives. They visually construct the Palestinian national identity, radicalized and severely critical of the discourse of the "Other," "the Israeli colonial rule."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION

To the soul of my father.

To my mother, the greatest mother in earth, for getting me this far.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the efforts and influences of countless people who have helped, guided, and inspired me along the way. These thanks extend far beyond people who have assisted me with this dissertation or with my doctoral studies in general. To start, I would like to thank all of my professors who taught me during my graduate studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Their classes allowed me to mature not just as an academic, but also as a person. This dissertation also owes a tremendous debt to the members of my committee for their intellectual tutelage and support. I cannot express adequately my gratitude for the guidance and patience of my supervisor Professor Tejumola Olaniyan. His input has been vitally necessary in shaping, developing and ultimately improving the quality of my work. Thanks to Professor Dustin Cowell for his insight, and for the inspiration he gave me to complete my PhD program. He gave me a greater sense of perspective about life. I owe my deepest gratitude to Professor Christa Olson, whose encouragement and guidance tremendously helped shape the idea for my dissertation. I am also heartily thankful to Professor Seth Ofori for his valuable and insightful suggestions during the completion of my dissertation writing. In addition, I would like to thank Professor Mary Layoun for getting me to think creatively, and for her suggestions during my visits to her office hours.

I wish to extend thanks to Professor Ghada Talhami for her input, which has been an incredibly valuable resource that has challenged and helped guide my thinking about some aspects of my dissertation. Likewise, I am thankful for Professor Orayb Aref Najjar's time, consideration and knowledge of my subject, which helped me broaden this analysis and place it in context. Thanks to Mr. Mustaf Mustafa for instilling confidence in me at a time when I was unsure of what lay ahead. Thanks to Dr. Ziad Sweidan for reading the drafts of my dissertation,

mother, brothers, sisters, nephews and nieces— for helping me not to lose confidence in myself.

This dissertation would not have been possible without all those mentioned above.

PICTURING HISTORY: PALESTINIAN POLITICAL CARTOONS, 1967 TO 2009

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

> Central to modern expectations, and modern ethical feeling, is the conviction that war is an aberration, if an unstoppable one. That peace is the norm, if an unattainable one. This, of course, is not the way war has been regarded throughout history. War has been the norm and peace the exception (Susan Sontag 74).

Although classical rhetoricians questioned the role of non-oratorical forms of human communication, recent studies have acknowledged their centrality with special attention given to visual images. As Lester C. Olson—a pioneer teacher and researcher in the areas of visual rhetoric, rhetorical criticism, and public address— has noted in his seminal article "Benjamin Franklin's Pictorial Representation of the British Colonies in America: A Study in Rhetorical Iconology," "both visual and verbal rhetoric […] use a community's representational systems in endeavors to enlist the will of an audience" (18). Visual rhetoric expands its impacts into diverse disciplines. It becomes a central field to the study of sociology in terms of "how groups are defined and presented" (Ray Morris, "Visual Rhetoric" 195). Political cartoons constitute a visual medium through which such groups can be visually represented.

In literary and cultural studies, the study of visual rhetoric has investigated how political cartoons narrate the history of nations, and how they construct national consciousness among their readers (i.e. Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan's *The Ungentlemanly Art*.; Charles Hou and Cynthia Hou's *Great Canadian Political Cartoons*.; Scott A. Brown's *Caricatures of Revolution*). The post-1948 War's historical moment in Palestine was marked by the rise of a militant nationalism among Palestinians that has since then compelled them toward national action. Orayb A. Najjar ("Power and the Palestinian Press") argued that from 1948-68, Palestinians defined themselves primarily through poetry, not cartoons. An example of this

resistance is Nizār Qabbānī's "Margins on the Notebook of *al-Naksah* (The Setback)," which was banned by all Arab regimes, (1923-1998) shortly after the Arab defeat in 1967:

> If my safety were assured
>
> If I could meet the Sultan
>
> I would say to him: My master the Sultan
>
> Your carnivorous dogs tore my clothes
>
> Your spies are always after me
>
> …
>
> You have lost the war twice
>
> Because half our people
>
> Have no tongues (cited in O. Najjar 46).

In his *Silencing the Sea*, Khalid Furani affirmed that poetry, for the period 1948-1967, was the paramount political expression for Palestinians living under the Israeli occupation. Furani attributed this primacy over other genres such novels, speeches, and articles, which are more precariously exposed to official censorship, to the fact that poetry can travel with people memorization and recitation. After 1967, visual forms, such as posters, started to play a vital role in articulating the Palestinians' experience under the occupation. This was no truer than when conveying the Palestinian message to the outside world (O. Najjar, "Cartoons"). O. Najjar stated that an American artist, Dan Walsh, collected 3,500 posters with a Palestinian theme while working for the Peace Corps in Morocco in 1974. Walsh has related that an Israeli official told him, "I want you to know that you and your posters have utterly destroyed 35 years of really sophisticated anti-Palestinian propaganda work on our part" (cited in O. Najjar, "Cartoons" 194). In addition, Najjar's study originally intended to investigate the cartoons that were published

about the 1948 War. However, none of the Palestinian or neighboring Arab newspapers feature any cartoons about the 1948 War. Najjar added that cartoons became a prominent medium after 1967. Cartoons both redefined the Palestinians and shored up Palestinian identity (O. Najjar, personal communication, September 22, 2012).[1] My study examines how the visual moods of Palestinian political cartoons narrate the history of Palestine from the aftermath of the Six Day War in June 1967 to the recent war in Gaza in 2009.

To achieve this objective, my study focuses on the cartoons that were published in two Palestinian newspapers, *al-Quds* (Jerusalem) and *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah* (The New Life), and three prominent neighboring Arabic newspapers, *al-Baʿth* (Syria), *al-Nahār* (Lebanon), and *al-Ahrām* (Egypt). The use of both Palestinian and Arab newspapers has ensured regional coverage. The year 1967 is the starting point because it marks the time when expressions in visual arts of a Palestinian national identity start to flourish; 2009 is the end point, because it marks the last major Israeli offensive on the Palestinian territories up until 2012, specifically in Gaza. The aforementioned period covers some of the major policy decisions by the Israeli government, Palestinian factions, and the international community (i.e., United Nations (UN)), not to mention their cultural and historical roles in Palestinian social and political life. Further, since one of the goals of this study is to investigate the role Palestinian cartoons play as a medium of mass communication within the Palestinian nationalist movement, this period becomes ever-more crucial.

Although the Palestinian national movement began to shape its discourse under the British Mandate (1920-1948), Meir Litvak (*Palestinian Collective Memory*) argued that

---

[1]Investigating the reasons for this shift would be a fruitful area for future research.

"Palestinian collective memory had emerged by the late 1960s, centering on various events during the British Mandate—particularly on the profound national trauma of the 1948 defeat and displacement, which for many Palestinians was also a key component of their personal memory" (103). This defeat and its consequences played a vital role in developing a profound Palestinian collective memory as well. This study of political cartoons hopes to add another dimension to the social history of Palestinians. The cartoons provide insight into the minutiae of Palestinian history, especially with regard to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Second, Palestinian political cartoons constitute a vehicle for mediating the emotional attitudes of the Palestinians' experience during the struggle against the occupation, and a visible manifestation of the Palestinians' refusal and resistance to the occupation. Third, Palestinian cartoons serve as a pictorial form of Palestinian national narrative. Fourth, Palestinian cartoons serve as a weapon of anti-occupation nationalist struggle ridiculing Israel and highlighting the brutality of the Israeli treatment, and criticizing both the dormant Arab polices and the position of the international community symbolized by the UN's stance towards the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Fifth, the changes in the content and form of images over time may allow us to note historical shifts in public discourse and popular attitudes. Finally, political cartoons of foreign affairs may bolster and unify the Palestinian nation (Milton Kemtiz).

Picking up on the advancement of the fifth argument, this study sheds light on significant questions of linguistic, anthropological, and culturally historical import. First, for what purposes were Palestinian cartoons published between 1967 and 2009, and what information do these images reveal about Palestinian society? Second, how do Palestinian cartoons use representational forms to frame Palestinian history, in general, and the history of the Israeli-Palestinian struggle, in particular? Third, what role did Palestinian cartoons play as a medium of

mass communication in the Palestinian nationalist movement? What is the significance of a national pictorial narrative within the colonial context? Fourth, what insights do the combination of pictorial images and words yield about interpreting the underpinning aesthetic values of Palestinian cartoons?

Prior to addressing these sets of questions, a history of the Palestinian press before the 1948 War will help contextualize the study and justifies the choice of the Palestinian newspapers under investigation. The subsequent section is devoted to this purpose.

Jacob Yehoshua wrote that "[t]he first Arabic press was brought to Palestine from Lebanon in 1846, and it printed mostly Christian texts" (cited in O. Najjar, Power and Palestinian Press 89). O. Najjar argued that because of the Palestinians' historical experience under various sovereignties, their press has always been more political than commercial, and "has always been important for spreading first Arab, then Palestinian nationalism" (Power and Palestinian Press 88). The first printing house established in Palestine was *Dayr al-Rūm* (Monastery Byzantium) (1846) in Jerusalem. Still, the first print newspaper appeared thirty years later (Muḥammad Sulaymān, *The History of the Palestinian Press*). *Al-Quds al-Sharīf* (Noble Jerusalem) was the first newspaper published in both Arabic and Turkish. The publication issued Turkish orders and official announcements (Sulaymān, *The History of the Palestinian Press*). The monthly paper also suffered from severe censorship and was unable to report on events in the Arab world in Arabic (Yehoshua).

However, some researchers (i.e. Sulaymān, *The Press in Gaza*) claimed that 1908 actually marked the emergence of Palestinian journalism owing to the Ottoman government's new constitution that allowed for a more liberal press. The *Young Turkey Party*, which was the

majority, opposed the rule of the Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II and called for reform seeking to establish a constitution that ensures freedom for the press. Thirty-six new publications emerged as a result of this more open media environment (Mājid Tarbān). Nevertheless, by the start of World War I, the Ottoman government suspended issuance for new newspapers. The sole magazine issued during World War I *Muṣawwir Gūl* (Goal photographer) became the voice of the war (Sulaymān, *The History of the Palestinian Press*). The suspension was lifted as the British Mandate Period began. The Palestinian press started a new phase under new political and economic conditions.

During the British Mandate Period, the number of newspapers rose exponentially (Tarbān). Their subject matter ranged from politics and literature to economy and religion. The newspapers fought to reveal corruption and raise national consciousness among Palestinians (Yehoshua). According to Yehoshua, they also served as outlets for the criticism of the Zionists and British rule. Still, many of these newspapers were to experience as quick a decline as their rise. *Mir'āt al-Sharq* (The Mirror of the East) is one of the few prominent newspapers that were launched during the British Mandate. The bi-weekly paper was published on September 17, 1919, and it was published in both Arabic and English from the outset (Tarbān). It ceased publication with the commencement of World War II in 1939.

In the 1930s, press activities moved to Jaffa. Besides *Filasṭīn*, which was established in 1911, the other three main newspapers were launched in Jaffa: *al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah* (The Islamic University), *al-Difāʿ* (The defense), and *al-Jāmiʿah al-ʿArabiyyah* (The Arab League). *Al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah* was established in 1932, followed by *al-Difāʿ*.

During the Great Arab Revolt (1936-1939), most newspapers ceased publications except *Filasṭīn* and *al-Difāʿ*, which were still in operation throughout World War II (Yehoshua). The papers' editors decided to change the tone of their political discourse by lessening criticism of the British rule in order to continue their publications. Other factors contributed to the decline of newspapers: World War II, the lack of paper, the British Mandate's censorial rules, regulations, and, later, the Israeli occupation.

The Israeli occupation (1948-) marks the third phase of Palestinian journalism. The Israeli government became the new focus of criticism for the Palestinian press. After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, all of the remaining Palestinian newspapers, except *al-Ittiḥād* (The Union), were forced to close and cease publication (Omar Maṣālḥah). *Al-Ittiḥād* continued to publish, because it was the public voice of the Israeli Communist Party. After 1948, many journalists left Palestine and established their newspapers in neighboring countries. There are three major newspapers that were published between 1948 and the Six-Day War (1967): *al-Quds*, *al-Difāʿ*, and *al-Jihād* (Mājid Tarbān). After the Six-Day War, the Palestinian newspapers ceased publication. They resumed publication a few months later (O. Najjar, Power and Palestinian Press). After the establishment of the Palestinian Authority (PA) in the West Bank in 1994, additional newspapers emerged. According to Tarbān, on October, 11, 1994, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah*, the mouthpiece of the PA was established. It began as a weekly newspaper and later became daily publication.

I did not find any Palestinian or Jordanian newspapers featuring political cartoons in the aftermath of the 1967 War, perhaps by reason of censorship by Israeli and Jordanian authorities. Therefore, I look at the political cartoons featured in three prominent Arabic newspapers from

neighboring countriesn namely-- *al-Ba'th* (Syria), *al-Nahār* (Lebanon), and *al-Ahrām* (Egypt),-- dealing with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

I have examined thousands of Palestinian and Arab political cartoons over a period of forty five years featured in the above-mentioned newspapers. Full issues of these newspapers for the period in question were obtained in microfilm from the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. The ensuing section provides a brief historical background for each of the newspapers under investigation.

Launched on October 19, 1968, *al-Quds* (Jerusalem) was the first paper to be published in Palestine (Hillel Nossek, and Khalil Rinnawi) after the Israeli occupation, and the first newspaper that resumed publication in the occupied territories after the Six-Day War. Frisch Hille and Menachem Hofnung (1251) stated that *al-Quds* "is the most widely read and respected of all Palestinian newspapers." 'Alī Khalīli affirmed that *al-Quds* was the best-selling in the occupied territories, and was the paper most interested in gathering diverse news from all parties. *Al-Jihād* (The struggle or the Holy war) and *al-Difā'* (The defense) became part of *al-Quds*.

Al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah is a relatively new newspaper established by the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) in 1994 (Nossek). It is "the highly politicized mouthpiece for the Palestinian authority, and is in no way an independent press" (Amal Jamal 266). The weekly paper became a daily in September 1995 according to the Palestinian Ministry of Information. It was the first newspaper to be given the permission to publish on a daily basis by the PNA**.**

A-Ahrām is one of the oldest national newspapers in Egypt. It was established by two Lebanese brothers, Sālim Tiqlá and Bishārah Tiqlá, in Alexandria in 1876. The paper moved to Cairo in 1899 (Rāmī Ṣadīq). *Al-Ahrām* now has a prestigious reputation, a wide geographical

circulation inside and outside Egypt, and is "[c]onsidred the foremost nationalist paper in Egypt" (Ghada Talhami, *Palestine in the Egyptian Press* 47). *Al-Ahrām* was circulated in Palestine during the period under investigation. According to Talhami, during the Nasserite years (1958-1970) *al-Ahrām* "would have been difficult to ignore" given the "vast reach of the Egyptian press" across the Arab World (x). In a personal communication with Professor G. Talhami on October 22, 2012, she narrated this personal story, a story that is indicative of *al-Ahrām*'s disseminatory power throughout Palestine:

> … at least by the elite who could afford the price of newspapers other than al-Difaa and Filastin. My family lived in Jerusalem in the mid-1950s, then we moved to Amman before I left to the US for college. My dad, Ihsan Hashem, used to be the under-secretary of the Foreign Office and he used to bring home all the censored and uncensored copies of Al-Ahram. Since we were all great admirers of Nasser, including my mother and her Palestinian and Jordanian lady friends, we used to read the censored copies with great glee.

Established on August 4, 1933, *al-Nahār* used to appear in eight pages. However, in the period 1976-2005 while Syria occupied Lebanon, its print publication went from six, to four, and, then, two pages (The Lebanese Institution for the National Library). The paper was circulated widely among students, thinkers, and intellectuals. It provided a rhetorical outlet to express their voice against the occupation and their yearning for independence, and regarded as one of the leading Lebanese newspapers.

Al-Baʿth was established in Damascus, and the first volume was issued in July 3, 1946 (Adīb Khādūr). The daily paper was the mouthpiece of the Syrian Baʿth's party, and used to appear in four pages. Its motto was "One Arab nation with an eternal message." In spite of its religious ethic, the paper tackled issues such as unity, freedom, socialism, nationalism, and diverse local and foreign affairs (Khādūr). Khādūr added that these issues were important ones especially before and after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

In order to be able to see how Palestinian cartoons, as national images, constitute a source of historical narrative, the data for this study consists of cartoons for the following events: the wars of 1967 (*al-Naksah*), 1970 (the Jordanian Civil War or Black September), 1982 (Lebanon War), the first *Intifāḍah* (Palestinian uprising) 1987-1993, the second *Intifāḍah* 2000-2005, the Gaza War 2009, and the peace process between the Palestinian factions and Israel that culminated in the signing of the Oslo Accord in 1993. I chose to study these events because of their powerful mobilizing effect on Palestinian and, indeed, Arab nationalism. To get a full grasp of the historical context of the cartoons published throughout these events, I will borrow from historical and political science scholarship.

In order to ensure adequate scope and coverage, I analyze cartoons produced by different cartoonists for the period under investigation. This helps capture the different styles and approaches the cartoonists adopt in communicating their messages. I, however, noticed that the identity of some of the cartoonists who featured cartoons in some of these newspapers remains unknown. Particularly, the political cartoons featured in *al-Baʿth*, and some cartoons featured in *al-Quds* in the 1980s were with no signature and did not carry any indication of the cartoonists' identity.

Abdul-Rahim Al-Shaikh reported that the existing research on political cartoons has taken up the following analytical categories: "effects, functions, rhetorical, thematic-content, and observational modes" (66). A content analysis is adopted in analyzing the cartoons to be selected from the above-mentioned newspapers. Following Thomas H. Bivins' methodology in "Format Preferences in Editorial Cartooning," the content analysis is limited to the size and colors (if any) employed in the images and their social, cultural, and political implications; words appearing as speech, titles, or captions; characters (human or otherwise); and the use of visual metaphor or analogy. Further, I subject the cartoons to an intrinsic rather than extrinsic kind of analysis (Sasha R. Weitman, "National Flags") focusing on the cartoons tell us rather than what people who view them tell us about them.[2]

In adopting a text-oriented strategy, as Matthew Diamond suggested, interpretation throws light on the visual analysis of the text itself. In *Political Cartoons*, Janis Edwards postulated that political cartoons "exhibit the features of narrative…Three basic meaning strategies of cartoons—characterizations, situations, and narrations—and the inventional means that enliven those meaning strategies—visual metaphor, motif, oppositions, and other references—supplement the elements of narrative" (10). Within the text-oriented strategy, this study will be using methods from semiotic morphisms, and in particular the study of blends (Seana Coulson and Todo Oakley; Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner), conceptual metaphor (George Lakoff and Mark Johnson., R. Morris), and visual metaphor (Liliana Bounegru and

---

[2]The research literature suggests that there are different strategies for interpreting political cartoons. Umberto Eco proposed three strategies, namely author oriented, reader oriented, and text oriented: "The classical debate aimed at finding in a text either a) what its author intended to say, or b) what the text says independently of the intentions of its author. Only after accepting the second horn of the dilemma can one ask whether what is found is (i) what the text says by virtue of its textual coherence and of an original underlying signification system or (ii) what the addressees found in it by virtue of their own systems of expectations" (51).

Charles Forceville) in the analysis of Palestinian cartoons. Inasmuch as blending and metaphor are far less studied in pictorial contexts than in verbal contexts, this study seeks to underpin the role of pictorial metaphor and blending in interpreting political cartoons as a visual medium.

For each cartoon, I carry out three analytical steps. First, I endeavor to identify the denotative references as I perceive there. Second, I speak to the pictorial metaphor(s) which I can identify. I adopt Joost Schilperoord and Alfons Maes's tool of analysis of pictorial metaphors "by using the X IS Y template, thus determining target and source domain and the aspects to be mapped" (219). Third, postulate the way in which the cartoon invokes nationalism. Finally, I seek to analyze the cultural symbols a cartoon carries and their significance in depicting the Palestinian plight under colonial rule.

The analysis also investigates the common themes communicated by the cartoons and concentrates on the thematic patterns and salient stylistic and generic features for each cartoon studied in the newspapers under question. While I am aware of the complex relationship between language and images as outlined by W. J. T Mitchell (*Picture Theory*), a cartoon may incorporate both. Consequently, my analysis will sometimes refer to this combination to gain a better understanding of the cartoon's message.

In order to explore the recurring forms and thematic patterns in the cartoons under question, I will use qualitative analysis. Dan Givton stated that this analysis consists of three stages: establishing themes, classifying definitions, and forming theoretical concepts. The first stage is concerned with establishing primary criteria and categorizing frequent themes. In order to identify, codify, and categorize the themes communicated in Palestinian cartoons under question, I will consider the issue of what Egon G. Guba called "convergence," figuring out which cartoons can fall under the same. The second stage is the "classification of definitions"

that show the content of the cartoons arranged in groups and sub-groups. The third stage is forming a theoretical concept based on the historical background of the subject matter under question. The content of the cartoons will also be linguistically examined and analyzed in light of relevant theories in meanings and culture. My analysis has greatly benefited from the personal communications and interviews that I have conducted with Khālid al-ʿAlī, the oldest son of *Nājī al-ʿAlī*, the prominent Palestinian cartoonist, Muḥammad Sabāʿnih, and Omayya Joha.[3] Muḥammad Sabāʿnih and Omayya Joha are contemporary Palestinian cartoonists whose cartoons are featured in *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah*.

The following section is a summary of what each chapter covers. My dissertation consists of five other chapters, a conclusion, and a glossary in addition to this introductory chapter. Chapter One is a comprehensive review of a significant portion of related literature and conceptual frameworks on which this research depends. The review contextualizes the notions of signification, metaphor, blending, symbolism, and nationalism in relation to the domain of political cartoons, and presents the theoretical works used in the project.

In the following four chapters, I construct my arguments by analyzing representative political cartoons from the entire period of investigation. Chapter Two, "Towards Arab/Palestinian Nationalism: In Praise of Heroism and Unity," depicts the 1967 War and its aftermath in political cartoons published in Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria. The chapter also analyses some cartoons drawn by Nājī al-ʿAlī and Omayya Joha featuring Black September clashes in 1970 between the Jordanian forces and the Palestinian guerrillas, and the Israeli War on Lebanon

---

[3]Khālid al-ʿAlī was born in 1967 in Lebanon. He earned his PhD in mathematics from Imperial College London. Currently, he works for an investment firm in Bahrain (Skype interview with Khālid al-ʿAlī, November 24, 2012).

in 2006, respectively. These historical and political events provide specific and complex insights into the history of Palestine. In this chapter, I argue that remembering *al-Nakbah* (The Catastrophe) of 1948, and *al-Naksah* (The Setback) in 1967 serves as a counter-narrative to Israel's occupation of Palestine. This narrative, in turn mobilizes the Palestinians to imagine a return of the refugees and national liberation.

Chapter Three, "Arab/Palestinian Nationalism Against its Enemies: Israel, the United States, the UN, and the Arab Leadership," analyzes some of the cartoons that appeared in *al-Ahrām*, *al-Quds* and *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah*. Various political and historical events occurred during this period that dramatically affected the history of Palestine, particularly with regard to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and also the Arab-Israeli conflict. These events include the 1967 War, the First Palestinian *Intifāḍah* of 1987-1993, the Palestinian-Israeli peace process (1987-1993) that culminated in the Oslo Accord Peace Treaty signed in Washington, D.C., in 1993, and the Gaza War in 2009. The chapter seeks to show how the cartoons surveyed establish an antagonistic relationship vis-à-vis all the key players in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (i.e. Israel, the United States, the UN, and the Arab dormant regimes), and how this antagonism constructs the Palestinian national identity.

Chapter Four, "Constructing Palestinian/Arab Nationalism from Exile: An Exploratory Study of Cartoonist Nājī al-ʿAlī," analyzes Nājī al-ʿAlī's prominent legacy to show how the Palestinian national identity is constructed from exile. The selected cartoons feature some crucial historical and political events (1) the clashes of Black September in 1970 between the Palestinian militias and the Jordanian army and the ensuing rise of the Palestinian national consciousness; (2) the Lebanese Civil War in 1982, in which thousands of Palestinians were killed in what is

known as the massacre of Ṣabra and Shātīlah; and the Palestinian-Israeli peace negotiations and the UN Peace Resolutions.

Chapter Five, "Women Cartoonists and Palestinian/Arab Nationalism: An Exploratory Study of Omayya Joha's Cartoons," celebrates the first Palestinian-Arab female cartoonist Omayya Joha. This chapter investigates how Palestinian women construct the Palestinian nation by analyzing some of *Joha*'s cartoons. Her cartoons feature some crucial political events that directly or indirectly affect the life of Palestinians under occupation, such as the second Palestinian *Intifāḍah*, the Israeli attacks on the Palestinian territories, particularly on Gaza, and Israel's erection of the Separation Barrier (The Wall).

The conclusion synthesizes the research findings of the different chapters. The dissertation consists of a glossary that contains some bibliographic profiles of the cartoonists under investigation. I note that some themes analyzed in the above-mentioned chapters overlap. As a result, we may find cartoons that can be analyzed under different chapters of this dissertation.

It is noted that in constructing the Palestinian national identity the cartoons selected do not reflect the national narrative of Palestinians as documented in other sources such books. The cartoons are univocal narrative of the Palestinian story; they ignore how the Palestinian national realities and attitudes have shaped over time. Some aspects of the Palestinian national narrative that the cartoons did not comprehensively articulate, for example, are the internal disputes among the different Palestinian factions, and the transformation of the PLO as the official voice of the Palestinians and their relationship with Israel. The PLO and some Palestinian factions are

seen to be going separate ways under different influences, which in turn deepen the dichotomy of

their nation.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

This dissertation examines Palestinian political cartoons as national narratives. Still, their process is one that requires a global communication network as it opens onto the voice of the affected. In relating the voice of the affected, the context within which the affected live needs to be made evident. In *Memories of Revolt*, Ted Swedenburg characterizes it as Israel's colonial occupation over the Palestinians. Swedenburg defines "colonization" in this particular context as Zionism's aim to exclude the native Palestinians rather than "civilize them or exploit their power" (5) as in cases of "classical" colonialism. In addition to that, Zionism denies the Palestinians' right to exist in Palestine (Swedenburg). Moreover, Israeli colonization of Palestine is motivated by large-scale Jewish immigration and settlement that dispossess the indigenous Palestinians in its effort to establish a Jewish only state. Furthermore, the Israeli-Palestinian relationship is framed by "colonialism" because Israel uses the colonial-style system that Gramsci termed "domination;"[4] it uses persuasion and coercion as tools for governing the Palestinians.

This dissertation is concerned with how Palestinian and Arab political cartoons portray colonialism in the Palestinian-Israeli context; specifically how the Palestinian cartoons portray the relationship between the colonizers (The Israelis) and the colonized (the Palestinians). In performing this binary relationship, the Palestinians are not seen simply as victims; but rather the contextual frame that constitutes this binary is anticolonial nationalist machinery that rouses the colonized to overthrow the colonial order. As such, Palestinian cartoons capture popular aspirations of the indigenous Palestinians.

---

[4]Ted Swedenburg indicates this term in his *Memories of Revolt* (6).

My conceptual framework in this respect will be anchored in the works of Benedict Anderson, Frantz Fanon, David Jefferess, and Paul S. Landau. In his chapter, "Empires of the Visual," Landau focused on how images function as a tool of empire in Africa. My project, however, focuses on how Palestinian cartoons, as a tool of the colonized, help raise Palestinian national consciousness. Further, Fanon's concept of "political teaching" (159) from *The Wretched of the Earth* is key in this study to see how these cartoons stimulate Palestinian resistance by imagining a local public that exists in opposition to the Israeli occupation. In part, it is these cartoons that allow the Palestinians to identify with a community of unknown others similar to what Anderson describes when he historicizes the emergence of print capitalism as the prime cause for imagining national community.

This dissertation integrates various theoretical perspectives in presenting an empirical investigation of Palestinian cartoons. This dissertation uses the conceptual tool of metaphor and blending tracing it through anthropological, visual rhetoric, and cultural studies. Such interdisciplinary moves are integral to interpreting the selected cartoons. The following section reviews these theories.

Theoretical background and review of related literature

In their "Cartoons: Drawn jokes?" Christian F. Hempelmann and Andrea C. Samson (609) argued that "cartoons are to visual humor what jokes are to verbal humor." Although studying the humorous aspects of Palestinian cartoons falls outside of the interest of this study, it is useful to briefly review humor in some Arabic studies.

Satire is prevalent in Arabic literature, folk tales, proverbs, poetry, and *nuktah* (verbal jokes). During the Abbasid era many famous Arab literary critics and writers (i.e. Abū ʿUthmān al-Jaḥith., Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī., Khalīl al-Aṣbahānī) composed literary works, where satire and humor were basic components. According to ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-ʿUṭarī, Arabic satire and humorous anecdotes flourished during and after the

Abbasid era. Professional bards, for example, used to recite folk tales before public gatherings that were full of adventures, social and political commentaries, and moral lessons.

Another well-known historical example of such humorous anecdotes is the *Anecdotes of Joha.* Joha's anecdotes are humorous stories that are orally transmitted to this day. Khalid Kishtainy (*Arab Political Humour*) stated that "[Joha's] anecdotes became part of the oral and written folklore of the Arab world and were destined in more recent history to become sources of inspiration in the field of contemporary politics" (63). Because of their historical significance and ridiculing nature, such stories constitute a source of inspiration for some Arab humorists and cartoonists. In "The Cartoon in Egypt," Afaf L. A Marsot claimed that Joha "is a caricature of an apparent simpleton, who is in fact a fount of popular wisdom and a witty commentator of the mores and foibles of the day…" (4). Folk sayings and proverbs are also prominent forms of media in which satire is utilized. Folk sayings and proverbs "add piquancy and a semblance of savoir-faire to any conversation, since they serve to enlighten the ignorant and satirize the foolish" (Marsot 5).

The most popular form of satire is *nuktah*. *Nuktah,* or the "verbal cartoon," as Marsot referred to it, is a simple joke. *Nuktah* is a verbal caricature intended to provoke and may be considered a precursor to pictorial caricature.

Cartoons are considered a very important example of satire. In drawing animal caricatures, the Egyptian caricaturists used symbolism to communicate their grotesque and satirical messages by utilizing some human behavior and physical characteristics in these caricatures. Marsot believed that a "… cartoon in Egypt is a modern version of past satirical elements—an amalgam of [Joha's] tales, witty proverbs, *zajal* subjects, and above all the *nuktah*, for cartoon is simply a visual *nukta*—and designed to serve the very same ends" (15). Caricature constitutes another means of visual communication. Randall

P. Harrison argued that the word "caricature" comes originally from the Italian *caricature*, which means "loading" or "charging" (54). Some critics have differentiated between satire and caricature. Those critics wrote that satire refers to the use of "ridicule, irony or sarcasm to lampoon something or someone" whereas caricature refers to the use of "a picture or description ludicrously exaggerating peculiarities or defects in persons or things" (Anjali S. Bal, Pitt, Leyland Pitt, Pierre Berthon, and Philp DesAutels 231). Lawrence H. Streicher claimed that caricature must be considered as a satire in picture, or an amalgam of pictures and words. Caricature depends on differences and stereotype as major mechanisms in its depiction of people and objects. In *What Do Pictures Want*, W. J. T. Mitchell stated that caricature "takes the stereotype and deforms or disfigures it, exaggerating some features or rendering the figure of the Other in terms of some subhuman object in order to ridicule and humiliate" (20).

Caricature can be utilized in cartoons. Bal et al. identified three essential characteristics for a cartoon to work: sympathy, gap and differentiation. Mikhail Bakhtin postulated that humor sympathetically helped alleviate social tension among the public. For a cartoon to work there must also be a manifest, latent, or plausible discrepancy between the image and its actual representation in real life (Schiller, 2004). As for differentiation, the undifferentiated cannot be caricatured (W. A. Coupe). Bal et al. pointed out:

> The object of caricature must have some sort of unique attribute that differentiates the object from other objects in a given context. Critically, differentiation has two components or dimensions: physical and ideological. The physical component comprises material characteristics such as colour, size, shape and physical talents (strength, speed etc); the ideological component comprises abstract characteristics

such as intangible talents (intelligence, wisdom, luck, inspiration etc.,) ideals, values and beliefs (231).

Bal et al. provided the following definition of caricature: "Caricature can therefore be defined as the exaggeration of difference in an object of empathy so as to reveal a gap between image and reality (233).

Political cartoons are one of the oldest forms of caricature. Historicizing the origin of the political cartoon, Westin looked to Egypt and claimed that "the oldest known political caricature dates from 1360 B.C.; it was an uncomplimentary drawing of King Tutankhamen's father. That would make political cartooning definitely the oldest of the cartoon arts, with a 3300-year history" (cited in Harrison 72). This form of visual popular culture plays a critical role in the cultural and political life of the Egyptian people and their history. It continues till this day.

Thomas M. Kemnitz demonstrated that cartoons take two forms: "cartoons of opinion and joke cartoons." Cartoons of opinion, Kemnitz argued, visually communicate people's opinions and attitudes, and summarize the social and political situations, whereas joke cartoons communicate humor. Cartoons of opinion refer to those that deal "with domestic politics, social themes, and foreign affairs" (Kemnitz 82). Furthermore, cartoons of "foreign affairs" integrate political and social symbols with national ones in such a way that they can serve as an effective weapon to resist politicians' policies.

This dissertation studies cartoons that portray the social and political situation in Palestine from 1967 till 2009. Such cartoons may constitute a pictorial medium for resisting the domestic and foreign policies in Palestine. Investigating this type of cartoon does not, however, mean that humor is absent in these cartoons; humor is still integrated there but not as the principal goal of these cartoons.

Political cartoons are linguistically and culturally structured, so they need to be understood and analyzed from this perspective. To serve this end, the following sections highlight the major theories that I use in analyzing the Palestinian cartoons under question.

This dissertation investigates how Palestinian cartoons help disseminate Palestinian nationalist ideas and, consequently, raise Palestinian nationalist consciousness. Benedict Anderson's notion of nationalism and his "tentative suggestions" (4) for interpreting the concept of nationalism is key. His approach is based on modernity, secularism, and capitalism, all of which contributed to the spread of the written word by means of what he termed "print capitalism." The two major elements of print media, according to Anderson, are the newspaper and the novel. Anderson highlighted the role of print media in facilitating the mobilization of political masses. Further, Anderson showed how nationalism was constructed in Europe through a process of secularization, "the declining sanctity of imperial dynasties, and fragmentation of Europe" (Meir Litvak, *Palestinian Collective Memory* 7). Anderson argued that this process coincides with the spread of the written word and the transformation of the oral vernacular into written language.

Although there is a difference between the Palestinian historical scene and Anderson's description of the European one, his approach has some elements that explicate the emergence and the development of the Palestinian national identity. I argue that the Palestinian national identity did not arise through the breakdown of a sacred language neither through a transformation of a Palestinian oral vernacular but rather through national images (political cartoons), among other things, that appeal to literate and the illiterate alike. Political cartoons become the hallmark, because of their accessibility by literate and illiterate alike, and the mechanism of the new Palestinian "imagined community." Although non-literate people cannot read the words cartoons sometimes accompany, they can decode the visual symbols of these cartoons. Non-literate can also make their own predictions about what might be occurring in

these cartoons. Further, literate members of families who buy newspapers can have access to the cartoons and can talk about them to their non-literate parents and siblings. Literate and non-literate members of the family can then engage in a conversation about these cartoons and their possible messages.

Anderson pointed out the significance of the socio-psychological dimensions of nationalism. He defined nation as "an imagined political community imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6). His interpretation of the definition goes as follows:

> It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion… In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined… The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations… It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm… Finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as deep, horizontal comradeship (6).

Anthony Giddens also underscored the psychological and ideological aspects of nationalism. He reported that "[b]y nationalism I mean a phenomenon that is primarily psychological—the

affiliation of individuals to a set of symbols and beliefs emphasizing communality among the members of a political order" (116). In *The City of God*, St. Augustine (354-430 C. E.) saw in a people a community of values: "an assemblage of reasonable beings… bound together by a common agreement as to the objects of their love" (340). Anderson demonstrated that connectedness, belonging, and simultaneity are imagined or produced through print culture. For him, the newspaper is a major vehicle of the national print media that helps gloss over social class and race differences, and unite people to constitute a special community. Newspapers nowadays feature political cartoons. My argument in this study demonstrates that such political cartoons help people to imagine the special community that is the nation by raising a sense of solidarity and connectedness through national symbols and visual signs. Such signs, borrowing Anderson's term, fuse the world inside with the world outside to create a sense of national unity among a category of people of possibly different religious, political, and social loyalties. In this sense, nationalism becomes international "to the point that it becomes possible to speak of such things as 'Islamic nationalism'…" (Timothy Brennan 59). In order for this category to be a nation, it needs to "firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in the virtue of their shared membership of it" (Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* 7). In addition, Anderson spoke of the Islamic *Ummah* to show how Muslims of different mother tongues, nationalities, and literacies were imagined as united through signs:

> If Maguindano met Berbers in Mecca, knowing nothing of each other's languages, incapable of communicating orally, they nonetheless understood each other's ideographs, because the sacred texts they shared existed only in classical Arabic. In this sense, written Arabic functioned like Chinese characters to create a community out of signs, not sounds (13).

Anderson asserted that a group of people can formulate an "imagined community," a nation, "without linguistic communality" (123). Gellner, on one hand, argued that will and culture are important factors for the formulation of such groups which make a nation a nation. For Ernest Renan, principles such as race, language, material interest, religious affinities, geography, and military necessity are not yet adequate for the creation of a nation. Renan stated "will and spirit" (19) are what make a nation a nation. Renan further emphasized that suffering unites more than joy. Based on this literature, I argue that the Palestinian national identity is primarily shaped after the historical defeat in *al-Nakbah* (The Catastrophe), following the establishment of the State of Israel. Another historical defeat that helps construct the Palestinian national identity is the 1967 War or *al-Naksah* (The Setback). The memory of these wars constitutes a shared heritage among Palestinians. This shared heritage makes Palestinians feel they belong together; it makes them maintain an imagined identity. The Palestinian and Arab cartoons selected serve as a visual vehicle for situating the history of Palestine and tapping on the Palestinians' sense of national identity.

Literature shows that various devices and visual signs operate to formulate this "spirit" and this "will," and consequently weld individuals into a nation. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger stated that the national flag, the national anthem, and the personification of the nation in symbols and images are crucial to this task. Symbols, Kreitler posited, arouse strong feelings as they poignantly articulate the idea that all members of a community share the same destiny (cited in Karen Manor-Tamam). Therefore, cartoons deploy such symbols to thrill their audience and raise identification with their works. Manor-Tamam found that "[t]he primary myth in the Palestinian society is the *Nakbah*, which is described in the caricatures by many symbols, particularly the land and tree" (21). Such symbols, Manor-Tamam added, evoke feelings and desires for independence among the Palestinians. In this respect, Fanon argued that "[f]or a colonized people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the

land: the land which will bring bread and, above all, dignity" (36). Other such national symbols in the caricatures published in *al-Quds* during the 2000 *Intifāḍah*: the Palestinian national flag; the right to land; a key, a home and a tree; and the *kūfiyyah* (men's headdress). The Palestinian cartoonist, Ommaya Joha uses the image of a key as signature for her cartoons. The key signifies the right of return to the Palestinian refugees who left Palestine after *al-Nakbah*. The image of the key in political cartoons proves to be influential. Joha asserted to *The Christian Science Monitor* that the Israelis have censored her cartoons that featured the key. She mentioned that "For them [the Israelis] the key is like a knife" (Ben Lynfield, par 14). Such symbols tap into shared cultural heritage that makes its members feel they belong together, and paves the way to raise people's collective identity, which, according to Anderson, can be "imagined."

This study investigates the impact of the Palestinian map in the construction of the Palestinian national consciousness. "In postcolonial societies, territory carved by colonial powers often defines the nation" (reported in Litvak). Drawing of maps is essential to colonial boundaries, which helps visually bring the "imagined community" into existence. This study also benefits from another aspect of Anderson's conception of the nation as an "imagined community," particularly his argument about "modular transfer." Modular transfer refers to the ways in which the nation is "capable of being transplanted" onto regional, socio-cultural, and institutional milieus. Anderson's argument of modular transfer is as follows:

> I will be trying to argue that the creation of [the] artifacts [i.e., 'nationality, nation-ness, and nationalism'] toward the end of the eighteenth century was spontaneous distillation of a complex 'crossing' of discrete historical forces; but that, once created, they became 'modular,' capable of being transplanted, with varying degrees of self-consciousness, to a great variety of social terrains, to

merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellation (4).

Although Anderson did not provide an explanation by what he means exactly by the term "modular" (4), Manu Goswami suggested that the concept may refer "to the path-independent and translocal transplantation of particular nationalist models through time and across space" (779). This case is applicable to the Palestinian one where some nationalist mythmakers attempt to transpose the characteristics of the previous successful nationalist movements to their own.

Constructing a unique collective memory is an essential strategy for disseminating national consciousness among the Palestinians. Some researchers (i.e. Pierre Nora and Yael Zerubavel) defined collective memory as "how members of society remember and interpret events, how the meaning of the past is constructed, and how it is modified over time" (cited in Litvak 12). Commemorating historical and nationalistic events among members of a shared heritage helps construct a collective memory. The memory these historical and nationalist events evoke highlights the unique identity of that group. One means through which such historical and nationalistic commemorations take place is political cartoons. In *Political Cartoons*, Janis Edwards explained that "[c]artoons contribute to collective memory by historizing the present" (61). Such commemorations construct nationalism by deploying "the available repositories of the past and selects fragments or elements of past periods, events, symbols, or heroes from which it creates a new unified collective past" (Litvak 14). In *Memories of Revolt*, Swedenburg observed that Palestinians during the 1936-1939 Revolt used particular local discourse in order to make nationalism comprehensible. Such local idioms include cultural concepts like shame (*al-'ār*), land (*al-arḍ*), women ([*al-mar'ah*]), the family ([*al-ḥamūlah*]). He emphasized that the Palestinian national memory is constructed through the celebration of admirable actions, and

events as well as heroic figures "whose actions and characters seemed to sum up everything positive and admirable about the Palestinian nation and people" (103). Through this commemoration of such events and heroic figures, Palestinian cartoons tap on those aesthetic values, virtues, and cultural principles that constitute the shared heritage of the Palestinians. Based on this literature, I expect that Palestinian and Arab political cartoon deploy core Palestinian cultural symbols.

The Palestinian and Arab political cartoons deploy familiar symbols and cultural concepts to communicate political messages to the Palestinian-Arab viewers. Karl W. Deutsch argued that "[i]n so far as a common culture facilitates communication, it forms a community" (88). This study, therefore, draws on cultural anthropology in interpreting the cultural symbols that are prevalent in Palestinian cartoons. Geertz posited that in order to interpret a culture, one must interpret its symbols. Such an approach provides me with the conceptual framework that enables me to decipher the Palestinian symbols employed in the cartoons and the cultural meanings they generate. Geertz asserted that "'[c]ulture' denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life" (89). As such, Geertz provided examples like the "number 6" and "the Cross." He further argued that these are symbols "because they are tangible formulations of notions, abstractions from experience fixed in perceptible forms, concrete embodiments of ideas, attitudes, judgments, longings, or beliefs" (91). I believe that his approach will also enable me to see how Palestinian cultural symbols help construct the Palestinian identity.

In order to interpret the images, readers need to be able to decode symbols. Therefore, a systematic analysis of the characteristics of the symbols employed by political cartoons under question will yield useful information about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Three schools that study these symbols in the sociological field were suggested: the 'realistic' school, "nominalistic" school, and the "transactional" school (See Sasha R. Weitman for further

information on these schools). This study will adopt the "transactional" school for the analysis of Palestinian cartoons. According to the 'transactional' school:

> … symbols have no intrinsic meanings other than those which have been assigned to them by real people in interaction. [This school also] focuses on (1) the social process by which symbols are created and meanings assigned to them 'the social construction of reality', and (2) the social conflicts to which these processes give rise ('the politics of reality') (330).

This study seeks to investigate the different cultural symbols the Arab and Palestinian cartoons will employ for constructing the Palestinian national identity. Among these symbols, I argue, is the Palestinian traditional headscarf (or the *kūfiyyah*). In his investigation of the Palestinian symbols used to commemorate memories of revolt and resistance, Swedenburg (*Memories of Revolt*) found that *Fidā'yyūn* (Palestinian guerrillas) revived the *kūfiyyah* and used it "as an emblem of national struggle and as an image of unity" (35) in their struggle against Israel. I expect that the cartoons surveyed will tap on the Palestinian national consciousness by incorporating images of the *kūfiyyah*, the symbol of communal bond and revolutionary gesture.

Constructing the Palestinian national identity is not the only symbolic function of the *kūfiyyah*. Flags also symbolize nations. The connection between flags and nations serves to foster the idea that, like flags flying freely in the wind, nation-states are "indestructible and immortal" (Weitman 337). Weitman argued that flags are associated with some general features such as 'reality,' 'vitality,' 'sacredness,' and 'supremacy.' National flags, as implied in these features, communicate various principles, values, and virtues. Flags are also deemed to be emotionally

powerful. Raymond Firth (*Symbols* 352) claimed that flags used to "evoke powerful emotions of identification with a group [(a nation)]." Flags are sacred symbols, which help connect members of a particular group with their land. Firth stated that this "cult of the flag" (351) has an emotional resonance among members of a nation that may eventually end up in a collective self-sacrifice. Flags function as a vehicle of solidarity.

Political cartoons used various symbols to represent international figures, foreign countries, and abstract ideas. They used, for example, Uncle Sam as a reference to the United States, and the white dove and olive branch to symbolize peace. Symbols such as Uncle Sam were originally invented by cartoonists (Edwards, *Political Cartoons*). Akman illustrated that "[t]hese symbols became the standard narrative in war-related cartoons" (136). The Statue of Liberty is also one of the common symbols in political cartoons for its various powerful symbolic significations. In "The universal appeal of the Statue of Liberty," Christian Blanchet stated that "the statue symbolized the ascendancy of liberty, enlightenment, and progress, reflecting timeless and universal aspirations" (37). Cartoonists appropriate the Statue in their drawings to achieve various goals ranging from "support[ing] the liberalization of immigration laws… condemn[ing] war [to] mobiliz[ing] sympathy for the poor, and advocat[ing] or condemn[ing] countless other causes" (Bertrand Dard 71). He showed that the Statue of Liberty comes to "symbolize the dynamism and prosperity of America's free society" (73). The cartoons surveyed in this study will make use of some of these symbols in their articulation of the Palestinian collective and national identity. Such symbols will make the Palestinians feel they belong together; the symbols emotionally bound them, the symbols make them maintain an imagined identity.

In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson argued that "nationalism has to be understood, by aligning it not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which—as well as against which—it came into being" (12). Religious symbols constitute part of this cultural system, which helps construct national consciousness

among the populace. In this respect, Sariel Birnbaum ("Historical Discourse") argued that the Palestinian national identity, in using religious symbols, was not constructed based on racial or ethnic ground but rather was the outcome of the Palestinian struggle against the Israeli occupation. Such religious symbols largely appeal to emotions especially among a religious-oriented society like the Palestinian one. Jerusalem has enjoyed a special status among Muslims around the world in general and among Palestinians, Muslims and Christians alike. It is expected that the Palestinian cartoons will deploy some religious symbols (i.e., Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsá Mosque etc.) in their articulation of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Such symbols aim at raising both the Muslims and Christians' religious emotions to produce a nationalist community as a method of mobilization.

Constructing an "imagined community" also involves "imagining of the self, and the linking of the self with a category" (Michael Billig 186). John C. Turner argued that identity can be constructed through "intergroup relations in the light of the general process of social categorization by which individuals structure and simplify their social environment by grouping people into meaningful categories" (cited in Sanchez-Mazas 329). In accordance with this theory, people categorize themselves as group members, and then tend to differentiate their own group (ingroup) from others (outgroup) for constructing their own identity. Later, Turner provided a framework to describe this categorization and called it "Self-categorization Theory." He argued that a positive ingroup self-identity is psychologically hinging on differentiating the ingroup from the outgroup. To put it differently, to have a positive ingroup self-identity, the self needs to link itself with the ingroup category. Therefore, it is expected that the cartoons surveyed will send visual messages that aim at creating antagonistic relationships towards the Israelis (outgroup), and establishing cohesive ties among the Palestinians (ingroup). The purpose of this categorization is to construct a "hostile imagination" (Sam Keen, *Faces of the Enemy*) to justify the Palestinian communal resistance.

Another theory that accounts for the ingroup and outgroup categorization is the Realistic Conflict Theory. LeVine and Campbell argued:

> According to realistic conflict theory, the psychological consequences of goal incompatibilities (which are themselves objectively/socially determined) manifest themselves in the form of an increase in (1) the perception of threat to the ingroup, (2) the feelings of hostility toward the outgroup which is perceived to be the source of threat, (3) ingroup solidarity, (4) the salience of ingroup identity, (5) the tightening of group boundaries, (6) negative stereotyping of the outgroup, and (7) ethnocentric behavior (cited in Asaad Azzi 77).

In addition to these factors, Turner emphasized the role of having a shared history among the members of the ingroup community in building their national identity. He also emphasized that "perceiving oneself as 'belonging together'" (60) is another determinant of intragroup cohesion. Based on this literature, groups can self-categorize/conceive themselves as friends and foes in their pursuit of their distinctive national community. This antagonistic categorization is intensified by political ideologies (Azzi). Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's *Hegemony* defined antagonism as a radical threat to the individual and collective survival of a particular community:

> … in the case of antagonism… the presence of the 'Other' prevents me from being totally myself… (it is because a peasant cannot be a peasant that an

antagonism exists with the landowner who is expelling him from his land).

Insofar as there is antagonism, I cannot be a full presence for myself (125).

Further, in *Faces of the Enemy* Sam Keen examined how the image of the enemy is constructed in the history of political propaganda. He found that throughout history the "hostile imagination" relies on dehumanizing the "Other." He provided the following archetypal images of the enemy: the enemy as a stranger, aggressor, faceless, an enemy of God, barbarian, beastlike and as death itself. Zeina Massri followed Laclau and Mouffe's model in her investigation of the political posters that prevailed during the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990). She argued that "[e]ach political community's identity is equally the result of antagonistic relations taking place between the different communities that make up the socio-political space of the Lebanese civil war" (16). Massri also posited that the political posters drawn during the Lebanese Civil War "act as sites of hegemonic struggle" (17). I hypothesize that the cartoons surveyed will construct the Palestinian distinct national identity in opposition to the "hostile Other." This construction relies on pictorially representing the "hostile Other" in dehumanizing, barbaric, treacherous, and uncivilized images. These negative images are in turn likely to produce feelings of anxiety, fear, and hate of the "Other." These images and feelings will result in a "hostile imagination" that "justifies and legitimizes" Palestinian communal struggle.

In light of these theories, I argue that disseminating visual antagonistic messages— through the cartoons surveyed— towards the foe (Israel) help shape the Palestinian national identity. This antagonism is shaped because of the Israeli repressive and ideological apparatus in colonial Palestine, as perceived by Palestinians. The United States' support for the Israeli

colonial practices contributes to this antagonism. Members of the Palestinian community who experience or feel this hostility conceive themselves as one group (ingroup) with a shared identity. In "Constitutive Violence," Glenn Bowman argued that the Palestinian national movements emerged when "tensions, and incompatibilities between groups occupying those territories, were interpreted in ways which split the field of sociality into domains of the nation and its enemy" (321). Palestinians construct their national identity in relation to countering the antagonism towards the foe (Israel). Palestinians construct their identity by conceiving themselves as "we" in opposition to the Israeli violation of human rights and confiscation of their lands. In a nutshell, Palestinian cartoons help mobilize the Palestinian populace against these Israel's practices by visually depicting these practices as a threat to the Palestinians' survival.

Nation can also be constructed "on and through gender" (Jan J. Pettman 45). Some studies show that the image of women in political cartoons serves as an emotional vehicle for national promotion. Fatma Gocek ("Political Cartoons") analyzed the portrayal of women and war in Ottoman political cartoons from 1908-1923 and found that women were depicted during periods of war as "a national symbol, the guardian of continuity and immutability of the nation and the embodiment of its respectability" (65). Gocek also found that women appeared as "mothers." Many studies that investigated the role of the female figure in constructed nations found that "nation is frequently represented as a woman under threat of violation and dominations" (Pettman 49). Such a depiction arouses emotions among its members who should "sacrifice for her safety and for her … honor" (Pettman 49). In light of this discussion, the Palestinian cartoons may offer female figures as a site for the construction of the Palestinian national identity under colonial rule. The female figures generate emotions that enable Palestinians to maintain an imagined identity, which in turn produces a moral obligation to protect the woman. Several studies have shown that there is a tight connection between women and nation. Tina Lintunen (17), for example, stated that "[w]omen have an important part in the

construction of a positive self-portrait. They often get to represent the purity of the nation."
While Joane Nagel (254) concluded that "women are thought by traditionalists to embody family
and national honour; women's shame is the family's shame, the nation's shame, the man's
shame." These studies show how women come to represent nations. Women play a central role in
creating communal feelings among members of a particular community. The following Arabic
traditional adage captures this national role: "الأم تلمّ" *The mother brings people together*. This
unifying role is exploited at a larger scale when mothers became a metaphor of nations: Mother
as nation.

Speaking of tropes, this dissertation also utilizes concepts used widely in semiotics:
metaphor (George Lakoff and Mark Johnson) and blending (George Lakoff and Mark Turner,
Seana Coulson Todo Oakley, Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, and Benjamin Bergen). These
concepts function as modes of signification (generating meanings). Lakoff and Johnson
developed what is called "Conceptual Metaphor Theory" through their thesis that human thought
is largely metaphorical in nature and that this is expressed through language. They provided
insight to the notion of metaphor as follows: "The essence of metaphor is understanding and
experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (5). Based on this definition, they showed
how metaphor is not "a novel, substitutive language strategy, but rather a method of mapping the
meaning of a concrete, salient concept onto a more abstract, less tangible concept" (Steve Duman
and Miriam A. Locher 199). An extension of Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory
is Blending Theory by Fauconnier and Turner. Instead of depicting the relationship between the
"source" and the "target," the two elements in any metaphorical mapping, Blending Theory
presents two (or more) "input spaces" (Charles Forceville, "Metaphor"). Forceville further stated
these "input spaces have both shared and unique characteristics, and it is this combination that
allows for the construal of so-called "blended spaces"" (380). An example of blending takes
place in the cartoons that appeared in the week following September 11, 2001: "fire fighters

erecting a flag on the rubble of the World Trade Center with the famous image of the flag going up on Iwo Jima" (Bergen 6).

Blending and metaphor can be deployed together within the same image. It is argued that metaphor and blending are among linguistic devices political cartoons employ to depict a powerful rhetorical marriage.[5] This rhetorical marriage helps create unity within cartoons. Noël Carroll called this fusion "homospatiality" in which objects (human or non-human) are blended and combined within the same space. "An example [of this visual fusion] is a head of an animal with a body of a human in a single visual text" (Mazid 439). Homospatiality can then function, among other things, as a medium to transfer moral messages (Perry Jr L. Curtis), and to disparage the person(s) portrayed. As such cartoonists enjoy more freedom of expression than other political commentators thanks to the nature of their medium. Jerry Adler and Jane Whitmore commented that cartoonists are able "… to commit outrages that would read like lunacy in print" (78). Because of their ambiguous nature, political cartoons can sometimes safely transfer political criticism. Dominic Strinati explained that the multiplicity of meanings embedded within political cartoons would enable different audiences to interpret these cartoons differently based on the world around them (as cited in Gocek). This ambiguity of cartoons, especially in societies that do not enjoy freedom of speech, enable cartoonists to express their frustrations and desires openly (Marsot, "Humor"). Because of their ambiguity, Arab and Palestinian cartoons will refer to metaphor and blending to criticize Israel (the main foe), the United States, the dormant Arab leadership and the UN, the key players in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Some cartoons feature personification in their depiction of political events. Katie Wales defined personification as a "trope in which an inanimate object, animate non-human, or abstract

---

[5]See Ray Morris; Matthew Diamond; Bergen; Ilan Danjoux; and Bahaa-Eddin M. Mazid.

quality is given human attributes" (294). Lakoff and Johnson regarded personification as a type of metaphor when discussing the example of "INFLATION IS AN ADVERSARY:"

> Viewing something as abstract as inflation in human terms has an explanatory power of the only sort that makes sense to most people. When we are suffering substantial economic losses due to complex economic and political factors that no one really understands, the INFLATION IS AN ADVERSARY metaphor at least gives us a coherent account of why we're suffering these losses (34).

Personification is a common technique in political cartoons that enables cartoonists to represent complex ideas and concepts as simple ones, or to have one individual stand for a nation.

Liliana Bounegru and Charles Forceville ("Metaphors in Editorial Cartoons") showed that visual metaphor is "rooted in conceptual metaphors" (225) because of the strong verbal connections to pictorial and multimodal discourses (Charles Forceville; Charles Forceville and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi; John M. Kennedy, Christopher D. Green, and John Vervaeke). This study will draw on pictorial metaphor theory in its analysis of the political cartoons under question. The following section will present the theory of visual metaphor in more details and discusses the basic terminology utilized in this theory.

Bounegru and Forceville stated that pictorial metaphor consists of "target" and "source" that are "exclusively or predominantly cued in the visual mode" (212). For Bounegru and Forceville, in "my wife is a moon," for instance, "my wife" is the target and "moon" is the source. If "my wife is a moon" is represented through visual information where readers can sufficiently cue the conceptual link between "my wife," target, and "moon," it is called pictorial

or monomodal. Bounegru and Forceville argued that a political cartoon may involve both the verbal and visual modalities in the construal of a metaphor, and in this case the metaphor is a "multimodal metaphor." Charles Forceville ("Metaphor") defined multimodal metaphors as "metaphors in which target, source, and/or mappable features [connotations] are represented or suggested by at least two different sign systems (one of which may be language)" (463). Further, Forceville ("Metaphor") explained that for a metaphor to be multimodal needs to have the following factors:

1. Given the context in which they occur, the two phenomena belong to different categories.

2. The two phenomena can be slotted as target and source, respectively, and captured in an A IS B format that forces or invites an addressee to map one or more features, connotations, or affordances (Ginson, 1979: chp. 8) from source or target.

3. The two phenomena are cued in more than one sign system, sensory mode, or both (469).

The construal of pictorial (monomodal) and multimodal metaphors is largely unexplored territory in political cartoons and this study therefore extends Forceville's view of visual metaphor as applied to advertisements to political cartoons.

Few studies have explored the role of visual metaphor in understanding political cartoons. Bounegru and Forceville investigated the role of visual and verbal modalities in analyzing 30

political cartoons that portray the 2008 global financial crisis. They found that "political cartoons pertaining to the global crisis rely heavily on pictorial and multimodal metaphors, and that these are rooted in conceptual metaphors" (225). In "Understanding Visual Metaphor," Elizabeth El Refaie analyzed cartoons in Austrian newspapers "to explore the ways in which metaphors are expressed in visual mode" (75). El Refaie found that "the depiction of an abstract entity in the visual mode is utterly impossible without the mediation of metaphors" (91). She goes on to say that since "the boundaries between the literal and the metaphorical are fuzzy and highly context-dependent," the "metaphors must always be studied within their socio-political context" (75).

My analysis of the Arab and Palestinian cartoons adopts visual metaphor theory as discussed by Bounegru and Forceville, and Forceville and Urios-Aparisi. This analysis aims to see how the pictorial and verbal modes of expressions are used to create metaphors. After all, metaphor, blending, condensation, and symbolism are rhetorical strategies aimed at "meaning-making" and function within a broader "repertoire of cultural evaluation" (Michele Lamont and Laurent Thevenot 1).

Some scholars commented on the importance of metaphor in political cartoons. In *Political Cartoons*, Edwards remarked that cartoons "create new worlds of understanding" because they "condense meaning through metaphor" (8). R. Morris called compressing large social groups into one stereotypical image a "condensation," which usually occurs in political cartoons. Moreover, this visual discourse illustrates how these cartoons transfer abstract concepts (i.e. Grudge towards Israel) and political messages (i.e. criticizing the UN, the Arab leaders etc.) into concrete ones through a reference of visual and linguistic symbols embodied in cartoons. Metaphor also serves to simplify the cartoons' messages. Michael DeSousa argued that "by reducing complex issues to simple analogic or metaphoric forms, the cartoonist provides the reader with an attractive illusion of understanding" (225). Similarly, in "Understanding Visual Metaphor" El Refaie mentioned that the significance of metaphor to the analysis of political

cartoons lies in its ability to "represent the unknown, unresolved or problematic in terms of something more familiar and more easily imaginable" (84). In sum, this structuralist approach of metaphor and blending may deepen our understanding of how the political cartoons portray political conflicts by means of employing simple concepts to stand for complicated ones, and "individuals to stand for groups" or countries (R. Morris 195). Further, the rhetorical cogency of deploying metaphor and blending in drawing political cartoons stems from the fact that these linguistic tools allow the audience to figure out the intent of the images, which could be polysemous, and to perhaps disavow any specific intent on the part of the cartoonists. So, this study hopes that its findings contribute to a better understanding of the role of blending and metaphor in understanding political cartoons as a visual mode of communication. It is hoped that this study will contribute to the theory of image-text interaction.

This project studies the interaction between the pictorial images and words. Key to my project will be *Mythologies* by Ronald Barthes, *Understanding Comics* by Scott McCloud, and *Reading Images* by W. J. T. Mitchell, and Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen which provided insights about the nature and the significance of such an interaction. McCloud defined comics as: "[j]uxtaposed pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence, intended to convey information and/or produce an aesthetic response in the viewer" (9). He also looked at the different ways of how texts contribute to this process of generating meaning. Kress and Van Leeuwen argued that verbal and visual messages "intermesh and interact at all times" (40). Expanding on this discussion, Mitchell argued that separating literacy from visuality is "useless for the purposes of genuine historical criticism" (173). Barthes is wary about absolute coherence and asserted that:

… the text most often simply amplifi[es] a set of connotations already given in the photograph. Sometimes, however, the text produces (invents) an entirely new

signified which is retroactively projected into the image…Sometimes too, the text can even contradict the image so as to produce a compensatory connotation (27).

Barthes explained that the text functions within processes he described as "anchorage" or "relay," or through a combination of both. In anchorage, the text orientates the reading of the image towards a particular connotative mapping, and delimits others. Whereas in relay (reinforce), the text and image complement each other; each providing extra information that is not communicated by the other.

The works cited above this dialogic nature of words and images will enable me to better understand the connotative messages of Palestinian cartoons and identify their signification. In this respect, El Refaie's defined verbality "as language which is located in close proximity to the image and which is intended to be read in direct conjunction with it" (86). To fully decipher the possible message an image carries, however, the reader may need to grasp a good understanding of both the denotational and connotational messages of that image and the relationship among them. In *The Rhetoric of Image*, Ronald Barthes argued that "[t[he totality of the information is thus carried by two different structures (one of which is linguistic)" (16). This discussion of the linguistic and visual signs illuminates the image-text relationship. Barthes added that words serve to amplify and burden images with various cultural and aesthetic moral and imaginative meanings. These various meanings may render the cartoons ambiguous.

Political cartoons are ambiguous by nature: They convey polysemous meanings. In *Image and Word* Jefferson Hunter commented on the role of pictures and captions in interpreting and understating the message(s) of an image, and solving its ambiguity. He asserted that the linguistic text solves the ambiguity of the image: "a photograph is always an object in a context, and the context is determined most obviously by the words next to the photograph" (11). The linguistic

messages that, at times, accompany cartoons may help resolve this ambiguity. In this regard, Barthes in *The Rhetoric of Image* claimed that "[t]he text helps to identify purely and simply the elements of the scene itself [and] directs the reader through the signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others" (39-40). Barthes even suggested that images should take a primary role over words. Intensifying and yet anticipating a difference to Barthes, Mitchell in *Picture Theory* claimed when he termed "pictorial turn" (11) that "[p]ictures with captions were easily transformed into talking pictures; within a few years there would be traffic in the other direction too" (21). As for Mitchell (*Picture Theory*), "[t]he normal structure of … image-text involves the straightforward discursive or narrative suturing of the verbal and visual: texts explain, narrate, describe, label, speak for (or to) the photographs; photographs illustrate, exemplify, clarify ground, and document the text" (94). Verbality helps contextualize the image. Here I hypothesize that the cartoons surveyed will refer to texts in their drawings to support the pictorial image, reveal its ambiguity (if any) and/or help interpret its possible message(s).

Since Barthes's concept of "anchorage" and "relay" are not enough to describe mutual relationships between the visual and verbal modes of signification, this study also draws on McCloud's work. In *Understanding Comics*, McCloud (153-163) mentioned seven ways in which the visual and verbal modes of signification combine in comics. McCloud called the first way "word specific" (153) where pictures explain but do not play a significant role in interpreting the meaning of the text. The second way is "picture specific" (153), where words are "a sound track" (153) to images. The third way is "duo-specific" (153), where words and pictures signify the same message. The fourth way is "additive" (154), where words amplify an image, or an image amplifies words. The fifth way is "parallel combinations, words and pictures seem to follow very different courses-without intersecting" (154). The sixth way is "montage," "where words are treated as integral parts of the picture" (154). According to McCloud, "word specific" and 'image specific' can combine together in comics where one mode conveys the meaning whereas the other adds no important signification. In addition, the two modes can be

"independent" (155) such that readers need to look at both to decode the image's meaning (McCloud). He, nevertheless, emphasized that "the most common type of word/picture marriage is the 'interdependent' where words and picture go hand in hand to convey an idea that neither could convey alone" (155). Barthes labeled this "relay." Martin Thomas ("Developing Multimodal Texture") demonstrated that combining the visual and the verbal modes to reinforce the same message of an image results in what he called "cohesion" across the image. He affirmed that "… cohesion is realized through a combination of both linguistic and graphic resources" (53). I believe that this cohesion results in a unifying narrative of the story the cartoons under investigation communicate, namely the story of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Several studies have analyzed political cartoons about the Middle East, particularly the Arab-Israel conflict. Joanne B. Modlin examined political cartoons as a source of information as well as headlines and editorials from six American newspapers to see the American perceptions of the Arab-Israeli conflict. She examined five events: the wars of 1956, 1967, 1973, 1982, and the peace process of 1977-1978. She found that political cartoons offer a more effective source of information of political events than headlines and editorials. In a different study, George H. Damon analyzed cartoons about the Middle East from four newspapers: *The New York Times*, *The Boston Globe*, *The Christian Science Monitor* and *The San Francisco Chronicle*. These cartoons covered four major events in the Middle East conflict: The 1948 War; the Sinai of 1956 (launched by Israel, with the backing of Britain and France, to attack Egypt); the 1967 War; and the 1973 War (Between Egypt and Israel). He found that cartoons for the four wars fell into several categories. One category includes "cartoons which attack Israel[i] leaders, use an Israeli stereotype and are anti-Israeli by implication respectively (146).

Few written sources documented everyday life in Palestine under the occupation. Visual culture, among other means (i.e. oral culture (Randa Farah)), played a vital role in portraying the personal and the humanitarian experiences, and the displacement practices exerted by Israel. Joe Sacco's book, *Footnotes in Gaza*, for instance, is an example of such a portrayal. Using comic

strips, Sacco documented the stories narrated by the residents of the Gaza Strip about "the large scale-killing of civilians in Khan Younis in 1956" (ix). Sacco collected such information from the people who witnessed the incidents by interviewing them. He then put the oral stories in comic strips. Mary N. Layoun commented that "…Sacco's unique engagement with the comics genre offers a particularly efficacious way to understand the meaning-making process that occurs in coming to understand historical or political or personal complexity and relationship" (315). Sacco's visual work helps maintain memories of political events that were omitted or not documented in books. Such a visual depiction helps remember the suffering of the Palestinians and imagine the Palestinian community. This dissertation follows the footsteps of Sacco's work but through a different, though related, visual medium: political cartoons.

Investigating the history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict through visual images from an Arabic and Palestinian-Arab perspective has been neglected in scholarship. My study offers a unique way of studying this conflict through political cartoons that the official history glosses over. These cartoons offer a different way to learn about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict— different from that of the conventional political and diplomatic media, political documents and decrees, and other resources. Investigating the history of the Palestine-Israeli conflict through a visual medium enables us to see the history beyond the dominant state-centric view, which polemically documents history to satisfy the political agenda of state power. Details of the Palestinians' day-to-day interaction under occupation are dropped from the historical records and even from media channels such as TVs and radios: Cartoons incorporate elements of local customs, traditions, and daily life in rich, stylized graphic details. The study will shed light on these details as shown in the cartoons. Attention to such details, alongside history and politics, offers a fuller chronicle of the nature of the conflict than political and diplomatic scholarship alone can provide. In doing so, this study re-writes the Palestinian history, frees it from the

Israeli-political agenda or external influences: Palestinian cartoons function as a pictorial constitution for revision of the Israeli-historical narrative.

Political cartoons convey critical and sharp messages in sometimes indirect manner. This function of cartoons provides writers in the Arab world, who do not dare to publish and/or are prohibited from publishing such messages, with the opportunity to express their opinions more freely. Furthermore, my study examines the impact of real colonial experience on the performance of the Palestinian cartoonists. In other words, how living under colonization shapes the dynamics of drawing political cartoons. This study also helps me explore a new language to describe the Palestinian experience under colonization.

CHAPTER TWO

TOWARD ARAB/PALESTINIAN NATIONALISM: IN PRAISE OF HEROISM AND UNITY

"Nations are not formed in a day; the formation requires years."

-M. K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*, or Indian Home Rule (4)

This chapter analyses political cartoons in three national Arabic newspapers: *al-Baʿth* (Syria); *al-Nahār* (Lebanon); and *al-Ahrām* (Egypt). These political cartoons have three central foci: the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the aftermath of the Six Day War in June 1967; Black September (1970), in which Jordanian forces and the Palestinian guerrillas clashed; and the Israeli War on Lebanon in 2006. I have selected cartoons from two prominent Palestinian cartoonists, namely, Nājī al-ʿAlī and Omayya Joha to underscore the last two foci.[6] These political events are rich in political and cultural significance are providing specific and complex insights into the history of Palestine.

Although this study does not cover the period 1948, the date 1948 is important in the history of Palestine since it witnessed the establishment of the State of Israel. I will make reference to this date throughout the dissertation because it plays a vital role in the construction of the Arab collective memory and national identity. Meir Litvak (*Palestinian Collective Memory* 97) explained that the construction of the Palestinian national history from the 1920s to 1967 "favored a pan-Arab narrative." Therefore, I will sometimes use the expressions *Arab collective memory/identity* to speak in the name of *Palestinian collective memory/identity*. In *Power and the Palestinian Press*, Orayb A. Najjar postulated that the Palestinian press during the Ottoman

---

[6]Nājī al-ʿAlī's cartoon is obtained from al-ʿAlī's oldest son, Khālid al-ʿAlī, through a personal communication with him. Al-ʿAlī is originally published in the Kuwaiti newspaper *al-Siyāsah*. Omayya Joha's cartoon is published in *al-Hayāt al-Jadīdah* newspaper.

period (1870-1917) "was a press that advocated first Arab and then Palestinian nationalism, setting the time for the press that is still with us today" (89). In the ensuing section, I will present a brief historical background of the 1948 and 1967 wars and their impact on the life of the Palestinians, which help situate my argument in this chapter.

Since the late 19th century, the Zionist movement has worked hard to establish a "homeland for the Jewish people." Charles Smith (*Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*) argued that because of the Holocaust, "the Allies should exert all possible efforts to take in refugees. Equally important was their demand that Palestine now be recognized as a Jewish state to house those who survived" (167). The Zionists' endeavors bore fruit when they established their Jewish state on May 14, 1948 after a massive immigration of Jews to Palestine. This establishment of the State of Israel resulted in a series of confrontations with the Palestinians and wars with the neighboring Arab states. One of the major wars was called the 1948 War or the Palestine War. Smith stated that on May 14, 1948, "armies from Arab states [Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and Jordan] invaded Arab Palestine and the new Israeli state, sparking a new round of warfare" (201). The war resulted in a huge defeat to the Arab armies on all fronts. For the Israelis, the 1948 War is 'the War of Independence' whereas Arabs call it *al-Nakbah* (Euqene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim). Commenting on this war, Rogan and Shlaim stated that "[t]he Palestine War lasted less than twenty months, from the United Nations (UN) resolution recommending the partition of Palestine in November 1947 to the final armistice agreement signed between Israel and Syria in July 1949." The partition took place after the termination of the British Mandate aiming at creating independent Arab and Jewish states living side by side. This historical event transformed the history of the Middle East. Around 700,000 Palestinian

people fled or were expelled from Palestine and became refugees in different neighboring Arab states.

Another major war that took place between Israel and the neighboring Arab states is the Six Day War. For some time, a period of high tension existed between Israel, Egypt, Syria and Jordan which turned to war between June 5th and 10th, 1967. Israel launched surprise air strikes against Arab forces. Israel won the war and captured the Gaza Strip, the Jordanian West Bank and East Jerusalem, the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula, and the Syrian Golan Heights. Arabs name this war *al-Naksah* (The Setback). Arabs chose this name because they suffered great losses.

Meir Litvak (29) stated that "… the term *al-Nakbah* expresses the enormity of a disaster that was inexplicably and unexpectedly inflicted on the Palestinian people (and its Arab allies) by an outside force [Israel]." Litvak further argued that "[t]he defeat resulted in the establishment of the State of Israel on about 78 percent of historical Palestine [from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea**]** and the uprooting of about 650,000 people." These two wars left a massive construction in the occupied Arab lands and a chronic Arab bitterness towards the Jewish state. Ernest Renan argued that such a horrific heritage needs to be experienced for nationalism to be constructed. This perhaps explains why "[t]he *Nakbah* became a sanctified symbol of identity" (Litvak 35), and that *al-Naksah* serves as a "site of memory" that taps national consciousness among Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular. The memory of *al-Nakbah* and *al-Naksah* connects all Palestinians regardless of their social class, religious background, and political affiliations to a common and transformative point in history. It is the point when they lost their homeland; and it is the point that created the refugees problem, dispersion (*Shatāt*), as it is referred to in the national discourse. Further, in the aftermath of *al-Nakbah* Israel has changed the cultural and physical environment of the Palestinian land by obliterating hundreds of

Palestinian villages, and changing their names into Hebrew ones. The Israelis erased around 418 villages in the aftermath of *al-Nakbah* and changed the names of the cities, towns, and even the streets.

This memory of suffering has propelled Palestinians towards armed struggle as a means for national liberation. According to Rogan and Shlaim, Arab motives for this armed struggle vary from "domestic agendas" to "national interests" shaped by national discourse. Therefore, the construction of a national identity emerges. The use of "print media" to recruit Arabs and Palestinians to join an armed struggle against the Jewish state is representative of an emergence of a modern Palestinian "imagined community" (Benedict Anderson). Political cartoons constitute the most popular form of print media used to achieve this goal as in the case of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Since none of the Palestinian newspapers featured any political cartoons during the Six Day War, it is relevant to examine political cartoons published about Palestine during this same period across three national Arab newspapers, namely *al-Ba'th* (Syria); *al-Nahār* (Lebanon); and *al-Ahrām* (Egypt).[7] In addition to their physical proximity to the center of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees live in these countries. Michael Dumper stated that "[b]y the time of the signing of the armistice agreements [between the Arab states and the new State of Israel] in 1949, approximately 750,000 Palestinians had fled to neighboring countries [Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt] to be temporarily housed in refugee camps or with relatives" (37). He further argued that the main two flows of Palestinian refugees in Syria took place after the establishment of the State of Israel between 1948-1949, and

---

[7]I did not find any Palestinian newspapers featuring cartoons during these two major wars. This can be attributed the Israeli strict censorship during that time.

after the 1967 War. Until 1956, there were over a half million Palestinian refugees residing in Jordan, and 100, 000 refugees in 1951 residing in Lebanon, and nearly 200,000 "were crammed into the Gaza Strip, under Egyptian rule" (Smith 227). These newspapers found it very important to cover the Palestinian political events in both their headlines and editorials. Also, Palestine enjoys a unique historical and religious status symbolized by Jerusalem. These newspapers circulated in Palestine and, therefore, helped disseminate national consciousness among the Palestinian populace.

In light of this discussion, I argue that these political cartoons help shape Palestinian national identity. The ingredients for this national identity include a shared "heritage" or history and the concomitant belief that such a heritage is "unique" (Litvak; Abiola F. Irele; Yael Zerubavel; John R. Gillis). The memory of *al-Nakbah* and *al-Naksah* is what primarily constitutes this Palestinian historical heritage in the years 1948-1967, and afterword, which in turn constitutes the Palestinian national identity.[8] Depicting the memory of *al-Naksah* and *al-Nakbah* in the Palestinian and Arab political cartoons helps situate the history of Palestine, and taps on the Palestinians' national identity. In *Memories of Revolt*, Ted Swedenburg reflected that "[t]he national past serves as one of the fundamental discursive procedure of identity" (155). These cartoons serve as a discourse of remembering against the destruction caused by the Israeli occupation during these two wars. They in turn mobilize the Palestinians to imagine hope of return (i.e. for the refugees) and national liberation. This hope produces a collective identity among these members and makes them feel they belong together. Simultaneously, these cartoons will constitute a vehicle for generating the emotional attitudes of the Palestinians' experience

---

[8]Since none of the newspapers under investigation features any cartoons about *al-Nakbah*, I will restrict my argument to *al-Naksah*.

during the occupation. Arguably, political cartoons about Palestine employed strategies geared to inciting and mobilizing Palestinian national consciousness against Israel. Such cartoons adopt sites of international memory to transplant an "imagined community," equivalent to the Islamic concept of *Ummah* (Islamic community of believers), among Arabs and Palestinians through commemoration of the characteristics of the previous successful nationalist movements and historical and nationalistic events.

Figure 1. Bayādir Ṣādiq, *al-Nahār,* **June 6, 1967**

This cartoon, depicting four young soldiers struggling in a barren place to raise a flag with the word *Filasṭīn* (*Palestine*) on top of a hill, was published in *al-Nahār* on June 6, 1967, just one day after the Six Day War. This cartoon is adapted from the famous Iwo Jima picture taken by Joe Rosenthal during the Iwo Jima battle. The Iwo Jima battle took place from February 19 to March 26, 1945 between the United States Marines and the Japanese army during the Pacific Campaign of World War II. After a fierce fighting, the Marines captured the island of Iwo Jima (an Island of the Japanese Volcano Islands chain) declaring their triumph. Six young American

servicemen symbolized this triumph by raising the American flag atop of Mount *Suribachi* in the island of Iwo Jima. Robert S. Burrell (xv) commented:

> Iwo Jima became the bloodiest battle in Marine Corps history. Moreover, it was one of the most costly American battles fought in World War II. Nearly a third of all Marines who died in World War II lost their lives on Iwo Jima.

Iwo Jima became the iconic image of the battle and was circulated heavily among the American public and even worldwide. Rosenthal's picture of Iwo Jima tugged national sentiments through portraying the glorious valor of the flag-raising Marines Corps. Because of the national sentiments it exudes, "[a]rtists re-created the picture [Iwo Jima] in "painting, status, medallions—in oils, pastels, watercolors, stone, bronze, plaster,… wood"" (as cited in Burrell 133), and in visual culture as this political cartoon exemplifies.

This political cartoon adopts the same aesthetic values and virtues of Iwo Jima into the Palestinian case during the Six Day War. While the United States soldiers are part of a battle for imperial supremacy, the Palestinians are non-descript soldiers putting up a flag with Palestine written on it. Three soldiers grab the flag, while the fourth is planting it in the ground, a ground defined by a tent like structure signifying a poetic gesture of courage in the face of exile rather than the ruins of Iwo Jima.[9] This is an image of collaborative work. Depictions of such collective action seem to serve as a vehicle for mobilizing the public by sending the message that through

---

[9]This poetic gesture stems from the pre-Islamic odes.

unity and coordinated labor, people can achieve their goal (triumph) despite the heavy odds against them (the massive destruction caused by the first day of the war). This cartoon was published just one day after launching the war. It perhaps aims at raising people's hope of the possibility of winning the war despite the massive destruction caused by the Israeli army.

To the Palestinians, the image of Iwo Jima serves a bipolar function: erasing from memory the damage caused by the Israeli army, and galvanizing nationalist sentiments to avert further humiliation. This explanation is reinforced by small indications. The caption at the bottom reads "*al-jawlah al-thaniyah*" (the second round), implying that in the first round we have to fight so, consequently, in the second round we celebrate the triumph symbolized by having the flag unfurled in the wind. The text also suggests that given the fact that the war has just started, there is yet much work to be done to ensure triumph. The last soldier is raising his right arm in a symbolic gesture of moving forward. The interaction between the image and text in this cartoon is an example of "relay" (Ronald Barthes, *Mythologies*). The text and image communicate different pieces of information. These different pieces of information come together to create this bigger meaning, which is after fighting in the first round, triumph comes in the second round.

By uncannily focalizing on the Americans' experience with Iwo Jima by way of newspaper images and its role in constructing nationalist fervor across the nation, this Palestinian cartoon becomes comparable to it by undergoing what Benedict Anderson called "modular transfer." Modular transfer refers to the ways in which the nation is "capable of being transplanted" through regional, socio-cultural, and institutional milieus. It constructs a sense of national identity through transferring a nationalist iconic image that gained national popularity and came to symbolize patriotism and valor from the American modularity from where the photo

originally emanated. In so doing, the Iwo Jima image serves as an international site of memory, the goal of which is to produce a sense of community manifested in willingness for a free Palestinian state. By communicating these values and aesthetic principles, the cartoon helps produce an "imagined community." This view resonates with Robert Hariman and John L. Lucaites, who postulated that the Iwo Jima image "implies that community is achieved in part by remembering its heroes" (373). Iwo Jima became a symbol of nationalism and its adaptability in the Palestinian context during *al-Naksah* was designed to support this same goal. By indicating triumph, the cartoon promises a happy ending and, as a consequence, raises hopes among the audience. Iwo Jima's circulation through different times and its appropriations in different contexts makes it not only "… one for all time!" (James Bradley 220), according to the remarks of the first news editor in Guam, but also a nationalist iconic photograph for some other nations. By evoking feelings of "national belonging" among the public, the Palestinian Iwo Jima elicits a commitment that is tantamount to self-sacrifice. The pictorial image spurs the audience to commitment and action: support and resistance.

Appropriating the Iwo Jima image by replacing the American flag with the Palestinian one constitutes the underlying metaphorical concept that might be rendered as Iwo symbolizes triumph. This metaphor emerges from the composition of the linguistic caption and the pictorial signs of the Iwo Jima image, thus constituting a multimodal metaphor. The interpretation of the metaphor is presumably that triumph is coming in the second round of the war if we stand together and commit to self-sacrifice. The application of the Iwo Jima discourse and vocabulary of the Palestinian national disaster, *al-Naksah*, indicates that the construction of the Palestinian national project approximates the American model. This is attributed the belief that the Iwo Jima

image plays an essential role in the construction of the American national identity, and similarly in building the Palestinian national project.

A few days later, on June 10, 1967, *al-Ba'th* published a cartoon exemplifying such self-sacrifice.

Figure 2. Unknown Cartoonist, *al-Ba'th*, June 10, 1967

This cartoon shows a group of people carrying guns on their shoulders. The people look young, and belong to different social classes; the educated and fellaheen (peasants) are sartorially marked, thus, distinguishing their distinctive class background. Collective self-sacrifice is not just seen across different class distinction but also gender distinction as well. Although the

cartoon lacks any linguistic messages, it is visually structured in an informational way: all lined up in one place for what seems to be a common purpose: defending their nation. While this cartoon does not feature any linguistic signs or labels that identified it as a commentary on Palestine, its publication history—just five days after the 1967 War— and its pictorial representation illustrate its connectedness to the 1967 War. In addition, four Arab neighboring states participated in this war, namely, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and Jordan. The struggle against Israel is an Arab struggle rather than an exclusively Palestinian one. Here, I argue that this cartoon constructs the Arab collective identity by communicating collective memory of the past. The past is being constructed in the present by celebrating historical events. This cartoon taps on the past memory of the 1936-1938 Revolt by bringing "a unified social body" (Swedenburg, "Popular Memory" 155) that becomes a source of national pride to the Palestinians to consolidate their national consciousness.

The image of fellaheen in this cartoon seems to incite a feeling of the nationalist past. The image serves to remind the viewers of the crucial role played by the rebels and fellaheen during the anti-colonial 1936-1939 Revolt. The fellaheen's attire, including the *kūfiyyah*—now "a symbol of Arab national resistance"— embodies a sense of nationalism that signals resistance prompting the public to collective action. This signifies the idea that the armed resistance is the only road to national liberation. Pictorially memorializing this resistance becomes what Swedenburg's calls "a militantly nationalist memory" (165).

The cartoon also uses visual metonymy where the style of clothes stands for resistance. The traditional costumes of fellaheen are metonymically associated with Palestinian memories of the 1936-1939 Revolt. One way of verbalizing the metonymy is that Arab traditional costumes and the *kūfiyyah* seek to perpetuate adherence and foster connectedness among people with

different gender and social class. The pictorial image connotatively serves to recruit as many people together in spite of class, gender, or educational difference into a community. This is a community ready for self-sacrifice, a requirement for inciting a collective action against the "Other," the Israeli colonial rule. The willingness of these men and women to die for their nation recalls Anderson's comment on how nationalism "makes it possible over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings" (7). This cartoon mediates this sense of nationalism by articulating virtues and values such as unity, patriotism, and self-sacrifice. The image of men and women all lined up in one place anchors these ideals, virtues, and values for the purpose of making the audience conscious of "belonging" together in some sense. In so doing, this cartoon helps produce an "imagined community" by calling the Palestinians to identify themselves with the image and its message. It helps unify the Palestinians into one nation.

Perceiving a threat incites a sense of belonging to the nation. The sense of national belonging makes the people patriotic, and invites them for a national defense to face this threat. The ensuing cartoon articulates this argument by featuring the image of a woman as a physically violated site and then one abused by colonial force. This image helps unify the Palestinian nation by calling members of the Palestinian community to a heroic defensive nationalism.

The preceding cartoon portrays national liberation and struggle for freedom under occupation through armed resistance. The following cartoon articulates the same theme but through the manipulation of several strategies, namely, emotions, morality, and womanhood.
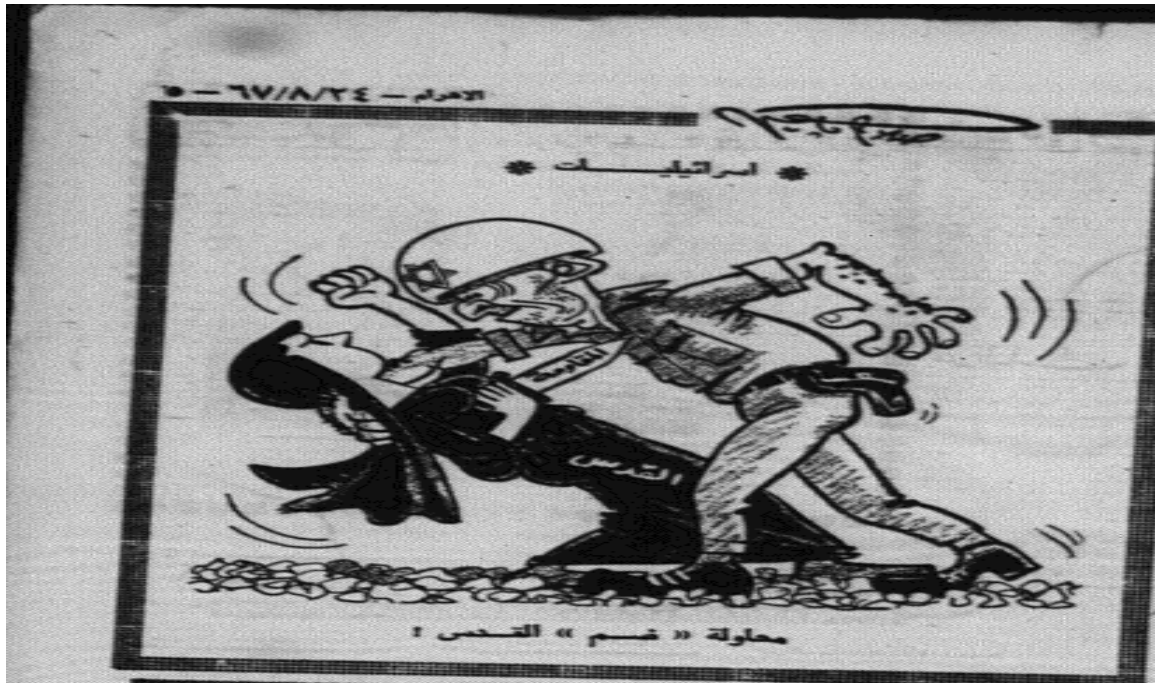
Figure 3. Ṣalāḥ Jahīn, *al-Ahrām August 24, 1967*

This cartoon shows an Israeli soldier with the Star of David carved on his helmet and a handgun on his left belt. The Israeli soldier aggressively beats a young lady who is wearing a traditional garb with *al-Quds* (Jerusalem) inscribed upon it. The image reads: *muḥawalat ḍamm al-Quds!* (The attempt at "embracing" [annexing] *al-Quds*). The young woman holds a knife in her right hand with *al-muqāwamah* (the resistance*)* written on it. She defends herself by trying to stab the Israeli soldier in his chest. The image is also supported by a head caption, which reads *Isrā'iliyyāt* (Israeli journal), and the bottom one reads *muḥawalat ḍamm al-Quds!* (the attempt at "embracing" [annexing] *al-Quds*). This verbal tag denotes the "anchorage" (Barthes, *Mythologies*) of the image: Israel's plan to annex Jerusalem to its territories. In other words, this idea is construed by involving verbal and visual modalities which constitute a multimodal metaphor.

In this cartoon, I argue that the Palestinian national identity is forged by pictorially representing Jerusalem as a woman (a metaphor of Jerusalem) under threat of Israeli annexation and domination, and that her fellow Palestinians need to sacrifice in order to preserve her honor. This patriotic relationship between women and nation is discussed in a number of studies. In her investigation of "Images of Women in the Ottoman Cartoon Space," for example, Palmira Brummett reported that the Ottoman Empire was depicted as "a mother, a wife, or a daughter, engendering patriotic sentiments through her need for protection and her guardianship of the national honor" (cited in Brummett 29-30). The metaphor Jerusalem is a woman represents the Palestinian nation since it embodies the cultural, political, and geographical markers of an imagined Palestinian nation. We can see this because Jerusalem is mapped onto the image of a woman with a long dress. This metaphor entails stirring the audience's emotions, and calls for an immediate protective action. Specifically, depicting Jerusalem as a woman being tortured by the Israeli soldier attempts to confine the viewers within circles of fear and threat, and then of guilt. On one hand, the feelings of fear and threat in turn endorse a moral obligation to prevent this threat. Stuart Hall pointed out that the visual mode often "engages feelings, attitudes and emotions and it mobilizes fears and anxieties in the viewer, at deeper levels than we can explain in a simple, common-sense way" (226). On the other hand, the image stirs emotions of guilt among male viewers for not stopping this physical violation. In the Arab culture, men are not manly enough if they cannot protect their women. The portrayal of the woman being assaulted motivates male viewers to take an action as her sons should "sacrifice for her safety, and for her… honor" (Pettman, *Worlding Women* 49). Otherwise the woman's sons will be morally subject for criticism. Petmann remarked that in the "inability to defend women violence against

women thus becomes an assault on men's and national honor" (51). Being unable to protect your women brings about shame and dishonor in the Arab culture.

In this cartoon, morality pictures the Palestinian nation. The woman's body embodies the national honor; she calls the guardians of the collective national honor to preserve her from the defilement of the Israeli soldier (the colonizer), and to preserve the value and sacredness of the place the woman symbolizes. In other words, this cartoon fosters Palestinians' nationalist feelings by appealing to morality, and then invoking a patriotic response to defend their mother, their nation. Literature shows that since a woman represents a nation, to abuse a woman is to abuse the nation. The image of the violated woman aims to emotionally charge the Palestinians in defense of their honor. The cartoon features this defensive nationalism by the symbolic gesture of the knife. The knife symbolizes the means through which Palestinians can prevent the Israelis from annexing Jerusalem: resistance. The cartoon features the metaphor Resistance as a knife. It can be verbalized as that resistance is the means to protect the woman. For such resistance as a collective action to be formulated, it requires motivated individuals who share a common identity. Benedict Anderson observed that the construction of a nation involves producing a coherent unity among mobilized individuals who share common interests or values to which they strongly adhere. By pictorially depicting Jerusalem in danger, the cartoon taps on these interests and values among the Palestinian populace. These interests and values maintain an imagined identity, which in turn produce a moral obligation to protect the woman.

Furthermore, this cartoon invokes a symbolic rhetoric rich in religious significance to serve as a rallying point for the construction of a Palestinian national community. After the 1948 War, Israel occupied 78 percent of the territory of Palestine including the western half of Jerusalem (Phyllis Bennis, *Understanding*). Bennis added that after the 1967 War, Israel

"annexed East Jerusalem, and declared the "unification of the city" (137). East Jerusalem, or the Old City, has a special religious signification for the Palestinians since it includes some significant religious sites like the Dome of the Rock, and al-Aqsá Mosque. Here, Palestinian nationalism is forwarded by religious zeal. This religious zeal is further heightened for Jerusalem was the first *Qiblah*, the focal point for Muslim prayer (*ṣalāh*) in 1610 CE (P M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton, and Lewis Bernard). According to the Islamic tradition, Prophet Mohammed made his Night Journey to Jerusalem and from there he ascended to heaven overnight.[10] The journey is known as *al-Isrā' Wa al-Mi'rāj*. *Al-Quds* also has some Christian sites such the Christian Quarter (One of the four quarters of the ancient walled Old City of East Jerusalem), Deir El Sultan, Tomb of the Virgin, and the Church of the Nativity (Enrico Molinaro). All of these sites ensure the significance of the religious symbolism of Jerusalem to all Muslims and Christians. This visual communal representation of the religious kind arouses the viewers' religious emotions to produce a nationalist community as a method of mobilization. Thus, the tropological image, Jerusalem being defiled, endorses a moral obligation, motivated by a religious zeal, to prevent this defilement. These feelings integrate members of the Palestinian community who share similar political and religious ideas into a unified and a common goal: Defending Jerusalem as symbol of their nation.

Israeli's annexation of Jerusalem intends to obliterate the religious signification of Jerusalem**.** In the immediate aftermath of *al-Nakbah* the Israelis followed a policy of changing the cultural landscape and physical environment of Palestine. This colonial policy simultaneously seeks to "Judaicize" this religious landscape and cleanse it of Arabo-Islamic and

---

[10]In this journey, Prophet Muhammad traveled on the steed of *Buraq* to Jerusalem where he led other prophets in prayer. He then ascended to heaven where he spoke with Allah and learned about the instructions and details of prayer (P M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton, and Lewis Bernard).

Christian markers. After the 1996 war, Israel started building settlements in Jerusalem "such as French Hill and Pisgot, which were quickly incorporated into Jewish Jerusalem" (Bennis 26). Ghazi Falah called this act of changing the cultural and religious sites "de-signification." When the Israelis colonized, they changed Palestine's cultural and religious signification, and construct their own exclusive nation. Swedenburg ("Popular Memory" 159) argued that "in order for the Zionists to implant an exclusive national identity in ['their land'], they had to eliminate sites that memorialized Palestinians' past and embodied their relation to this territory." This colonial practice explains the Israeli on-going attempts to destruct al-Aqsá Mosque and their insistence for Jerusalem to be their Jewish political and religious capital. Benedict Anderson observed that "[i]n the modern conception, state sovereignty is fully, flatly, and evenly operative over each square centimeter of a legally demarcated territory" (19). Israel tries to omit sites that make Palestinians remember their past and mutilate any national feelings that these cites might produce. In sum, the act of transferring Jerusalem to Jewish ownership is an act of "de-signification." This cartoon rallies support against the "de-signification" of Jerusalem by calling the Palestinians to protect it.

The following cartoon rallies support and heroism to rescue Occupied Territories but in the context of Black September (1970) between the Jordanian forces and the Palestinian guerrillas. In the following cartoon, I argue that the Palestinian national identity is constructed on the belief that the nationalist heroic resistance is the only road toward liberation.[11]

---

[11]A detailed discussion of the Black September Event and its impact on the construction of the Palestinian national identity will be presented in Chapter Four.

Figure 4. Nājī al-ʿAlī, *al-Siyāsah* **February17, 1971**

A dove clutches a rifle and flied towards a *Fidāyʾī* (A Palestinian freedom fighter). The *Fidāʾī* takes the rifles and put them on two ropes that link two banks of a river. The *Fidāʾī* uses the rifles as steps to cross a river towards the west. *Ḥanẓalah* reads a newspaper that entitled *Taslīḥ al-Milīshya* (arming the militias).[12]

Through the manipulation in the symbolic gesture of the dove, this cartoon asserts that peace is achieved through an armed struggle, an interpretation supported by the verbal message inscribed on the newspaper. Although the dove universally symbolizes peace, it symbolizes resistance in this cartoon, as the dove carries a rifle in its mouth instead of an olive branch. Despite the verbal inscription on the newspaper *taslīḥ al-milīshiya* (arming the militias), which reinforces the resistance domain, the trope of the rifle as resistance is cued exclusively by pictorial modality. Borrowing Zeina Maasri's words, the rifle and the dove "are tightly integrated so as to create a symbiotic positive-and-negative formal relationship of two opposite forces," the rifle and the dove, "forming a whole" peace prevails through armed struggle (99). The textual element (*Taslīḥ al-milīshya*) reinforces this interpretation of the image. As such the image

---

[12]*Ḥanẓalah* is Nājī al-ʿAlī's signature, the prominent Palestinian cartoonist whose some of his cartoons will be subject of analysis in chapter four (Constructing Palestinian/Arab Nationalism from Exile: An Exploratory Study of Cartoonist Nājīal-ʿAlī's Cartoons).

becomes "duo-specific" (Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics*) in its anchorage (Barthes, *Mythologies*). When the visual and verbal modes work together in this manner, they produce "cohesion" (Martin Thomas, "Developing Multimodal Texture") among the constituent elements of the cartoon's message.

The two edges in this cartoon represent the West Bank and the East Bank (Modern-day Jordan).[13] The river that separates the two banks is the Jordan River. By using rifles as a metaphor of resistance to cross from Jordan to the West Bank, the *Fidā'ī* asserts that the only means for national liberation is resistance. By using the visual elements of the bridge over the Jordan River along with the *Fidā'ī* crossing over the bridge in heading to Palestine, the cartoon naturalizes the *Fidā'ī*'s link to his homeland, and the right to return to fight "the Other." In this manner, the bridge becomes metaphorically a bridge of return. The mapping of return is pictorially cued in the cartoon by the image of a bridge linking the two banks and reinforced by the spatial movement of the *Fidā'ī* toward Palestine.

The idea that the violent resistance is the means of return is exemplified in the Arabic folk proverb *Mā ukhidha bi-l-quwwah yustaradd bi-l-quwwah* (Literally means "What is taken by force, can only be regained by force." For this to happen, it requires collective efforts from the dispersed Palestinians. Conceived abstractly, the cartoon invites members of the Palestinian community to come together and unite in the goal of a return to Palestine. The following cartoon indirectly exemplifies the same such folk proverb though.

---

[13]The West Bank here refers to the geographical map of all Palestine, not the territories occupied by Israel in the 1967 War.

Figure 5. Nājī al-ʿAlī, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah* August 30, 2006
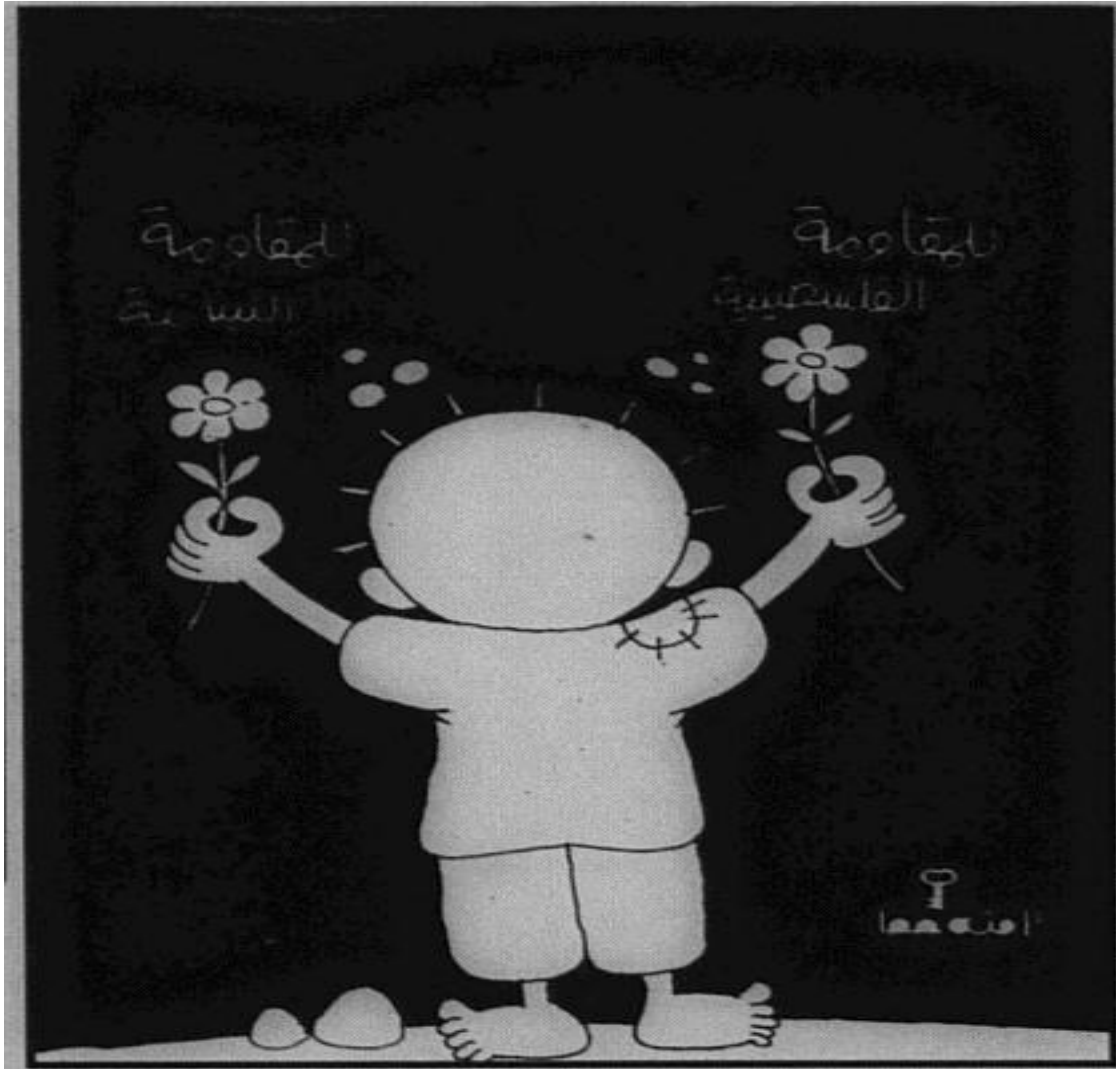
This cartoon displays the image of *Ḥanẓalah* holding two flowers. *Li-l-mūqāwamah al-filisṭīniyyah* (For the Palestinian resistance) is written above the flower held in *Ḥanẓalah*'s right hand. *Lilmūqāwamah al-Libnāniyyah* (For the Lebanese resistance) is written on the flower held in *Ḥanẓalah*'s left hand. To the left side of the barefoot *Ḥanẓalah* are two rocks.

In this cartoon, I argue that the Palestinian national identity is fostered by sending messages of hope and encouragements to the Palestinian and Lebanese communities (ingroup) to pursue their heroic struggle against the Israeli occupation (outgroup) asserting implicitly that national struggle is the road for national liberation.

The two rocks are a metaphor of the Palestinian resistance during the Palestinian *Intifāḍah* (Uprising). Since the target, rocks, and the source, resistance, are constructed pictorially, the metaphor is monomodal: Rocks are resistance. Flowers are symbols of hope. This image invites us to derive the metaphor flowers are hope. The captions offer essential information that helps elaborate on the visual monomodal metaphor, making the cartoon "additive" (McCloud) in form as the flowers are presented to the Lebanese and Palestinian resistances. The source is only accessible through external knowledge, namely the political context of that time, which is the Lebanon War of 2006.[14]

This cartoon aims at consolidating the Lebanese and Palestinian national movements in opposition to the Israeli occupation by commemorating the image of *Ḥanẓalah,* Nājī al-ʿAlī's signature which became a nationalistic icon. The cartoon puts the Lebanese and Palestinian in one national boat (ingroup) in opposition to the Israeli action (outgroup) during the Israeli War

---

[14]The Lebanese resistance refers to the one that encountered the Israeli War on Lebanon in July and August of 2006. The War lasted 33 days, resulting in 161 Israeli causalities (119 soldiers and 42 civilians) (Anthony H. Cordesman and William D. Sullivan, *Lessons*). The number of the Lebanese casualties was 900 civilians and 500 ḥizbullah fighters (Cordesman and Sullivan). As for the Israeli objectives of the war, Cordesman and Sullivan ereported that Israel did not provide a clear picture of the war's goals. However, during a meeting conducted at the end of the war, a senior Israeli officer said that the objectives of the war were to end ḥizbullah, Iran's strategic ally, to bring some Israeli soldiers that ḥizbullah captured in the past, and to restore the credibility of Israel as an undefeatable force in the region (Cordesman and Sullivan). Nubar Hovsepian and Rashid Khalidi, however, explained that "[t]he Israeli-American war on Lebanon in the summer of 2006 was unleashed in the context of a US effort to redraw the map of the Middle East (Afghanistan, Iraq) and the continued assault on the Palestinians in the occupied territories" (1). Similarly, Noam Chomsky stated that "[t]hough there are many interacting factors, the immediate issue that lies behind the latest US-Israeli invasion of Lebanon remains… what it was in the four preceding invasions: the Israel-Palestine conflict" (88).

on Lebanon and the on-going and never ending war on Palestine. Through this rhetorical treatment, the cartoon links the Lebanese resistance with the Palestinian one because the enemy is common: Israel. Through the commemoration of the Lebanese and Palestinian resistances, the cartoon calls the viewers to recall the Israeli war inflicted on the Lebanese and the Palestinian communities. This hostile perception towards Israel (outgroup) strengthens the Lebanese and the Palestinian communities' (ingroup) cohesiveness, and calls them to defend their nations from the hostile "Other." The stones symbolize this means of national defense/resistance. In line with this, Anderson noted that that popular nationalism is always mobilized "in a language of self-defense" (161). This "self-defense" is buttressed and encouraged by the image of the two flowers, which serve two politico-celebratory messages. First it seeks to congratulate the two resistances for their heroic deeds against the Israeli occupation, and implicitly to encourage them to pursue their anti-colonial efforts. Presenting flowers is a congratulatory sign for the recipient. Second, flowers are symbols of hope; the hope that promises the resistance of a happy heroic end: Liberation.

Constructing a collective identity is a perquisite for national liberation. Collective identity is usually conceived in tandem with antagonism. The ensuing chapter sheds light on the relationship between antagonism and identity. I argue that using political cartoons to depict the major wars and violent events took place in Palestine contribute to the evolution of the Palestinian national identity motivated by the antagonist "Others."

CHAPTER THREE
ARAB/PALESTINIAN NATIONALISM AGAINST ITS ENEMIES: ISRAEL, THE UNITED STATES, THE UN, AND THE ARAB LEADERSHIP

"Central to modern expectations, and modern ethical feeling, is the conviction that war is an aberration, if an unstoppable one. That peace is the norm, if an unattainable one. This, of course, is not the way war has been regarded throughout history. War has been the norm and peace the exception."

Susan Sontag (74)

"A universal feature of the enemy image is that the enemy can be influenced only by force."
Jerome D. Frank and Andrei Y. Melville

This chapter provides an analysis of some of the Arab and Palestinian political cartoons featured in *al-Ahrām*, *al-Quds* and *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah* newspapers. It also includes a cartoon by the Palestinian cartoonist Nājī al-ʿAlī taken from Joe Sacco's book, *A Child in Palestine (2009)*. The dated events covered are the 1967 War and its aftermath, the First Palestinian *Intifāḍah* 1987-1993; the Palestinian-Israeli peace process (1987-1993) that culminated in the Oslo Accord Peace Treaty signed in Washington, D.C., in 1993; the second Palestinian *Intifāḍah* 2000-2005; and the Gaza War in 2009. In this chapter, I argue that the Arab political cartoons surveyed will comprise a visible medium to criticize the trio of the Arab dormant regimes, the major international players in world politics (i.e. The United States and the UN) and, of course, Israel. Specifically, the cartoons will show the actions inflicted by Israel, the American and Israeli world conspiracy, Israel asserting US domination, and the dormant Arab policies towards the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The cartoons will also criticize the main Palestinian factions (Ḥamās and Fatḥ) for not consolidating their efforts to confront their main foe (Israel).[15]

---

[15] Ḥamās stands in Arabic for *Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-Islāmiyyah*, in English Islamic Resistance Movement.

The ensuing cartoon evinces the United States' involvement in the failure of the peace efforts in the Middle East.

Figure 6. Ṣalāḥ Jahīn, *al-Ahrām* September 3, 1967

This cartoon shows the former US President Lyndon Johnson talking to a reporter whose head has an iconicity resembling the globe. The head caption reads *Jūnsūn yaqūl lā bayanāt ladayhī 'An al-sālam fī al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ* (Johnson says that he does not have any information about peace in the Middle East).[16] President Johnson says this while concealing a dying and bleeding

---

[16] The United States plays an influential role in the peace process in the Middle East. Jordan and Israel signed a peace treaty in 1994 under the auspices of the United States. The United States played a key role in the peace treaty between Israel and the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) known as Oslo Accord in 1993.

dove which is clutching an olive branch in its mouth. The bottom linguistic text reads in the Egyptian dialect *Sālam! Salām ayh! ..?* (Peace! What peace?..).

Here, I argue that the Palestinian national identity is constructed by depicting the immoral United States' involvement in the peace process in the Middle East. This depiction of immoral involvement is likely to fuel feelings of resentment among Palestinian and Arab populace. These feelings make them believe they belong together. This cartoon's message is multimodally expressed by way of metaphor and blending.

This cartoon is a case of fusion. The two objects, the reporter and the globe, are fused into one hybrid visual image which expresses the metaphor the reporter is the globe. This cartoon also involves "condensation" (Ray Morris, "Visual Rhetoric") where the reporter is presumably meant to represent the globe by compressing the image of the world into one stereotypical image: the reporter. Further, this pictorial image signifies few symbols. White doves symbolize peace, gentleness, friendship, and beauty. Olive branches symbolize peace. Hence, the cartoon deploys the metaphor the dove and the olive branch are peace. The linguistic text *al-Salām* (peace) is written on the dove. Through this multimodal metaphor, the cartoon connotes different layers of meaning. First, it visually depicts the deceptive role the United States is playing by misleading the whole world about their real intention with regards to the peace process in the Middle East. Second, it portrays the brutality and the aggression of President Johnson who metaphorically represents the United States: the United States is a murderer. Killing such a peaceful animal represents the brutality behind diplomacy. The cartoon displays analogously two opposed concepts: Peace and gentleness vs. aggression and deception. These concepts were "structured by a metaphor" (George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors* 13). In other words, we understand the concept of peace through the visual animalistic depiction of the dove holding the olive branch whereas we pictorially perceive the concepts of aggression and brutality when President Johnson killed the dove. This political message of the American deceptive role with

regards to the peace process in the Middle East is communicated both by the image and the texts in this cartoon and, thus, proves to be "anchorage" (Ronald Barthes, *Mythologies*). These linguistic accompaniments serve a cohesive function inasmuch as both the verbal and pictorial modes reinforce one another.

This multimodal representation serves to challenge the deceptive position of the United States. It expresses protest for the vague stance of the United States in making peace in the Middle East. The cartoon portrays the United States as liars, and therefore immoral, for not supporting peace in the Middle East. As a result, this depiction shows the Arabs' feeling that the United States is not to be trusted as an honest broker of peace in the Middle East. Since the Palestinian-Israeli conflict constitutes the core issue in the peace process in the Middle East, this visual representation implicitly shows the United States' support for Israel. Andreas Qassim argued that "America lost its honor and credibility as peace maker in the Middle East" given its support for Israeli actions (49). Depicting the support of the United States for Israel hopes to mobilize fear and anxieties in the viewers and, consequently, tap the collective consciousness of the Arab world.

The following cartoon depicts a pictorial scene of a violent action by the U.S-Israel bond. In general, there is collaboration between Israel and the U.S. That collaboration on the U.S.'s part undermines and emasculates the UN. The UN, as a result, can only betray the Arabs. Such a reading is visually symbolized in the following cartoon.

Figure 7. Ṣalāḥ Jahīn, *al-Ahrām* November 1, 1967.

In this cartoon, a wretched Arab man dressed in Arab garb points with his two forefingers at the UN building. *Al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ* (The Middle East) is inscribed on his Arab garment. The Arab man complains and blames the UN over its action. The wavering, undulating, and wobbly UN shows its surprise as seen by its jutting enlarged eyes, astonished closed mouth, and hands which gesture ignorance of the Arab man's complaint. The personified U.N. puts his left hand on his chest as if he is saying "me!!" and his right arm says "I do not know!"

This cartoon deploys several metaphors in articulating its messages. By way of anchoring, we can construe the metaphor the man is the Middle East. The cartoon also undergoes blending, where a human being and the UN building are fused into one image to construe the

metaphor the UN is a fumbling fool. While they argue, the man and the UN are stabbed from behind by daggers labeled *Isrā'īl* (*Israel*) and *Amrīkā* (America) respectively. By way of textual anchoring, this cartoon features the metaphor: Israel and the United States are daggers. The target domains of the metaphor, Israel and the US, are cued verbally by the inscriptions on the daggers, whereas the source domain is visually cued by the image of daggers. The interplay between metaphor and blending in this cartoon links the collaboration of Israel and the United States against the Middle East and the international community, represented by the UN. Such interplay fosters coherence among the constituents of the cartoon's message (Noël Carroll). Blending the UN into a fumbling fool and using daggers to metaphorically represent Israel and the United States create a meaningful context to highlight the immorality of Israel and United State and their hegemonic power and collaboration. The cartoon shows the UN, which is considered as "the voice of the world… and portrayed as the defender of "civilization"…" (Ghazi Falah, Colin C. Flint, and Virginie Mamadouh 158), being immorally controlled by the United States. This depiction contradicts what the United States promotes about itself as a democratic prompter and protector of freedom. Israel, on the other hand, deceives the Middle East by stabbing it from behind. The United States' trampling over the authority of the UN and the Israeli deception of the Middle East pave the way to such political immorality of these two countries. Such immoral practices highlight the hegemonic powers (the United States and Israel) motivated by violence. These findings are in keeping with that of Falah et al. (159), who asserted that "[t]he immoral acts of the United Sates are twofold: supporting Israel and misusing the authority of the UN." This visual depiction in turn provokes fear and anxiety among the viewers. These feelings foster a sense of community among those who share the same political views in challenging this

hegemonic power. It welds the viewers into one nation in resisting this hegemonic power, as this authoritative hegemony is based on violence (Boulding).

Such interpretations of this cartoon are verbally and pictorially cued, "interdependent" (McCloud), where missing any would lead to a failure in understanding it. The messages of this cartoon are motivated by its linguistic texts. The head caption reads *Ḥikmat al-yawm* (Today's wisdom). The bottoy textuality reads in Egyptian dialect *Jītak yā 'Abda-l-Mu'īn ti'nī.. Laqetek yā 'Abdul Mu'īn Tin'ān* (I came to seek help from you, *'Abdul Mu'īn..*, I found you in need of help). This is an Arabic proverb which indicates that those we seek out for help end up being helpless. The U.S's control over the UN's policies and decision-making power is perhaps the reason for such helplessness on the UN's part. This proverb evinces sarcasm. This sarcasm is further boosted by the head caption which reads *Today's Wisdom* as if the helplessness of the UN was wisdom itself. The mutual support of language and image in this cartoon facilitates interpreting its messages.

The immorality of Israel, its hegemonic power, and control over the United States is a major stereotype prevailing among the Arab populace. The following cartoon showcases this stereotype.

Figure 8. Ṣalāḥ Jahīn, *al-Ahrām* November 16, 1967

This cartoon shows the Statue of Liberty with New York appearing in the background. The Statue holds an Israeli man with a Star of David emblazoned on his hat. The Israeli man has sunken cheeks and an aquiline nose. He puts his left hand on his waist while waving his right hand. The cartoon is accompanied by two captions. The head caption reads *ta'ammulāt kārikatūriyah fī al-mas'alah al-Amrīkiyah* (caricatural contemplation in the American case). The bottom caption reads *ākhir ṣūrah li timthāl al-ḥurriyyah fī Nyū Yūrk* (The last picture for the Statue of Liberty in New York).

The image and labels denote the U.S's support for Israel. One layer of meaning conveyed by this cartoon is pinpointed by David Glassberg in his essay "Rethinking the Statue of Liberty:

Old Meanings, New Contexts." Glassberg analyzed six political meanings for the Statue of Liberty. One of these meanings is "as a monument to political liberty and freedom around the *globe*" (Glassberg 2 [emphasis mine]). This pictorial image simply contradicts these *global* values. These values seem to change with the presence of Israel: the Statue of Liberty comes to be an icon of Israel with features of hegemony, and controlling the *globe*. The posture of the Israeli man (who puts his left hand on his waist while waving his right hand) supports these features of hegemony. This posture in the Arab culture indicates arrogance and haughtiness. Further, replacing the Statue of Liberty's torch with the image of the Israeli man suggests the absence of freedom and liberty. Another meaning associated with the Statue of Liberty at the time is "as a monument of emancipation" (Glassberg 5), but in this pictorial image it is perhaps interpreted as a monument of hegemony. In this manner, this image helps raise national sympathy as it highlights the danger that the US-Israel collusion brings to global freedom and liberty. As a consequence, the mixed textual and pictorial representation is designed to rally the viewers to a collective action that stops this threat to global freedom and liberty.

In appropriating the Statue of Liberty, the cartoon replaces the torch with an Israeli man. It is a trope that can be rendered as an Israeli is a torch of liberty that is set ablaze. The verbal elements serve an "additive" function to the image (McCloud). McCloud (154) explained that "additive" occurs when "words amplify or elaborate on an image or vice versa." In this cartoon, the linguistic text *"The last picture for the Statue of Liberty in New York"* negatively elaborates the rational of replacing the torch of liberty with the Israeli man. In addition, through this metaphor, this political cartoon ironically merges aesthetic qualities with political values to capture a double meaning. First, ironically, Israel spreads freedom and liberty just like what the torch does; originally, the Statue of Liberty glories freedom, this appropriated image of the

Statue, however, glorifies Israel. Second, this metaphoric mapping emphasizes that through identification with the U.S, Israel dominates the globe. Robert C. Rowland and David, A. Frank (*Shared Land*) argued that Palestinians see Israel as Zionist-led global dominance. The image depicts this dominance as a threat on the Arabs, and, particularly, on the Palestinian community. In order to get rid of this threat, members of the Palestinian community need to get together to confront it. This unity constitutes their communal identity, which fosters their "imagined community." Meir Litvak (*Palestinian Collective Memory*) explained that Palestinian nationalism aims at resisting or expelling the threats posed by the Zionists.

Kotek Joël (*Cartoons and Extremism*) surveyed some "typical" cartoons published in several Arabic and Western newspapers that depicted the Arab-Israeli conflict. He found that 'asserting world domination' is of the dominant themes articulated by these cartoons. The following cartoon articulates a similar theme by depicting Israeli hegemony over American Presidential elections and, consequently, world politics.

الاهرام – ٦٨/٩/١٢

مرشحا الرئاسة الامريكية يتنافسان فى ارضاء اسرائيل والصهيونية

‏– تمام يا «فانتوم» !

Figure 9. Ṣalāḥ Jahīn, *al-Ahrām* **September 12, 1968**

This image shows Nixon, the former US President, and Humphrey, his opponent in the presedential elections campaign in 1968. Both Nixon and Humphrey salute an Israeli man while each one of them raises a fighter jet in his left hand.

By way of anchoring, Nixon and Humphrey belong to America. Thus this image invites us to derive the metaphor Nixon and Humphrey are the United States. The mapped connotation of this metaphor is that the United States seeks to please the Israeli man by providing him with weapons. This metaphor guides the intended interpretation as Israel dominates the most 'powerful' country in the world and therefore the globe. The cartoon's message is elaborated, amplified, and made "additive" (McCloud) by the head caption: *Murashshaḥā al-ri'āsah al-Amrīkiyyah yatanāfasān fī irḍā' Isrā'īl Wa al-Ṣahyūniyah* (The two Presidential American

candidates are competing to please Israel and Zionism). Saluting is recognition of superiority from the inferior party and indicative of the superior's orders needing to be executed without questioning. This submission is intensified by the other linguistic text in the Egyptian dialect at the bottom, which reads *tamām yā "Fāntūm"*! (Alright Sir!). In Barthes' *The Rhetoric of Image*, he called the interaction between text and image "relay." The meaning of the image is rendered both pictorially and verbally.

The underlying meaning of this multimodal representation is that in order for Nixon or Humphrey to win support for their presidential election, they need to supply Israel with military support. This act of military support not only highlights the Israeli hegemony over the United States, and therefore the globe, but also the immorality of this act. Arab media promulgates the idea that the United States provides Israel with financial and military support because the American Jews, although they constitute only 2.2% of the American population, control the economy of the country and therefore have a significant impact on U.S politics.[17]

Arabs believe that Israel uses this military support to tighten its grip on the occupied territories, and to launch military operations on the Palestinian and Arab cities. Examples of these military operations include the one on the Gaza Strip in 2009 and that on the Palestinian refugee camps in Ṣabra and Shātīlah in Lebanon in 1982.[18] By visually depicting the Israeli-American collaboration, this cartoon serves as a visual manifestation of some political reality that other audio/visual media may have glossed over and/or dared not present. Some of the books that document the history of the Palestinian and Israeli conflict and that highlight such a theme

---

[17]US Census Bureau Statistical Abstract 2009, Table 76, Christian Population, 2000, and Jewish Population, 2008—States.

[18]This study will look at the political cartoons that feature ṣabra and Shātila massacre in the ensuing chapter and at those that feature what is called the 2009 Gaza War in the last chapter of analysis.

were banned. In *Memories of Revolt*, Swedenburg remarked that "the Israeli state seeks to deny Palestinians access to recollection by blocking the production and circulation of books on Palestinian history and culture" (11). This way, the cartoon constitutes a subaltern means to inform the populace of this collaboration and then call for an action: inspiring resistance against such collaboration. Portraying the threat of this collaboration is the Palestinian commodity for their national narrative in imagining their community. This imagining community is contingent on the Palestinians' hope to get rid of this threat.

The Arab political cartoons investigated in this chapter criticize not only the UN, the United States, and Israel but also criticize the dormant Arab polices in their role in resisting the Israeli occupation. The following cartoon exemplifies this theme:

Figure 10. Ṣalāḥ Jahīn, *al-Ahrām April 28, 1968*

This cartoon shows an Arab man with a stern expression wearing the Arab headscarf and crossing over a bridge with *al-ʿAmal al-ʿArabī al-Muwaḥḥad*" (United Arab action) etched on it. The word *al-Hazīmah* (Defeat) is engraved on the surface of the bank on the right, whereas the word *al-Naṣr* (Victory) is inscribed on the left. The hook-nosed Arab man is crossing towards the "Victory" bank holding a gun on his shoulder. He walks with his chest and moves forward bringing his left fingers together in a fist. His posture and gait represent him as overweight and filled with a feeling of self-importance.

The head caption reads *aḥādīth ʿArabiyyah ʿalá niṭāq wāsiʿ li-tawḥīd al-ṣufūf ḍidd al-ʿAdūw* (wide ranging Arab talks to unite efforts against the enemy [Israel]). The bottom caption reads *Bidūn Taʿlīq:*" (Without comment:). In this context and given the fragile status of Arab collaboration, this linguistic text perhaps signifies the hopelessness of the fructification of Arab unity. Rather than expressing this message explicitly, the Arabs use this expression to convey implicit disappointment. The cartoon, however, visually stresses that this Arab unity is the road to triumph. This idea is articulated through the multimodal metaphor Arab unity is a bridge. The mapping of triumph is pictorially cued in the cartoon by the spatial movement of the Arab man from the 'the bank of defeat' towards the 'the bank of victory.' The target, Arab unity, is both pictorially cued by the image of the bridge linking the two banks and linguistically by the caption inscribed on the bridge (United Arab action). Here, this linguistic text, (United Arab action), amplifies the image of the bridge and thus becomes "additive" (McCloud). Similarly, the caption (wide ranging Arab talks to unite efforts against the enemy [Israel]) elaborates on the visual element of the Arab man crossing the bridge from the 'bank of defeat' to 'the bank of victory ("additive"). Hence, adding clarity to the message articulated in this carton.

Such a metaphorical mapping helps disseminate a sense of nationalism by highlighting the significance of Arab unity to challenge the colonial power. The cartoon visually displays the positive consequence of unity, and simultaneously warns Arabs of the consequence of lack of unity (*al-Hazīmah*). Warning the Arabs of *al-Hazīmah* reminds them of the historical defeats of *al-Nakbah* and *al-Naksah*; it taps on their heritage of tragedy. The memory of this tragedy functions as a way of overcoming these defeats. According to Ernest Renan, a heritage of tragedy is more effective than triumph: "suffering in common unifies more than joy does" (50). Consequently, this heritage "impose[s] duties" on those who share it and "require[s] a common effort" (Renan 50). It calls for a collective action. For Palestinians, the tragic memories of the past exemplified by the memory of *al-Nakbah* and *al-Naksah*, and the need to unite together are what constitute their communal identity in this cartoon. This observation resonates with that of Renan, who stated that:

A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in the truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received on the undivided form (19).

This communal identity culminates in the Palestinian "imagined community."

The preceding cartoons portray national liberation and struggle for freedom under occupation through calls for unity and armed resistance. The following cartoon, however, adopts another channel for national liberation. The cartoon calls for non-violent resistance. It features another example of Anderson's "modular transfer" by reconsidering the object lesson of Mahatma Gandhi.

Figure 11. Ṣalāḥ Jahīn, *al-Ahrām* **October 2, 1968**

This cartoon shows an Arab man covering his head and face with a *kūfiyyah* with "*al-muqāwamah al-Filasṭīniyyah*" (The Palestinian resistance) inscribed on his shirt. This image invites us to derive the multimodal metaphor the Palestinian resistance is *Fidāʾī* (A Palestinian freedom fighter). The source domain of the metaphor, resistance, is cued verbally by the inscriptions on the Arab *Fidāʾī*'s shirt, and the target is cued pictorially by the image of the *Fidāʾī* who metonymically stands for Palestinians. The cartoon also shows the *Fidāʾī* defending himself with a small cannon against an Israeli tank with a Star of David. The cannon damages a

car that Israel uses as a "human shield" rather than the Israeli tank. At the top of this scene, Mahatma Gandhi appears from the middle of a big cloud and calls on the Palestinian resistance in the Egyptian dialect (as it appears in the bottom linguistic text): "*Ghāndī — bsst... bsst!.. wa al-muqāwamah al-salbiyyah kamān.. al-ʿiṣyān al-madanī.. mā tinsūsh*" (*Ghāndī*— psst.. psst!.. the passive resistance also.. civil disobedience.. do not forget!). Gandhi speaks while holding what appears to be a religious amulet as he stands next to a goat. The header text reads "*fī dhikrá Ghāndhī*" (On the memorial of Gandhi).). The cartoon was drawn on the memory of Gandhi's birthday on October 2, 1869.

The ellipsis in the bottom text indicates that something is not said. The visual representation supplements the text and highlights the impossibility of Gandhi's message— adopting civil disobedience as a strategy in confronting the Israeli occupation rather than being involved in a farcical violence. By adopting Gandhi's module of struggle against the colonial rule, this cartoon represents what Anderson called "modular transfer." It is being distilled across the space of the cartoon, and opens up the stage to critique the Palestinian resistance, the settler colonial regime, and onset of *Infitāḥ* (Opening) since Gandhi's success with the British is inverted in the Palestinian case.[19] Gandhi was well-known for his *Satyagraha*, a philosophy of non-violent resistance or civil disobedience.[20] Following Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence, this cartoon satirically stresses peaceful resistance as a means to confront Israel. The farcical military resistance metaphorically symbolized by the cannon would not help resolve the Israeli

---

[19]*Infitāḥ* means "Opening." It was a program initiated by former president Anwar al-Sādāt in the early 1970s and officially declared in 1974. It aimed at political and economic liberation in Egypt (Hamz Ateş, Mehmet Duman, and Yuksel Bayraktar, "A Story of Infitah").

[20]Gandhi used this philosophy in the Indian independence movement and during his earlier struggle in South Africa against the British colonial rule. This philosophy aims at defeating the occupiers through several channels such as peaceful demonstrations, fasting, sit-ins, civil strikes, boycotts, and the advocacy of self-sufficiency.

siege on the Palestinians, which has razed the ground in front of them, a ground signaled by the arrow that stems from Gandhi's amulet. The razed ground displaces the traditional culture with another of colonialism, which exploits the land for its resources. The amulet is not spinning the idea of civil-disobedience. It is spinning the impossibility of applying Gandhi's concept of *Satyagraha* on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The mechanics of narrating this impossibility are the *Fidā'ī* and the Israeli soldier. Both are blinded by symbolic orders of their states, the Palestinian *kūfiyyah* and the Israeli helmet. One to self-sacrifice (*kūfiyyah*) and the other for making a "desert bloom" (Levi Eshkol—a former Prime Minister of Israel).[21] The reality of the material landscape of the cartoon shows a farcical attempt of resisting Israeli settler colonialism.

Further, the slight damage occurred to the car (instead of the Israeli tank) suggests that the Palestinian resistance is farcical in its defensiveness. This is attributed to the military inequality between both sides symbolized in this cartoon by the Palestinian small cannon and the Israeli tank. The oppressed have very few means at their hand in confronting the colonial oppressor. The cartoon instead calls the Palestinians to bear with the Israeli occupation rather than be involved in a violent action. The manifestation of the goat and its cultural symbolism intensifies this meaning. The goat was Gandhi's symbol for India's self-sufficiency. The goat provides milk, cheese, wool, etc. and therefore India could live on its resources without the need for the West. Gandhi once claimed that"… every village first concern will be to grow its own food and cotton for its cloth. It should have a reserve for its cattle" (cited in Kuruvilla Pandikattu, *Gandhi* 23). The cartoon attempts to transpose this repertoire of collective action implemented by Gandhi's national movement to the Palestinian case. This modular form of

---

[21]"Zionists have most frequently used the contention that they have "made the desert bloom" to justify the establishment of the State of Israel in Palestine in 1947-48" (Alan George, "Making the Desert Bloom" 89).

collective action in turn helps constitute a modular nation by means of transforming the Palestinian public in a similar way as Gandhi did with the Indians and South Africans. But the military inequality between the Israeli and Palestinian sides gives Israel the ability to be involved in violent actions. This multimodal representation transforms Gandhi's non-violent strategies into not only an Orientalized and farcical Palestinian resistance but the significance of the car as human shield that Israel uses to protect itself. The car is a signifier of the displacement of the socio-political order of village life. Moreover, it reterritorializes the land with the signifiers of the industrial revolution such as a car.

The cartoons that I have analyzed so far call in one way or another for armed resistance. This cartoon, however, follows a different model. This works in conjunction with the Egyptian program of *Infitāḥ* (Opening). *Al-Ahrām* featured this cartoon at a time when Egypt began to move toward *Infitāḥ*. The 1967 defeat caused lots of political and economic losses to Egypt. These losses lead the Egyptian leadership to take steps towards global political and economic liberalization policies. One such policy is establishing a moderate diplomatic relationship with Israel and the West. Hamz Ateş, Mehmet Duman, and Yuksel Bayraktar ("A Story of Infitah" 62) observed:

> … because of the serious economic problems stemming largely from statist economic policies, negative relations with the West and June 1967 War with Israel, the Nasser Government tried to review its statist economic policies, particularly the unsympathetic government attitude against private sector and foreign funds soon after the 1967 War. However, Nasser never pronounced a

radical shift of orientation in economic and social policies in Egypt. Pronouncement of Infitah was done in early 1970s, when Anwar Sadat got the power (U.S. Library of Congress, 1998).

As a result, Egypt started to transfer attention to the Palestinian camps while making gestures of rapprochement with the United States and Israel that culminated in the Camp David Accords in 1977. In his *Legislating Infitah*, Khaled M. Fahmy argued that the economic shift that the *Infitāḥ* brought "was accompanied by other major shifts in Egypt's global orientation: an active re-thinking of Egypt's confrontation with Israel, a steady rapprochement with the United States…" (1). Building bridges to Israel paves the way for having good economic and political relations with the United States because Israel and the United States have strong ties and mutual interests. This cartoon visually depicts this rapprochement with Israel and indirectly with the West (i.e. The United States).[22] Another sign of rapprochement is a political cartoon drawn by *Ṣalāḥ Jahīn* in 1970, who drew the above cartoon as well "depicting Nasser [The former president of Egypt] playing chess and holding a big chess piece shaped in the image of Rogers [The U.S Secretary of States]. [*Jahīn*] had Nasser saying Shahmat ("check-mate"; in Arabic it reads "the king has died")" (Ghada Talhami, *Palestine in the Egyptian Press* 192). Talhami argued that this cartoon "echoed Nasser's openness to the Rogers Peace Plan while at the same time continuing to hint at the possibility of the resumption of hostilities in light of the continued flow of Soviet military

---

[22]This rapprochement with Israel does not mean that there was a complete shift in that direction. The cartoon reflects on one political trend in Egypt at that time. There are other cartoons that also criticized Israel. Those cartoons were published in the same Egyptian newspapers as the ensuing section shows.

assistance" (192).[23] *Al-Ahrām* which features this cartoon and the cartoon under analysis is known to be the voice of the Egyptian nation and therefore echoes the national attitude of the state.

In rendering Gandhi's non-violent strategy impossible in the Palestinian case, the cartoon relays the Palestinian-Arab's condition as a critique of Israel's settler-colonial violence, the Palestinian resistance, and the advent (or onset) of the *Infitah*. While evoking the memory of Gandhi's successful endeavors in confronting the British, the cartoon narrates the ambivalence of that allusion. Gandhi's object lesson is placed on the abstract ideal level of a cloud that recalls classical Arabic poetry's notion of prosperity. Simultaneously, Gandhi not only becomes a caricature humorously satirizing the landscape below but his amulet becomes an arrow pointing to the razed ground with its speared-head shaped like a drill that digs into the ground in the hopes of exploiting its resources. As such, Gandhi's ambivalent figure parallels the reading below: The reality of the Israeli colonial apparatus, the farcical Palestinian resistance, and Arab governments' aid to Israel's settler colonial strategy. In doing so, the cartoon constructs the past in the present to tap the Palestinians' collective identity.

The prominent Palestinian cartoonist Nājī al-ʿAlī severely criticized this rapprochement and looked at it as national treason. Al-ʿAlī believed that gaining the national land of historic Palestine was the only goal of the national resistance. This goal can only be attained through physical resistance. In the following cartoon, al-ʿAli emphasized this idea by showing an image of a woman handing stones (metaphor of physical resistance) to her barefoot son to attack the occupation (symbolized by barbed wire).

---

[23]Rogers Peace Plan was a peace initiative proposed by the former U.S Secretary of States in the aftermath of the 1967 Six Day War (For more information, see David A. Korn).

Figure 12. Nājī al-ʿAlī, **March 1982, (A Child in Palestine)**

This cartoon shows a wearied woman handing a stone to the child, *Ḥanẓalah*. The barbed wire next to her turns into a flower spring. *Ḥanẓalah* throws stones despite the barbed wire in front of him.

This cartoon uses a number of pictorial metaphors to incite a physical resistance against the Israeli occupation. The Israeli occupation is expressed in the metaphor of the wire. Zeina Maasri (*Off the Wall*) asserted that some of the posters produced during the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990) utilized the images of barbed wires to metaphorically symbolize "inaccessible borders and occupied territories, namely South Lebanon under Israeli occupation" (74). The cartoon suggests the means to resist this occupation through the metaphor of stones, as a central symbol of resistance. Stones are taken from the land; the land that was taken; and the land

Palestinians were forced to leave. Taking their only means of resistance from the land indicates their association to it. Their land becomes the locus of their identity. The land maintains a feeling of rootedness. The land provides fixity of identity for individuals regardless of the factions they belong to, their religious orientation, and educational background. To use Yi-Fu Tuan's terms, "rootedness" was giving way to a "sense of place" (3). In the Arab culture, land is also associated with honor, captured in the linguistic world play *al-Arḍ 'Irḍ* (The land is honor). This cultural heritage asserts responsibility to individuals to protect the land in the same way they protect their honor. Muhammad Y. Muslih postulated that "... Arabs of Palestine... concluded that their destiny and their responsibility lay in their native land..." (*The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism* 192).

Land is also connected to peasantness. Peasants (*fellaheen*) played a vital role in resisting the occupation of Palestine throughout history. Their significant role in the 1936 Revolt is still remembered and commemorated. Further, The Shiite fellaheen of Bint Jubayl, South Lebanon, revolted against the French in 1936. Malek Abisaab demonstrated that this revolt demanded unity with Syria; among other things, this peasant history sheds light on the heroic role of Shiite fellaheen in their national struggle against French colonial rule. The image of fellaheen in these national uprisings becomes a site of memory and therefore a means for constructing a national identity. In "Migrant Labour," Glenn Bowman highlighted the significance of land in constructing a nation's identity:

> Peasantness- with its connotations of a specific relation to a land-based mode of production- here becomes an identity, something political and articulate, something to struggle for. The peasant, threatened with the loss of the land which

allows him to be a peasant, raises the link of land and self to the status of an identity (450).

The land is associated with identity because it is the locus of hope. This idea is metaphorically represented in this cartoon by way of the flower sprouting from the barbed wire. The spring flower announces its symbolic power. Having the flower sprout from the land sends visual messages that guarantee triumph over disaster. This visual depiction spreads hope that after occupation, liberation will come out in a similar way as this flower sprouts out of the barbed wire.[24] In order for the flower to sprout and triumph as a signifier of reality, the mother, a symbol of the nation, hands *Ḥanẓalah*, a refugee child, stones, the Palestinians means of resistance. In doing so the image emotionally bounds together the politically mobile masses with their nation as mother. In her analysis of a poster for Sliman Mansour (A famous Palestinian artist) where he uses an image of *Salma*, a metaphor of Palestine, Kirsen Scheid stated "metaphorically, she [*Salma*] unites the people in the same way the land does" (cited in Dana Bartelt 55).[25] Interestingly, in Arabic morphology, words that share the same root are usually related in meaning. This same case applies to the Islamic *Ummah* (nation) and *Umm* (mother).

In a nutshell, the national symbols deployed by the above cartoons heighten the sense of a nationalistic communality among the victimized Palestinians by tapping on their ingroup solidarity and calling for a collective practice to overthrow the "Other." One such collective

---

[24]Zeina Maasri said that Bekka, a fertile valley in eastern Lebanon, was bombarded by the Syrian army in April 1981, a poster was drawn to feature "depict[ing] the fertile landscape of the Bekka protected by the ghostlike figure of a Virgin Mary holding a machine gun that emits a flower bouquet" (79). Maasri explained "a fertile landscape, a machine gun that emits a flower bouquet are the dreamlike images associated to [the Syrian military attack] as [a bright memory for the Bekka's community]" (80).

[25]Silman Mansour is considered an artist of the *Intifaḍah* (Ankori, 2006). He is also the head of the Palestinian Artists' League and Director of the Al Wasiti Center in east Jerusalem (Bartelt, 2004).

practice is physical resistance. Joe Sacco ("Introduction") commented on the above-mentioned cartoon and said that "[l]ong-suffering Palestinian mothers show their support for the children of the Intifadah (turning barbed wire into spring flowers). Al-Ali prophesized the Intifadah years before it took place" (113). His wife, Umm Khālid, wrote after the eruption of the Intifaḍah: [Oh Nājī], you won the bet!" (cited in Rashād Abū Shāwar 36) for the Intifaḍah actually occurred as al-ʿAlī anticipated. The ensuing section presents analysis of some cartoons that feature the Palestinian first *Intifāḍah*.

The first Palestinian *Intifāḍah* erupted on December 9, 1987. "The spark that ignited the Palestinian uprising," according to Avi Shlaim, "was the seemingly intentional killing …. of four residents of Jabaliyah, the largest of the eighth refugee camps in the Gaza Strip, by an Israeli truck driver" (460). In an interview to an Israeli Radio one day after the eruption of the *Intifāḍah*, Rashad al-Shawa, the former mayor of Gaza, said:

> One should expect such things after 20 years of miserable occupation. The people have lost all hope. They are absolutely frustrated. They don't know what to do… they have lost hope that Israel will ever give them their rights. They feel the Arab countries are unable to accomplish anything. They feel that the PLO, which they regarded as their representative, has failed to accomplish anything (cited in Aryeh Shalev 13).

The disturbances spread rapidly to the rest of Gaza and later to the West Bank, Shlaim added. He further stated that tens of thousands of Palestinian men, women, and children went to the streets demonstrating, burning tires, throwing stones and Molotov cocktails at Israeli military vehicles,

and waving the Palestinian flag. It was a revolt against the colonial rule, just like that of the 1936-39 Revolt, which aimed at "self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state… [I]ntifada may be seen as the Palestinian war of independence" (Shlaim 460). Dina Matar argued that "[t]he *intifada* consciously styled after, and compared with, the 1936-39 revolt" (156). The Israeli forces in turn used "cudgels, night sticks, tear gas, water cannons, rubber bullets and live ammunition," Shlaim explained, "to quell the disturbances" (460). These security measures lead to nothing but "gathered momentum" (Shlaim 460). The first *Intifāḍah* received broad-based coverage. Images of beaten women and children by the Israeli troops circulated widely (Shlaim). The *Intifāḍah* had far-reaching consequences for the entire world: There was a fear that the *Intifāḍah* may spread internationally. This motivated the United State to re-evaluate its policy towards the Arab-Israeli conflict. The former U.S Secretary of States, George Shultz, proposed a peace plan between the Israelis and Palestinians called "the Shultz Initiative." Since Palestine and Transjordan (Modern-day Jordan) were unified during that time, the Shultz Initiative excluded the PLO from negotiations and "included the participation of local Palestinians… in a joint Transjordanian-Palestinian delegation" (David Makovsky 8). Later, on July 31, 1998, King Hussein of Jordan renounced his claim to the West Bank. This factor paved the way for the PLO to be a legitimate party in peace negotiations. In June 1990, the United States stopped negotiating with the PLO "because the organization refused to condemn an abortive seaborne on a beach near Tel Aviv or to punish [some of its perpetrators]" (Makovsky 10). The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 and the Gulf War in 1991 provided another opportunity for peace talks between the Israelis and Palestinians. This time, "Washington launched a diplomatic initiative in cooperation with Moscow that resulted in the Madrid peace conference in October 1991" (Makovsky 11). A series of negotiations occurred between the PLO

and the Israeli government officials. Some of these negotiations were held secretly in Oslo, hosted by the "Institute for Applied Social Sciences [FAFO]" (Makovsky 13). These negotiations ultimately led both sides to sign a historical peace treaty, or what is called The Declaration of Principles or Oslo Accord, on September 13, 1993, in the White House (Makovsky). The PLO's Chairman Yāsir ʿArafāt, and the Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin attended the ceremony as well as the United States President Bill Clinton.

The Palestinian people looked at the Oslo Accord as a dismal failure, and as a diplomatic move to curb the Palestinian national resistance. In *The End of the Peace Process*, Edward Said claimed that the conditions under which Oslo was constituted aimed only to intensify the occupation. He postulated that while "Oslo ended Palestinian dispossession," it did not "genuinely alleviate the short-term miseries of an Israeli military occupation, during which the economy, infrastructure, human resources of the Palestinians had been programmatically damaged" (109). The eruption of the *Intifāḍah* has served as a poignant rhetorical pulpit for the Palestinian cartoons. The cartoon by Nājī al-ʿAlī documents the material and social ruination that the Palestinians continue to suffer under occupation, expresses Palestinian rejection of occupation, and seeks to mobilize the masses. Sliman Mansour stated that "[a]t first [artists] used subjects which were directly inspired by the dramatic happenings of the Intifada: children throwing stones, demonstrations, beating by soldiers, flying the flag, etc. But these proved less effective than the moving scenes of confrontation that flooded the media" (cited in Dana Bartlet 55). Thus in this section, I argue that the Palestinian cartoons selected participate in the Palestine national discourse by depicting the Palestinian national interests being threatened by antagonistic others: dormant Arab policy towards solving the Palestinian-Israel conflict, the United States bias towards Israel, and Israel (the main foe). In other words, the Palestinian national identity,

which leads to the formulation of their distinctive community, is forged in relation to feelings of antagonism inflicted by "outside" (Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony* 146) agents.

The following cartoon articulates how the Palestinians conceive their own ingroup distinctive community in opposition to the "outside"—the Arab disputes and the Israeli occupation.
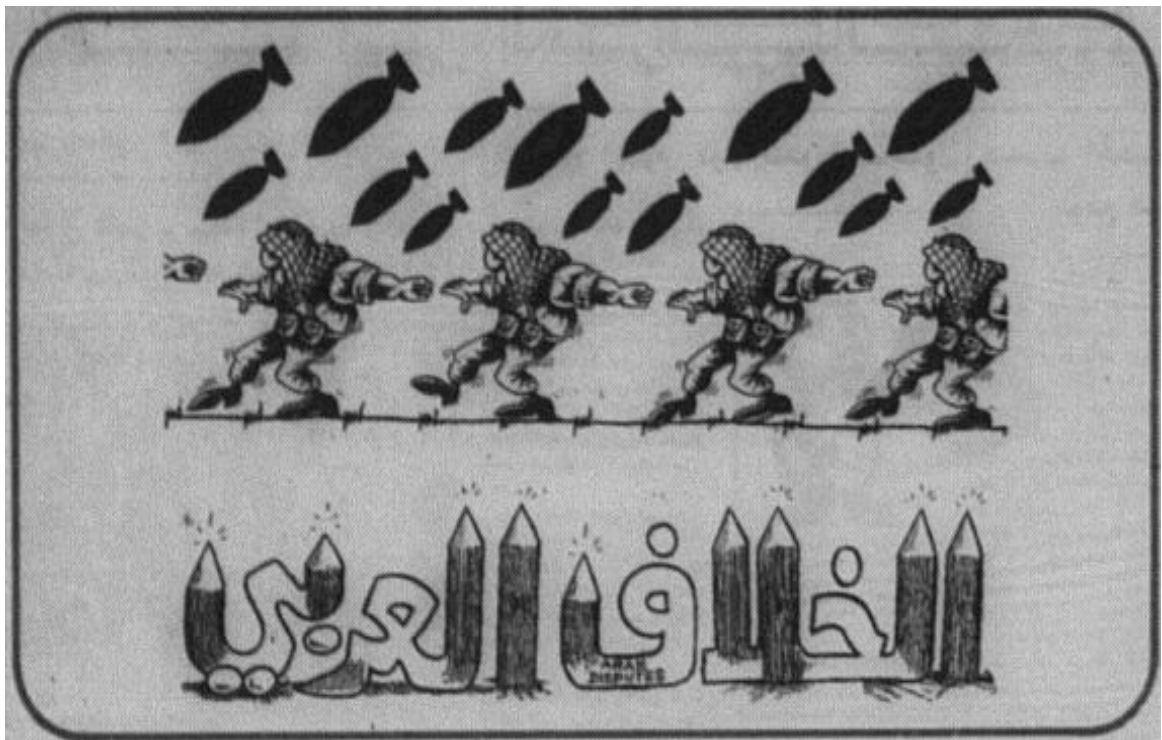

Figure 13. Unknown Cartoonist, *al-Quds*, September 9, 1988.

This pictorial representation poignantly portrays the experience of the Palestinian people during the *Intifāḍah*. The image shows four Palestinian guerrillas in full combat gear draped by the Palestinian *kūfiyyah* crossing a barbed wire. The four Palestinian guerrillas are extending their hands to each other in a sign of their collaborative effort to finish crossing the barbed wire without falling. Towards the end of the barbed wire, a hand is extended towards the four Palestinians to possibly reach a safe land. The four Palestinians are bombarded by rockets from above and targeted by *al-Khilāf al-ʿArabī* (Arab discord) from the bottom, which appears in a

blended linguistic text. The heads of the Arabic letters (alif (ا), lām (ل), fā' (ف), bā' (ب), and yā' (ي)) become sticks with sharpened heads. An English rendering of *al-Khilāf al-'Arabī* is inscribed inside the fā' (ف) letter Arab Disputes. The English linguistic text reinforces the visual message.

I argue that the cartoon depicts Palestinian identity by placing the Palestinian resistance at risk by way of a number of metaphors. The Palestinian guerrillas symbolize resistance (monomodal metaphor) being attacked by the Arab disputes, which is formed from sticks with sharp heads (Multimodal of "verbo-pictorial varaiety"). The barbed wire indicates the occupation (monomodal metaphor) that threatens the Palestinian resistance. The interpretation of these metaphors is that Israel, with its weapons and Arabs with their internal disputes, are quelling the Palestinian resistance and, therefore, blocking the road for the Palestinian national liberation. The verbal phrase, *al-Khilāf al-'Arabī*, helps anchor this metaphorical mapping of the cartoon through "montage" (McCloud). It emphasizes the illustration of the portrayed scene, which could have been interpreted as the Arab disputes crush the Palestinian resistance.

Arab disputes are condemned here for they do not serve the interests of the Palestinian national community. The Palestinian people believe that Arab governments have a dynamic role to play in liberating their land. This role seems, however, to collide with the Arabs disputes, which become a hindrance for their national liberation and threaten its existence. Palestinians perceive this threat as a call to unify their effort in protecting their national project of liberation. Likewise, Israel receives a similar criticism for targeting the Palestinian resistance with its weapons. Such portrayal of the Arab disputes and the Israeli intervention to suppress the national resistance produces feelings of antagonism "inside" the Palestinian populace. This antagonism against the "outside" (Arab disputes and Israel) consolidates connection among the Palestinians.

In this manner, this cartoon helps shape the Palestinian identity by placing the Palestinian resistance at risk. This finding resonates with that of Glenn Bowman who in "Constitutive Violence" observes that:

> For nationalism to emerge, one has not only to see one's identity as integrally linked with that of a wider community but also has to sense that that community – and the identity with which it provided oneself – is at risk. (321)

Palestinians who are threatened by this risk are invited to imagine the Arab disputes and the Israeli occupation as antagonists. This antagonistic relationship invites the Palestinians to engage in collective action with national sovereignty as their main goal of this collective action.

The success of the *Intifāḍah* led the international community to take concrete steps towards finding a settlement for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with the view of establishing a possible Palestinian independent state. These concrete steps collide with the United States and Israeli interests, as well as prioritizing the Israeli interests over the Palestinian ones. The following cartoons represent these themes.
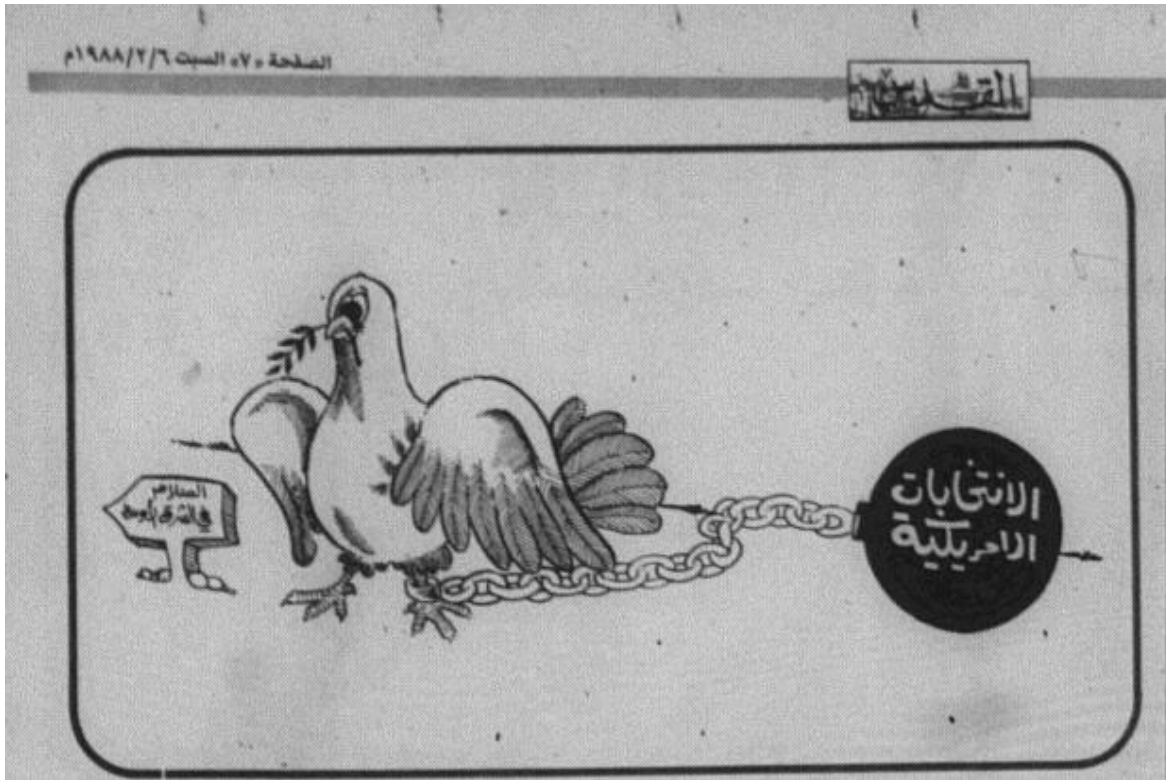
Figure 14. Unknown Cartoonist, *al-Quds*, February 6, 1988

This cartoon was published just months before the United States' 1988 presidential elections. The cartoon features a dove clinching an olive branch. The dove's left leg is shackled to a black ball which resembles a bomb. *Al-Intikhabāt al-Amrīkiyah* (The American elections) is inscribed on that bomb. Next to the dove is a sign pointing to the left reading *al-Salām fī al-Sharq al-Awasaṭ* (peace in the Middle East).

The dove and the olive branch symbolize peace thus inviting us to derive the pictorial (Monomodal) metaphor the dove and olive branch are peace. This cartoon also features the metaphor: The American elections are a bomb threatening the Middle East. The linguistic texts (*al-Intikhābāt al-Amrīkiyyah* and *al-salām fī al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ*) help decipher the mappable features of the image of the bomb and its relations to the dove and the olive branch. This type of metaphor is multimodal where the source domain, the American elections, is cued verbally by the inscriptions on the bomb, and the target domain, a bomb threatens the Middle East, is cued

pictorially by the image of the bomb and the linguistic text, *al-Salām Fī al-Sharq al-Awasaṭ*. Here, the source is represented "partially" (Elizabeth El Refaie, "Multiliteracies") in different modes: Verbal and visual. This interpretation of this multimodal metaphor gives credence to El Refaie's modified definition of multimodal metaphor originally coined by Liliana Bounegru and Charles Forceville. Her modified definition stated that "the target and the source are represented 'exclusively or predominantly' or *partially* in different modes" (El Refaie 191[emphasis mine]). In order to decipher relationships between the different visual and verbal elements in this cartoon, we need to call on our "world knowledge" (Charles Forceville, *Pictorial Metaphor* 106). Arabs believe, by and large, that wining the United States presidential elections is linked to the presidential candidates' support to Israel. Based on this belief, the mapped connotation of this metaphor is that American Presidential election's has disastrous effects. Moreover, it guides the interpretation of the cartoon as 'The American presidential elections have disastrous effects on the peace process in the Middle East.' It is noted that this mapped connotation is articulated by the interplay of the visual and verbal modes as they act in concert with each other. The verbal and the visual elements convey different pieces of information that result in a bigger argument that neither mode can convey alone ("relay" Barthes, *Mythologies*).

The cartoon plays on the association between the American elections and peace process in the Middle East to produce antagonism towards the United States among the viewers. Since 1948 the U.S presidential candidates spared no effort or time in openly showing this support. The candidates in many instances paid visits to Israel prior to the elections to support Israel and its right of existence. Michael W. Suleiman stated that "[i]t is common knowledge that during elections years, and more so during national presidential elections, U.S. policy toward the Middle East is either at a standstill or is very pro-Israeli and anti-Arab in tone, primarily to

please Israel's supporters" ((341). This cartoon uses a fictional scene and connects it to the following political arguments: 1) American presidential elections threaten peace process in the Middle East, and 2) wining the U.S presidential election hinges on supporting Israel.

U.S favoring of Israel highlights the immorality and questions the legitimacy of its practices towards peace in the Middle East. Such practices do not subscribe to the humanitarian codes of morality and therefore render them unacceptable. Adnan Abu Odeh spoke of the reasons as to why the Arab press has a negative image of the United States. Among these reasons is the idea that "America does not live up to the ideals of its policy in the Middle East. It does not practice what it preaches" (359). By depicting the United States as an immoral and untrustworthy mediator for the peace process, this cartoon invites members of the Palestinian community to maintain a distance with the United States and Israel, and therefore, with their plan of peace in the region. In maintaining this distance with the United States and Israel (outgroup), the cartoon constructs a collective identity among members of the Palestinian community (ingroup) who are directly inflicted by this act of immorality. To put it differently and following Bowman's methodology in "Constitutive Violence," the United States' immoral practices constitute concepts of communal identity among the Palestinians around antagonistic imaginings: The United States and Israel ("others") in Palestine.

The peace talks between the Israelis and Palestinians under the auspices of the United Sates and the international community culminated in calls for holding an international peace conference to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Figure 15. Unknown Cartoonist, *al-Quds*, 2 November, 1991

Here, *Mu'tamar al-Salām* (Peace conference) is drawn in bold black. A key is penetrating the first letter, "Mīm" (م) of this linguistic text. *Al-shar'iyyah al-duwaliyyah* (International legitimacy) is inscribed on the key.

This cartoon was drawn a month after the inauguration of Madrid peace conference talks in October 1991. The linguistic caption, *Mu'tamar al-Salām*, is a political reference to this event. The image of the key and its linguistic text invite us to illicit the metaphor the international legitimacy is a key. The source domain, a key, is cued pictorially, and the target domain is specified verbally, which renders the metaphor a multimodal one. The connotation mapped of this metaphor is that 'international legitimacy is a problem-solver;' it is the only guarantor for solving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Here, the text helps identify the denotative meaning of the key as 'The international legitimacy.' It then directs the viewers towards a particular interpretation for solving the ambiguity of the key image in this cartoon. In *The Rhetoric of Image*, Barthes remarked that "the text directs the reader through the signifieds of the image,

causing him to avoid some and receive others (39-40). Through "anchorage" Barthes claimed, the text helps the viewer perceive the pictorial image and identify the possible interpretations.

At the diplomatic level, the international legitimacy includes withdrawing from the occupied territories annexed in the 1967 War. The UN Security Council Resolution 242 issued on November 22, 1967 reads as follows:

> 1. Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:
>
> (i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict; (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force (cited in Samih K. Farsoun, Naseer H. Aruri, *Palestine and the Palestinians* 407).

The international legitimacy also includes solving the problem of the Palestinian refugees who lost their homes and lands in the aftermath of *al-Nakbah* and *al-Naksah*. Addressing the right of return of the Palestinian refugees, U.N General Assembly Resolution 194 (III) of 1948 unequivocally:

Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for the loss of damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible (cited in Francis A. Boyle 15).

At the Palestinian public level, however, the international legitimacy means re-gaining the Palestinian sovereignty on historic Palestinian land—From the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea.

The endeavors of the international community to find a solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict represented by the UN Resolutions clash with U.S-Israeli joint policy as the ensuing cartoon portrays.

Figure 16. Unknown Cartoonist, *al-Quds***, May 22, 1992.**

This cartoon shows Uncle Sam swallowing a letter with *al-qarār raqam 191*: *ḥaqq ʿawdat al-lāji'īn* (Resolution number 194: Refugees Right of Return). In front of Uncle Sam, Yitzhak Shamir, former Israeli Prime Minister (1986-1992), stands with his hands on his hip while watching Uncle Sam. These visual depictions lead us to construe a number of metaphors: Shamir is Israel, Uncle Sam is the United States, and the paper is UN Resolution 194. It is to be noted that these verbalizations lead to a categorization of the previous two metaphors as pictorial, and the latter as multimodal. The mapped connotation of these metaphors is that 'Israel has hegemony over the United States, and Israel and the U.S collaborate to disown UN Resolution 194.' This hegemony is further intensified by the physical posture of Shamir. Shamir appears in this cartoon putting his hands on his hip while watching Uncle Sam. In the Arab culture, this gesture indicates superiority. The United States appears impotent when it comes to Israel's political interests and agenda. Abu Odeh reflected on this impotency: "[a]ny decision on the Middle East is made not by America, but by Israel; it's a case of the tail wagging the dog" (359).

By highlighting the American-Israeli collaboration against the Palestinians' national interests, the cartoon leads us to perceive an atmosphere of disquiet and anxiety among the Palestinians. As a result, it calls the Palestinians to self-categorize themselves (ingroup) as distinct and different from the Israelis and Americans (outgroup). This categorization leads the Palestinians to perceive America and Israel as common foes. This self-categorization in turn maintains a Palestinian collective identity in opposition to common foes: Israel and the United States. Perceiving the United Stated and Israel as common foes builds thresholds of belonging among the Palestinians, which, consequently, increase the potential for national struggle to protect the interests of their national community. This finding supports one of Bowman's ("Antagonism") main theses that he developed when he worked on the construction of the

Palestinian national identity under the Israeli occupation and in the diaspora: "the way perceptions of a shared enemy can lead to the subordination of communal differences to a common endeavor to overthrow the power of that antagonist" (p. 36). In this manner, having a "shared enemy" elaborates the Palestinian "imagined community."

The following cartoon demonstrates another deceptive and therefore immoral role played by the United States towards peace at the Madrid Conference.

Figure 17. Unknown Cartoonist, *al-Quds*, November 7, 1992

This cartoon shows a Palestinian man sitting on a table wearing a suit and a Palestinian *kūfiyyah*. The Palestinian appears sitting on the table and opening three boxes. These boxes have a linguistic caption on each, which reads, from the largest to the smallest, *Mu'tamar Madrīd* (Madrid Conference), *Wāshunṭun (1)* (Washington (1)), and *Wāshunṭun (2)* (Washington (2)). The boxes appear that they were inside each other. The disappointed Palestinian man opens the boxes and finds them empty. By way of this textual support, the images of the three empty boxes, and the given historico-political context, the cartoon features three multimodal metaphors:

Madrid conference is an empty box, Washington (1) is an empty box and Washington (2) is an empty box. In all of these three metaphors, the source domains are pictorially represented and the target domains are verbally specified as 'Madrid Conference; Washington (1); and Washington (2)' in captions. Mapping includes 'International peace conferences and the United States diplomatic efforts are illusions.' The underlying message of these metaphoric articulations indicates the lack of seriousness and unreliability of the United States' efforts in making peace in the Middle East. Arabs attribute this unreliability to the United States' bias towards Israel as is shown in the previous cartoon. Depicting this unreliability diffuses antagonistic messages among the Palestinians. Such antagonistic views allows the Palestinians to help the Palestinians share a national communality, to perceive themselves (ingroup) and their ability to formulate their own distinctive collective entity in opposition to the United States and Israel as common foes (outgroups). This self-categorization through sharing negative attitudes towards Israel and the U.S is what enhances identification among the Palestinians, and consequently formulates their nationalistic collective identity. This argument goes in line with that of Bowman ("Antagonism" 321), who stated that:

> Identity… emerges from identification. The nationalist imaginary reifies as 'the nation' the imagined collectivity of all those who suffer 'the same' violence at the hands of a common enemy. It presents the world as divided between the good, but threatened, community of an 'us' and the evil community of a 'them', existing solely to destroy that 'us.'

The cartoon transposes onto the "Other" negative attributes such as bias towards Israel, conspiracy, and deception to consolidate the Palestinians, "us," and then mobilize them to counter the "Other." In his investigation of how the enemy's image is constructed in the history of political propaganda, Sam Keen (*Faces of the Enemy*) argued that "'hostile imagination' justifies and legitimizes hostile acts" (cited in Zeina Maasri 102). By way of "anchoring," the verbal tags of the cartoon help formulate this "hostile imagination" of the "Other."

Controlling world policy and favoring Israel's interests to consolidate its state are stereotypes prevailing among the Arab populace. This proves no exception when it comes to the role the United States plays as a key mediator for peace talks between the Palestinians and the Israelis, as the following cartoon pictorially shows. I argue that the following cartoon uses the United States-favoring-Israel stereotype to formulate the Palestinian national community by spreading feelings of alienation and antagonism towards Israel and the United States among the viewers.
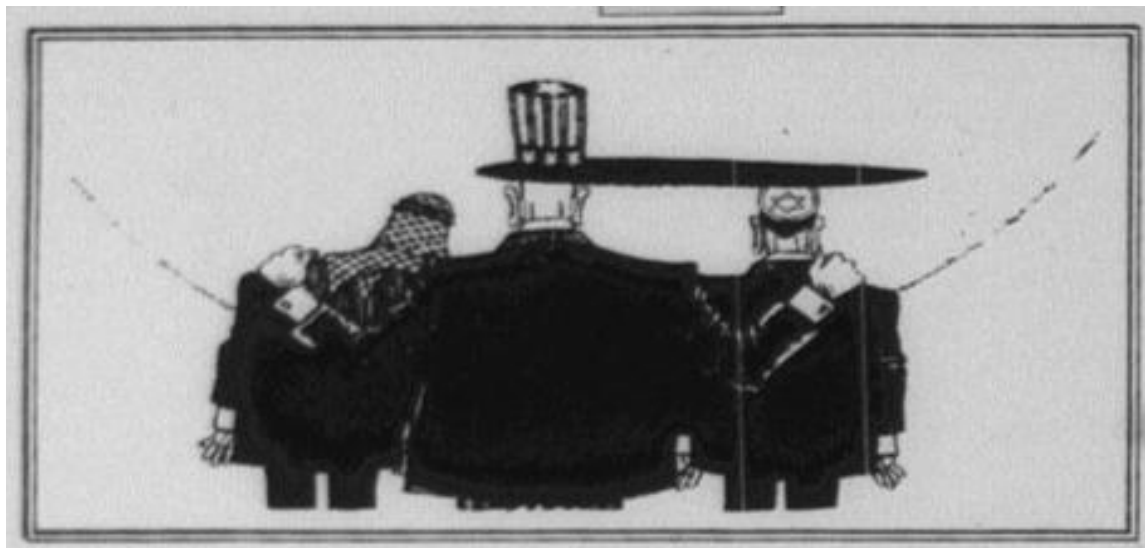

Figure 18. Unknown Cartoonist, *al-Quds*, November 5, 1993.

Uncle Sam appears in this cartoon standing between an Israeli man with a Star of David inscribed on his *Kippah*, the Jewish skull cap, and an Arab man wearing a Palestinian *kūfiyya*h. The Arab man leans closely towards Uncle Sam's hat seeking shelter. Uncle Sam's hat extends to only shelter the Israeli man who stands indifferently.

The cartoon was drawn several weeks after the PLO signed the peace treaty with Israel on September 13, 1993. The cartoon shows dissatisfaction with the peace treaty. The dissatisfaction is articulated metaphorically in a number of personifications: The Palestinian man stands for Palestine, the Israeli man stands for Israel, and Uncle Sam stands for the United States. These symbolic representations facilitate an understanding of the intended meaning of the cartoon without resorting to any linguistic texts to anchor its meaning. They show that the United States cares more about the interests of Israel than it cares about the interests of the Palestinians. The United States' support of Israel renders the Palestinians subordinate. The cartoon contributes to the loss of faith in the U.S among its viewers. It also suggests a danger emanating from the United States' support for Israel, which renders the United States an untrustworthy peace mediator among Arabs and Palestinians. Such negative perceptions of the United States as an untrustworthy political body and of the dominant role of Israel help fuel the Palestinians with feelings of antagonism and insecurity. These perceptions categorize Israel and the United States as foes on moral and human rights grounds as well as for Palestinian self-determination. In so doing, this cartoon enhances common interests among Palestinians who are inflicted by the American immoral practice; it constitutes concepts of communal identity around imaginings of antagonistic others in Palestine. Consequently, it engages the victimized in a collective action and the potential for national confrontation. To put it differently, through depicting America and

Israel as foes, the cartoons constitute a nationalist position that depends upon a depiction of the Palestinian as "Us" while the U.S and Israel are the "Others."

Producing "Otherness" is the Palestinian cartoons' dominant technique in constructing the Palestinian national identity not only in peace time but also in war. This section analyzes the cartoons that feature two major violent confrontations between the Palestinians and Israelis: The Palestinian second *Intifāḍah* (2000-2005), and Gaza War in 2009.

The second Palestinian *Intifāḍah* erupted on December 28, 2000 when the former Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon visited *al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* (the Nobel Sanctuary of Jerusalem).[26] This historic visit aimed at asserting the Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem—the Holy City (Wendy Pearlman, *Occupied Voices*). The provocative visit angered Palestinians and lead to the second uprising known as the *Intifāḍah*, (literally, "shaking off"). For approximately 5 years, Palestinian children (known as "the children of stones") used the same means of resistance they used in the first *Intifāḍah* to defend *al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* (i.e. street demonstrations, burning tires, throwing stones and Molotov cocktails at Israeli military vehicles, and waving the Palestinian flag). Israel, on the other hand, used police batons, tear gas, live ammunition, rubber bullets, air raids, and heavy artilleries to quell the *Intifāḍah*. Pearlman stated that after Sharon's visit to al-ḥaram al-sharīf, "[t]he next afternoon, Friday prayers at the Al-Aqsa Mosque ended in violence leaving 70 Israeli police injured by Palestinian rock throwing and four Palestinians killed and over 200 wounded by Israeli gunfire" (XI). These clashes at *al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* lead to similar others all over the Occupied Territories in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The first *Intifāḍah* witnessed the emergence of the Islamic organization Ḥamās. Ḥamās is a Palestinian Islamist socio-political group that "emerged in Gaza in 1987" (Phyllis Bennis,

---

[26]*al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* consists of the Dom of the Rock and the sanctified mosque.

Understanding 190) when the first *Intifāḍah* erupted in the Occupied Territories (CRS Issue Brief). Ḥamās participated in the January 2006 Palestinian parliamentary elections and won a decisive majority in the Palestinian Parliament, defeating Fatḥ, a major Palestinian political party and the largest faction of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). Bennis explained:

> After Hamas won parliamentary election… Israeli-US demonization and increasing Israeli, US, and EU suppression made real governing power impossible. The Israeli-US position, backed by Europe, was to isolate the Palestinians, particularly Hamas, until they explicitly agreed to recognize Israel as a Jewish state, implement all earlier agreements, and renounce violence (191).

Dispute over control of Palestinian security forces resulted in the 2007 armed clash between Fatḥ and Ḥamās, after which "Hamas initiated a bloody takeover in Gaza and seized control of the Strip. In response to this, Israel tightened its already onerous closure of Gaza, imposing a full blockade against the movement of goods and individuals" (Gaza After the War 31).

The Gaza War was a three-week armed conflict that took place in the Gaza Strip and Southern Israel during the winter of 2008–2009. "Israel launched its wide-scale attack on Gaza on December 27" (Gaza After the War 33). According to the official website of Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the military operations aimed "[t]o stop the bombardment of Israeli civilians by destroying Hamas' mortar and rocket launching apparatus and infrastructure," and "[t]o reduce the ability of Hamas and other terrorist organization in Gaza to perpetrate future attacks

against the civilian population in Israel."[27] The war ended on January 18, 2009, when Israel first announced a unilateral ceasefire, followed by Ḥamās declaring a one-week ceasefire twelve hours later. Israel completed its withdrawal on January 21, 2009. Ironically, the Israeli official discourse does not seem to support the facts on the ground as given by these figure: 1,380 Palestinians were killed during the war, including 431 children and 112 women. Eleven Israeli soldiers and 4 civilians were killed (Gaza After the War). Focusing on these figures suggests that the object of the Israeli military's rhetoric is invalid.

The nature of the Gaza War and the second *Intifāḍah* has not received adequate attention in the Euro-American mainstream visual media. This analysis is an attempt to shed more light on the untold story of this conflict through a visual analysis of the political cartoons published in two Palestinian newspapers, namely *al-Quds* and *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah*, during the Gaza War and the second *Intifāḍah*. I argue that the Palestinian cartoons are used as source material for constructing the Palestinian national community by visually constructing images of "Us" vs. "Them;" "Self" vs. "Other;" "friend" vs. "foe." The selected cartoons employ several strategies for constructing these binary images: Dehumanizing the enemy by appropriating religious stories to current political events, appealing to well-known religious leaders, commemoration of successful past events, and representing the Palestinian woman as the nation of Palestine. These strategies seek to mobilize individuals of the Palestinian community for collective action to protect their distinctive cultural heritage. The cartoons selected justify national collective action amongst the inflicted Palestinians by imagining Israel, the United States, the Arab leadership, and the UN as their enemies. Keen (18) argued that "[t]he hostile imagination begins with a simple but crippling assumption: what is strange

---

[27]http://www.mfa.gov.il/gazafacts>

or unknown is dangerous and intends us evil. The unknown is untrustworthy." Keen added that "[o]ne primary function of this paranoid metaphysic of *Homo hostilis* is to justify the killing of outsiders and to rationalize warfare" (18, emphasis in original). By depicting Israel, the United States, the Arab leadership, and the UN as foes, the cartoons invite the viewers to disassociate themselves from them, produce antagonistic relationship with them, and formulate their collective community. Further, In the *The Limits of Interpretation* Lyombe Eko analyzed political cartoons published in some satirical African newspapers to see how African political leaders are depicted in these cartoons during the post-Cold War period (1995-2004). He found that "the cartoons used transilience, the African narrative device whereby human beings are given animal attributes for purposes of satire, and "deterritorialization," whereby they are symbolically taken out of their natural "territories" in order to denounce the excess of authoritarianism" (219). The section is concerned with the manner in which the selected Palestinian cartoons denounce the above-mentioned foes through "transilience" and what Deleuze and Guattari called "deterritorialization" (cited in Eko). I argue that using "transilience" and "deterritorialization" in depicting these foes alienates them among the Palestinians. Keen argued that "... nations create a sense of solidarity and membership in part by systematically creating enemies" (17). Through this antagonism, the Palestinian national community is constructed.

The cartoons surveyed in the previous section have shown that the Palestinians construct their nation by viewing their struggle with Israel with "imagined communities of "us" and "others"" (Bettina Schmidt and Ingo Schroder, *Anthropology of Violence* 32). This is no exception for the cartoons that feature the second *Intifāḍah* (2000-2005) and the Gaza War in 2009. This section presents analysis of the Palestinian second *Intifāḍah* that erupted in December

2000 and lasted approximately until 2005. The section also presents the major political events that occurred during this period—which have affected the shape of the *Intifāḍah* in one way or another—leading to the Gaza War in 2009.

In the following cartoon, the Palestinian community is threatened when Israel puts sacred (al-Aqsá Mosque or al-Quds al-sharīf) places in jeopardy. Such a threat establishes antagonism towards Israel. I argue that Sharon's visit to the al-Aqsá Mosque is what Edward Said (2000, "Invention") called "displacement in the colonial experience." Said explained that "[i]t is easy to see the fact of displacement in the colonial experience, which at bottom is the replacement of one geographical sovereignty, an imperialist one, by another, native force" (182). Sharon's visit can be read as a judaicizng of an Arbo-Islamic site. In other words, imperial Zionism attempts to replace the Arbo-Islamic symbol: al-Aqsá Mosque. Sharon's visit constitutes a "de-signification" of the al-Aqsá Mosque, and metonymically of Palestine. The process of "de-signification" occurs when Sharon attempts to change the landscape of al-Aqsá Mosque metaphorically linked to Abraha Al-Ashram's (ruler of Yemen when Yemen was a part of the Ethiopian kingdom) attempt to destroy the Kaʻbah at Makkah the year when the prophet Muhammed was born. The process of "de-signification" results in an antagonistic relationship between the Palestinians (ingroup) and Sharon (and Israel) (outgroup). This ingroup and outgroup categorization fosters identification and cohesiveness among the ingroup members—the Palestinians— leading to the formation of a collective community. This antagonism is further heightened by dehumanizing Sharon. The following cartoon places the head of Sharon on the body of an elephant, "thereby," using Eko's (223) terms, "reducing" Sharon "to the role of villain […] in mythical morality 'plays.'"
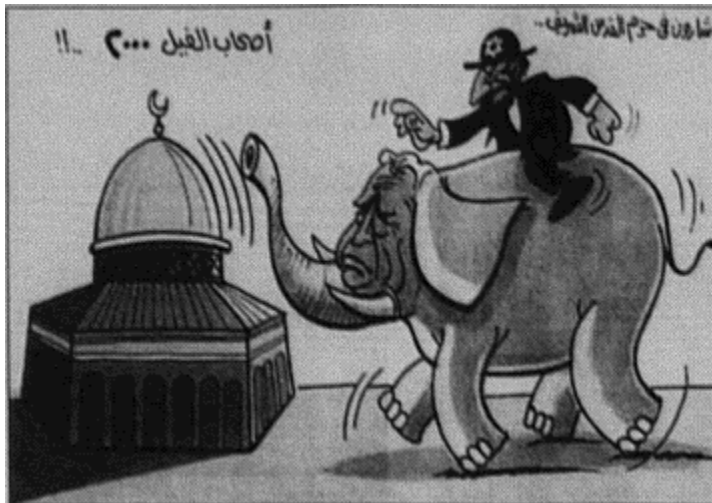
Figure19. Jalāl al-Rifāʿī, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah*, October 1, 2000[28]

In this cartoon, the face of the former Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon is blended into a body

of an elephant. An Israeli man with a Star of David on his hat is riding the elephant and pointing

towards the Dome of the Rock. On the top right corner, a linguistic message reads *Shārūn fī*

ḥaram al-Quds al-Sharīf (Sharon at the Noble Sanctuary of Jerusalem). On the top left corner,

another linguistic text reads *Aṣḥāb al-Fīl 2000* ..!! (The People of the Elephant 2000 ..!!).

This cartoon is a case of fusion where the two objects, Sharon and the elephant, are fused

into one hybrid visual image which expresses the metaphor Sharon is an elephant. Hence both

the target, Sharon, and the source, elephant, are cued pictorially; this metaphor is monomodal

(pictorial variety). The caption Sharon *fī ḥaram al-Quds al-Sharīf* reinforces the pictorial scene,

as such, making the image an example of "anchorage," since both the verbal and pictorial modes

reinforce (Barthes, *The Rhetoric of Image*) one another. In their *How Picture Books Work*, Maria

---

[28]The Palestinian cartoonist Muhammad Sabānih informed me that this cartoon is drawn by Jalāl al-Rifāʿī recognizing that from al-Rifā's style of drawing (personal communication with Muhammad Sabānih, December 12, 2012). Sabānih used to share the cartoon space with al-Rifā and therefore he is familiar with al-Rifā's cartooning style.

Nikolajeva and Carole Scott postulated that when words and texts convey the same message, they "create a mutual redundancy" (15). This repeated visual and linguistic message builds cohesion (Martin Thomas, "Developing Multimodal Texture") across the cartoon. The connotation mapped out of this verbal and visual interaction can be phrased as 'animalistic destruction.' The cartoon borrows features of the elephant as dangerous, irrational, and destructive and, then, maps them onto Sharon. Such features incite the viewers to take actions to stop this threat and prevent the destruction of *al-ḥaram al-Sharīf*. In doing so, the cartoon depicts Sharon as an enemy and, therefore, incites the viewers' antagonism towards him.

The cartoon further reinforces this antagonism through appropriating a Surah in the Quran called *al-Fīl* (The Elephant) to Sharon's visit. This religious Hadith literature is indicated by the linguistic text *Aṣḥāb al-Fīl 2000 ..!!.* The Elephant is the 105th Surah of the Quran that describes the incident of the year of the elephant, the year when the prophet Muhammed was born. The full story of this incident seems worthy to quote at length to fully interpret the message of the cartoon:

> Abraha Al-Ashram was the governor of Yemen on behalf of the king of Ethiopia (as Yemen was a part of the Ethiopian kingdom). He (Abraha Al-Ashram) thought to build a house (like the Ka'bah at Makkah) in San'a (the Capital of Yemen) and call Arabs to perform the pilgrimage there in San'a instead of the Ka'bah (Al-Bait Al-Harām) in Makkah, with the intention of diverting the trade and benefits from Makkah to Yemen. He presented his idea to the king of Ethiopia who agreed to his idea. So the house (church) was built and he named it Al-Qullais; there was no

church of its like at that time. Then a man from the Quraish tribe of Makkah came there and was infuriated by it, so he relieved his nature (stools and urine) in it, soiled its walls and went away. When Abraha Al-Ashram saw that, he could not control his anger and raised an army to invade Makkah and demolish the Ka'bah. He had in that army thirteen elephants and amongst them was an elephant called Mahmūd which was the biggest of them. So that army proceeded and none amongst the Arab tribes that faced them (fought against them) but was killed and defeated, till it approached near Makkah. Then there took place negotiations between Abraha Al-Ashram and the chief of Makkah (Abdul Muttalib bin Hāshim, the grandfather of the Prophet [Muhammad Peace Be Upon Him], and it was concluded that Abraha would restore the camels of Abdul Muttalib which he had taken away, and then he (Abraha Al-Ashram) would decide himself as regards the Ka'bah. Abdul Muttalib ordered the men of Makkah to evacuate the city and go to the top of the mountains along with their wives and children in case some harm should come to them from the invading oppressors. Then that army moved towards Makkah till they reached valley Muhassir. While the army was marching towards Makkah, in the middle of the valley, suddenly it was overtaken by flocks of birds, flocks after flocks, air-raiding that army with small stones slightly bigger than a lentil seed. There never fell a stone on a soldier except it dissolved his flesh and burst it into pieces. So they perished with a total destruction. Abraha Al-Ashram fled away while his flesh was bursting into pieces till he died on the way (back to Yemen). Such was the victory bestowed by Allāh, (the All-Majestic, All Powerful) to the people of Makkah and such was the protection provided by him

for His House (Ka'bah in Makkah) (*Muḥammad Al-Hilālī* and *Muḥammad M. Khān* 850-851).

Clearly, the cartoon draws a parallel between Sharon and Abraha Al-Ashram, thus the metaphor that is to be construed can be verbalized as Sharon is Abraha Al-Ashram. Here, the target is depicted visually whereas the source is specified by the religious context hinted by the linguistic caption, *Aṣḥāb al-Fīl 2000* ..!! (The people of the elephant 2000 ..!!). The caption provides extra information that elaborates on Sharon's presence in the sanctified mosque and, therefore, performs an "additive" (McCloud) function. Although the cartoon incorporates the image of an elephant, the cartoon is still not comprehensible. The text, *Aṣḥāb al-Fīl 2000 ..!!*, provides the setting that makes sense of the visual and the other verbal blend. The mappable connotation of this visual and verbal blend includes 'Oppression,' which guides the interpretation of the cartoon to something such as "Sharon is an oppressor who intends to destroy al-ḥaram al-sharīf." Showing *al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* under threat caused by Sharon, a savage aggressor, divides "the field of sociality" (Bowman, "Constitutive Violence" 321) into those who oppose Sharon's act (friends) and those who support him (foes), and thus constructing antagonistic relationship between the two groups. This antagonism consolidates emotional fear and resentment of the enemy (Sharon/Israel) and consequently, incites friends (Palestinians) to take collective action to protect *al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* from the foes (Israel).

Further, deploying the image of al-ḥaram al-sharīf, particularly during a period encapsulated with a nationalistic fervor, such as that of the *Intifāḍah*, serves as a communal bond among the victimized Palestinians. Anne-Marie Fortier' "Re-membering Places" stated that

physical places may serve as "terrains of belongings," and sites for "performance of collective body." She explicated:

> St Peter's Italian church and its surroundings, in central London… constitute Italian (terrains of) belonging(s): they are at once appropriated as Italian historical and cultural possessions, and used as privileged sites for iterated performance of a collective 'body', the formation of which also implies the construction of differentiated subjects (42).

Thus, deploying religious story in this cartoon intensifies antagonism towards the outgroup (Israel). As a result, individuals of the "ingroup" will "share some emotional involvement" (Henry Tajfel and John Turner, "An Integrative Theory" 40) that helps achieve some collective cohesiveness to defend their nation. National defense is mediated in this cartoon by drawing a parallel between national and religious imagination by putting al-Aqsá Mosque under threat. Dying for the sake of Allah (God) and protecting religious sites is regarded in Islam as martyrdom. Anderson has noted this affinity between national and religious imagination: Self-sacrifice for a sacred cause will mitigate death by "transforming fatality into continuity… [and by linking] the dead and the yet unborn, the mystery of re-generation" (Anderson 11). In a nutshell, this cartoon asserts that the Palestinian imagined community is imaginatively formed by a religious re-presentation of the past.

Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf is a sacred locus for the three monotheistic religions—Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. It serves as a rallying point for the construction of Palestinian national

identity. This visual sacred locus seeks to instill ethical and nationalistic sentiments among the different Palestinian religious groups, and calls them to protect their religious heritage, which appears to be threatened by Israel, the "Other." The image of the Dome of the Rock enjoys a special status in the psyche of Arab Muslims, Christians, and Jews all over the world in general, and amongst Palestinians in particular. Posters of the Dome of the Rock are very popular in Palestinian and Arab households. The Dome of the Rock becomes a nationalistic icon; it is used now as key chains, T-shirts, drawn on walls as graffiti. This ethical significance perhaps explains why this cartoon deploys the image of al-ḥaram al-sharīf. In this connection, Samia S. Halaby explained that "Intifada artists… made [the Dome of the Rock] a primary symbol to assert that Al Quds is a Palestinian Arab city, capital of Palestine, and belongs to the greater Arab world" (8). The Dome of the Rock was built in 640 AD. It becomes "a symbol of unity amongst Palestinians" (Bartelt et al. 21). Jerusalem received a special attention among artists as it is "one of the actual and symbolic sacred centers of the Islamic religion—as well as Christianity and Judaism" (Bartelt et al. 21). Bartelt et al. reported that Sliman Mansour painted one of the most popular posters, *Carry On*, which shows an old man carrying Jerusalem (and the Dome of the Rock) on his back. Bartelt et al. added that Mansour was detained by the Israeli forces on the Jordanian borders for possession of this poster. The poster was inspired by a poem of Ahmad Dahbour entitled *The Camel of Burdens*. The poem reads:

> Oh, you camel of burdens,
> our road is thorny
> and only your teeth can grind the homes.
> Our road is full of sand, but you are the sailor and the runner.

In our childhood, we memorized

your name in our reading books.

You were the ship of the desert.

On the days we hovered on the edge of despair,

you came trembling like children

emerging through the pains of labor,

you came from the parched throat

and the air of the poor.

Oh, you camel of burdens,

walk on with us.

Emulating the grass

we shall not complain.

Some of us will scorch under the hot sun.

Some will be killed when the thorns are thick,

some when death is a spear

parting the road.

But emulating the grass,

we shall not complain.

When the time arrives

that the arch of Haifa shades release

our imprisoned tears.

Oh, camel of burdens, walk with us,

and when we arrive, say to us, "Cry."

For all great happiness has its sorrow

and sadness is one of the fruits of joy.

(*translated by* Aziz Shihab & Naomi Shihab Nye) (cited in Bartelt et al. 115).

The poem implicitly incites resistance and appeals for liberating Palestine, as does Mansour's poster. The iconic image of *al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* becomes a national site for remembering what perceived by the Palestinians as atrocity inflicted on this holy place by Sharon's visit, enhancing group distinctiveness of the Palestinian peoplehood and, as a result, provoking enmity towards Israel.

Sharon's visit to *al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* can be interpreted as an attempt to change the demographic composition of this holy site by obliterating the Palestinian landscape, by Judaizing *al-Ḥaram al-Ḥharīf*. Depicting *al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* under threat of Israel's "de-signification" formulates a collective belonging amongst the Palestinians. The image calls the Palestinians to regain their national sovereignty over *al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* through a national struggle; this way the Palestinian nation is formulated. National sovereignty over one's native land and cultural distinctiveness become necessary factors for the formulation of a nation (Anderson). By spreading these antagonistic relationships and fears of "de-signifying" the holy place, the cartoon unites the Palestinians into a collective community. Tajfel and Turner asserted that "the real conflicts of group interests not only create antagonistic intergroup relations but also heighten identification with, and positive attachment to, the ingroup" (33). This identification amongst the Palestinians is translated into the second *Intifāḍah*, or uprising. The *Intifāḍah* aimed at changing the "ingroup's" situation from being occupied to free human beings. The following cartoon represents the means for achieving this change of political self-definition.

Figure 20. Jalāl al-Rifāʿī, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah*, October 4, 2000

The cartoon depicts a miniature of the actual *Intifāḍah* between the children of the stones and the Israeli soldiers. Three kids are burning tires on the streets and throwing stones towards two Israeli soldiers. The two Israeli soldiers are retaliating with live ammunition. At the top of this scene is an Arab man with an Arab *kūfiyyah* draped around his head. The scene of movement shows him being thrown. Next to the Arab man being thrown a linguistic message that reads *al-ḥāl al-ʿArabī* (The Arabic status). His hands are also clinched, showing his passivity.

This cartoon narrates a typical story of the *Intifāḍah* through the interaction of a number of pictorial metaphors and a linguistic text. The visual setting of the *Intifāḍah* includes tones and burning tires, which are a visual metaphor of resistance. The Arab leadership's stance towards the *Intifāḍah* is pictorially represented by the Arab man, who appears to be feeble. The linguistic

text, *al-ḥāl al-ʿArabī,* performs an "additive" (McCloud) function since it elaborates on the visual representation of the Arab: Thrown in the air by the children of the *Intifāḍah* for being helpless. Through this visual and verbal blend, this cartoon constructs the Palestinian "imagined community" by first displaying the action inflicted by the Israeli soldiers on Palestinian children armed with stones and, second, by criticizing the Arab leadership for seeing this infliction without intervening. This negative depiction of Israel and of the Arab leadership incites enmity towards them. This feeling of enmity calls on the Palestinian people, who share the same history, to categorize themselves as friends with common interests (ingroup), and perceive Israel and the Arab leadership as foes (outgroup). This self-categorization enhances the distinctiveness of Palestinians' cultural identity as one group thereby strengthening its national cohesiveness. The ultimate goal of this self-categorization is to mobilize the Palestinians around their nation, calling for self-sacrifice to protect it. The visual depiction of the children throwing stones towards the Israeli soldiers is an example of such self-sacrifice. Borrowing Anderson's words, this cartoon confronts us with "the colossal numbers [of people] persuaded to lay down their lives" (cited in Maasri 88) as a way of responding to the fear and antagonism created by images of the foe (Israel).

Israel and the United States, however, faced this Arab will to die in these "colossal numbers" for the sake of self-determination by means of annihilation, as the following cartoon exemplifies.
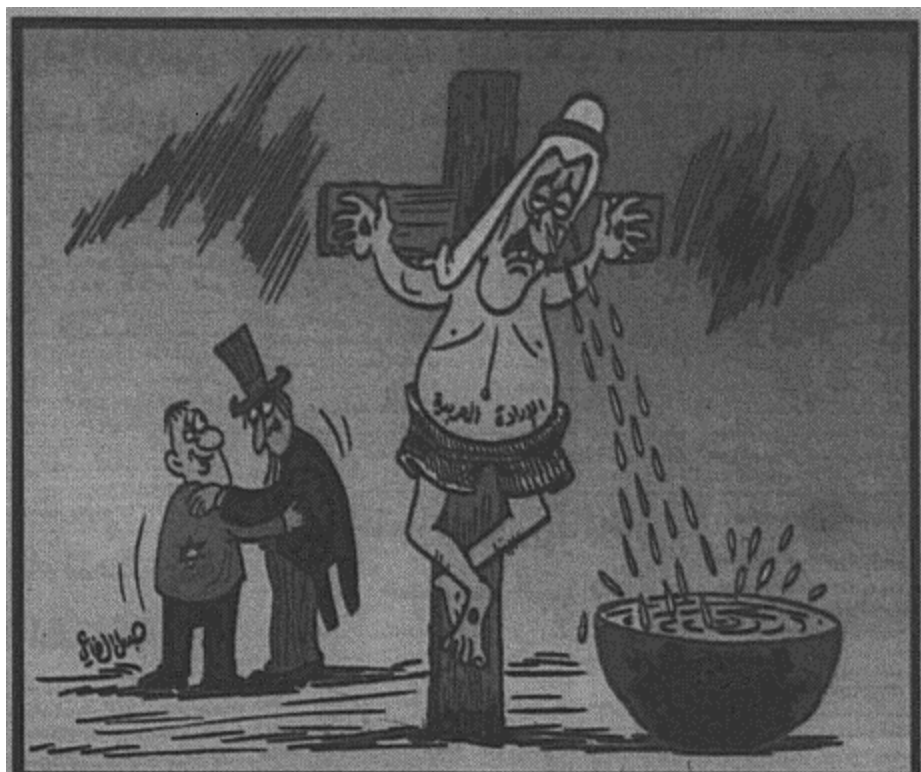
Figure 21. Jalāl al-Rifāʿī, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah*, February 18, 2001

This cartoon shows a half-naked man with an Arab headscarf being crucified on a cross. The Arab man cries and fills a bowl placed in front of him with tears. *Al-Irādah al-ʿArabiyyah* (The Arab will) is inscribed over his stomach. Behind the cross stands Uncle Sam next to a man with a Star of David embroidered on his shirt. They embrace each other while they turn their faces towards the Arab man, laughing mockingly at him.

One of the goals of the Palestinian cartoons is to highlight the participation and involvements of Christians in the Palestinian suffering and national struggle against the colonial rule. This goal is visually expressed by metaphorically tapping on the image of an Arab man (symbolizing the Arab people) being crucified. The metaphor "the Arab man is the Arab people" is cued exclusively by the pictorial modality, although the verbal specification *al-Irādah al-*

'Arabiyyah (the Arab will) reinforces the domain of the metonymic reference to Arabs. The text and the image communicate in essence the same message. McCloud called the role of text in such a context "duo-specific." The cartoon also uses a number of personifications to communicate its message: The Arab will is a man, Uncle Sam is the United States and the Israeli man is Israel. The connotative meaning of these personifications and the verbal label could be rendered as Israel is cooperating with the United States to exterminate the Arab will. The bowl full of tears is an exaggerative visual move that aims to heighten the level of suffering the Arab people experience resultant from the U.S-Israeli policy. The cartoon uses the Arab being crucified perhaps to speak in favor of the Palestinian struggle during the *Intifāḍah*.

This cartoon constructs the Palestinian "imagined community" by inviting Palestinians to self-sacrifice for common interests and for "Us" mimicking Christ's sacrifice for "Us." This cartoon displays an Arab man crucified on a cross replacing Christ. The implication of this display is that the cartoon wants to show the world that Muslims and Christians are united, despite their different religious orientations, when it comes to the struggle against Israel. Given Anderson's (6) words, this cartoon welds the Palestinian individuals into one nation despite the "actual inequality and exploitation" (including their different religious orientations) that may exist amongst them. This "horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 6) is what unites the Palestinians under common national interests. Highlighting this "comradeship" between the Palestinian Christians and Muslims in their national struggle against Israel, Anders Strindberg, an academic and a journalist specializing in Mideast politics, quoted the Anglican bishop of Jerusalem, the Reverend Riah Abu El-Assal, who explained that "[t]he Arab Palestinian Christians are part and parcel of the Arab Palestinian nation. We have the same history, the same culture, the same habits

and the same hopes" (cited in Strindberg). Muslim and Christian Palestinians weld together to forge their unified Palestinian nation.

Furthermore, the Palestinian nation is further consolidated by highlighting the outrage the United States and Israel bring on the Palestinians. The threat of crucifying Palestinians is a poignant way to draw the Palestinian nation together. This pictorial scene divides those who do this diabolic act as enemies or "outgroup," and the victimized as friends or "ingroup." Put more concretely, the United States and Israel are perceived as demonic and evil agents, and brutality provides a sense of psychological insecurity to the Palestinians. The Palestinians in turn who share antagonistic views towards the United States and Israel (the foes) may resort to national actions as a way of restoring security prevented by the enemies. The cartoon mobilizes the Palestinians around their nation because if they come together, they will provide protection against the Israeli hostile extermination.

The cartoon draws a parallel between the suffering of the Palestinian populace and Christ. It is an act of identification with the Christians. It calls for unity among the Palestinian communities, with its different religious orientations. In addition, the image of Christ crucified reminds the viewers of Jews' role in this suffering comparing it to their role in the Palestinian suffering during the *Intifāḍah*. Strindberg attended a movie *The Passion of the Christ* in the Syrian capital Damascus. According to Strindberg, the movie was attended mostly by Palestinian Christian refugees who were forced into exile in 1948. Strindberg stated that for the Palestinian Christian refugees "the movie has an underlying symbolic meaning not easily perceived in the West: not only is it a depiction of the trial, scourging, and death of Jesus, it is also a symbolic depiction of the fate of the Palestinian people." He interviewed one of those who attended the movie, Zaki—a 27-year old Palestinian Christian refugee from Haifa. Zaki told Strindberg about

his impression of the movie: "This is how we feel…We take beating after beating at the hands of the world, they crucify our people, they insult us, but we refuse to surrender." This story highlights the plight of Palestinians under occupation. In the ensuing section, I analyze other cartoons that portray another plight, the Gaza War of 2009.

The Israeli encroachment on the Palestinian national land is not restricted to al-ḥaram al-sharīf. This time Gaza has its share in this colonial encroachment. This section provides a visual analysis of some of the Palestinian cartoons published during the Gaza War from December 27, 2008, to January 18, 2009.[29] The section seeks to see how these cartoons use different representational forms to frame the Israeli-Palestinian conflict during the war.

The nature of the Gaza War has not received adequate attention in visual media studies. This section sheds more light on the untold story of this conflict through a visual analysis of the political cartoons published in one Palestinian newspaper, namely, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah*, during the war. I believe that these cartoons are useful historical sources for reconstructing a sociopolitical history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Fatma Gocek argued that "political cartoons [can] provide a rare public glimpse into the thoughts and opinions of the people in the Middle East" ("Political Cartoons" 1). I will advance three central arguments in this section: First, Palestinian cartoons constitute a vehicle for mediating Palestinian emotional attitudes during the war. Second, Palestinian cartoons are a visible manifestation of their refusal and resistance to the war. Finally, Palestinian cartoons are a visual medium for conveying criticism not only of Israel but also of other political forces that might have a direct impact on the political situation in Palestine/Israel, principally the Arab countries, the

---

[29]The cartoons selected about the Gaza War were selected from *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah* newspaper's online archive. This explains why they appear in colors. The cartoons featured by Muḥammad Sabāʿnih.

United States, and the UN. Consequently, this section attempts to answer the question: How do the Palestinian cartoons use representational forms to frame the Israeli-Palestinian struggle during the Gaza War? And, how are those insights about the war different from those communicated by the Israeli justification of the conflict?

While answering this question, this section explains how the Palestinian national identity is shaped. In this respect, I argue that the Palestinian national consciousness is mediated through presenting images of women and children under threat. This depiction arouses sentiments among the viewers and ethical responsibility to protect the women and children. I also argue that the Palestinian national identity is constructed in relation to antagonism towards the trio of the Arab dormant regimes, the major international players in world politics (i.e. The United States and the UN), and of course Israel. Further, an image of enmity of Israel is formulated by dehumanizing it; a rhetorical tool that invites the viewers to distance themselves from Israel, as the following cartoon poignantly shows.

Figure 22. Muḥammad Sabā'nih, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah*, **December 29, 2008**

This cartoon shows a crocodile with the map of Gaza in its jaws. In the background are smoky black, tanker-flattened houses with barbed wire behind them. The barbed wire symbolizes the Israeli siege of Gaza. After Ḥamās' takeover in Gaza in 2007, Israel responded by "exhaust[ing] many of its nonmilitary options" including "[t]he full scale blockade—cutting off humanitarian, fuel and electricity supplies" (Gaza After the War 33).

Here is an example of a rhetorical marriage between metaphor and blending. Borrowing *The Way We Think*'s terminology of Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, blending occurs through the fusion of Israel's space to the crocodile's space, resulting in a new metaphorical space with a new meaning. Such a meaning is represented through the monomodal metaphor Israel is a crocodile. Depicting Gaza as being mortally trapped in the crocodile's jaw suggests the brutality of Israel. This visual allegory also dehumanizes Israel, and consequently invites the viewers to disassociate themselves from it. Through the animal metaphor of Israel, the cartoon renders it, at least according to the Arab culture, as an "inferior being." The cartoon features another monomodal metaphor: barbed wires are the Israeli siege on Gaza. These metaphors are likely to communicate "themes of danger, death, and revulsion" (Janis Edwards, "Metaphor of Enmity" 68). This finding seems to be in line with that of Andreas Qassim (*Arab Political Cartoons*). His analysis of the Arab political cartoon, published during the Israeli war in Lebanon in the summer of 2006, found that "[Israel] is not ridiculed by being depicted as silly or incompetent, but rather as monstrous and evil" (68). Through this attribution of negative characteristics to Israel, the Palestinian cartoons seem to draw on various modes of refusal, criticism, and delegitimization of the war.

Representing Israel as a crocodile exemplifies what Eko called "transilience" and Deleuze and Guattari "deterritorialization" (cited in Eko). This representation takes Israel from its (supposed) features of being a democratic and peaceful state into an animalistic state. This animalistic portrayal generates feelings of fear, aversion, expulsion, anxiety and, as a

result, instability. Palestinians who experience this common threat separate themselves ("Us")

from those who cause this threat ("Them"/ Israel). As Said (*Covering Islam*) pointed out,

"[s]ensationalism, crude xenophobia, and insensitive belligerence are the order of the day,

with results on both sides of the imaginary line between "us" and "them" that are extremely

unedifying" (xlviii). This binary dichotomy of "Us" versus "Them" consolidates the

membership and sense of belonging among the Palestinians; it builds their nation.

The Arabs' belief that the U.S provides gigantic economic, military, and political

support to Israel is a poignant milieu for the construction of the binary dichotomy of "Us"

versus "Them". For instance, the U.S agrees with the Israeli justification of the war that

Ḥamās increased its "range of the rocket-attacks—a range not associated with indigenous

production in Gaza" (Gaza After the War 9). This cartoon features Uncle Sam who appears

indifferently talking to an Arab man about the war; a visual depiction that communicates U.S

support for the War.

Figure 23. Muḥammad Sabā'nih, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah***, January 8, 2009**

This cartoon features Uncle Sam talking with an Arab man. Uncle Sam is keeping his right

hand behind his back, with his left hand, palm out, and stretched before the Arab man. The

Arab man with Arab garb enumerating his terms to Uncle Sam. In the background is a war scene. Fighters and a helicopter are hovering over war-blackened houses. A cloud of smoke and red flames are intensifying from the blackened houses. A trail of blood is flowing up to Uncle Sam and the Arab man; particularly close to the Arab man. At the top of this bloodshed scene appears a linguistic message, which reads *Mumkin Aghḍab???* (I might get angry???). It is said by the Arab man.

Uncle Sam's representation of the U.S is portrayed through the metaphor nation is a person (Benjamin Bergen, "To Awaken a Sleeping Giant" 3), and the Arab man's representation of Arab leadership is also licensed through the metaphor Arab leadership is a person. In both metaphors, the source domains and the target domains are articulated pictorially rendering the metaphors monomodal. The cartoon plays on these two metaphors to convey criticism of the Arab leadership and the United States for their stance with regards to the War on Gaza. Uncle Sam appears presumably discussing the war in Gaza (or negotiating) with an Arab leadership. The Arab man is enumerating his terms to Uncle Sam. There is something dramatic or ostentatious about the Arabic way of counting off each number on the left hand using the index finger of the right hand. It creates the false impression of being in control. The rising and falling of the right hand and index finger gives the impression of laying the law, something that the scene clearly defies. Uncle Sam is dishonestly keeping his right hand behind his back, with his left hand, palm out, and stretched before Arab leadership. This gesture is only employed by Arab people when they are at ease. In the Arab culture, displaying this gesture in a dangerous situation such as the one suggested by this cartoon may generate severe criticism of those who may display it. These gestures convey criticism of U.S foreign policy's support for Israel. They ridicule the Arab leadership who did nothing with

regards to the Gaza War, except spout empty rhetoric, as implied by his linguistic message, which reads *Mumkin Aghḍab???* (I might get angry). The text and the negotiating scene communicate different things about the two negotiators. Barthes (*Mythologies*) labeled such an interaction between image and text as "relay." The text intends to guide the viewers into a specific connotative mapping of the portrayed scene, which can be rendered as ridiculing Arab leadership for not denouncing United States foreign policy with regards to the war. In her investigation of the role of Nājī al-ʿAlī's political cartoons in constructing the Palestinian refugee identity, Orayb A. Najjar ("Cartoons") claimed that "Arab regimes are always depicted as befuddled, not knowing which way to turn politically" (275). The previous depiction of Arab leadership certainly lends weight to Najjar's claim of Arab leadership's ineptitude. Equally noteworthy is that such a sarcastic criticism of Arab leadership takes place indirectly. The metaphor Arab leadership is a person is ambiguous because of the different interpretations embedded within: The image of the Arab man is not portraying a particular Arabic leadership. Gocek noted that cartoons are socially influential "because of the multiplicity of meanings and forms embedded within" (2). Also the ambiguous nature of cartoons enables the communication of frustrations and sentiments (Afaf L. A. Marsot, "Humor"). In this manner, this cartoon achieves two goals through this metaphoric representation: Communicating a political argument about the war, and indirectly criticizing Arab leadership, something taboo in repressive Arab societies. By doing so, the Palestinian cartoon constitutes a social medium to express dissatisfaction with the Arab leadership in a camouflaged visual manner. Ellen Giarelli and Lorraine Tulman echoed the sentiment when they state that "[i]mages as metaphor or text facilitate social discourse" (946). By way of a poignant metaphoric and blending marriage, this cartoon restates the widely held

stereotype in the Arab social discourse that Israel is controlling the major decision making political bodies in the world including the UN.

Figure 24. Muḥammad Sabāʻnih, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah***, May 1, 2009**

This image shows the Star of David superimposed over the emblem of the UN. The UN logo has a spider web, and a black spider is encroaching upon a map of Gaza, superimposed at the center is the Star of David. The map of Gaza is bleeding. The spider and Star of David symbolize Israel.

In this cartoon, I argue that the Palestinian national identity is shaped by putting Gaza under the threat of the UN, and Israel, who serve as enemies to Gaza. This enmity is heighted by dehumanizing Israel as a dangerous animal through the metaphor Israel is a spider, where the target, Israel, and the source, spider, are exclusively cued pictorially. Spider is used as a metaphoric device in this cartoon to symbolize "evilness" (Edwards, *Political Cartoons* 28).

Here, metaphor interacts with blending to result in a complex visual combination. The world map is blended into the spider web and the Star of David. One way of reading the cartoon is to start with the replacements made. The globe of the world has been heavily UN-ized and Gaza is the most visible entity on this UN globe of the world. Latitudes and

longitudes have assumed the character of a spider's web. The spider, mostly focusing on Gaza, represents Israel. This spider is in its element; it has spun a web. This web represents deceit and entrapment. The Israeli deception of the world, on the issue of her (Israel's) design on Gaza has rendered the whole world vulnerable to this spider's deception. Israeli deception has gotten the whole world embroiled and entrapped into explosive political alliances. Through metaphor and blending, the cartoon conveys a scathing criticism of the UN for its bias towards Israel, and alludes to Israel's lust for power via conspiracy and controlling the world (Adam Levick, "Anti-Semitic Cartoons"). Representing Israel as a spider exemplifies what Eko called "transilience" and Deleuze and Guattari "deterritorialization" (cited in Eko). This representation of Israel as a spider indeed dehumanizes it, and disassociates the viewers from it. This animalistic image creates a perceived threat and feeling of opposition. One way to get rid of this threat is by annihilating the cause. This hostile imagination binds Palestinians as "Us," "ingroup," marks Israel who causes the threat as "Them," "outgroup," and enhances the "self" at the expense of the "Other," the enemy.

Of further interest is this cartoon's caption in Arabic and English. It reads the Security Council.[30] The Arabic version of the English caption is preceded by the word *Shi'ār* (emblem) rendering it *Shi'ār Majlis al-Amn* (The emblem of the Security Council). The Arabic caption has connotative and denotative meanings lying underneath it. It does not emphasize the direct message (the denotative meaning)—this is the emblem of the Security Council—but rather it criticizes the Security Council (the connotative meaning) through internal linguistic manipulation of the caption's wording. Reading the Arabic caption from right to left, the

---

[30]Interpreting why the English translation of The Security Council is used in this cartoon is beyond the scope of this study.

first word *Shiʿār* means emblem. The word appears in two colors: Black as for the first letter /ش/ /Sh/, and red for the last three letters [عار] [*ʿār*]. This later cluster results in a new word that means *shame* in Arabic. By using the technique of blending, the Arabic language critiques the UN Security Council by explicitly renaming the UN's governance as shameful. Returning, then, to the reconstitution of the image and the word in this cartoon, one could possibly complete this phrase by saying —the shame of the Security Council is its support to Israel. This move is intended to perhaps delegitimize the UN as a body that means to ensure peace. One possible consequence of the UN's support of Israel's actions is a human and political image of Palestinian national resistance. This implicit call for national resistance is mediated by conceiving imaginings of antagonistic others (Israel and the UN). Such antagonistic imaginings consolidate emotional fear and resentment of Israel and the UN (The "Other"), and create bonds of solidarity among the disenfranchised (ingroup) to confront them (Israel and the UN—Outgroup). This dichotomy of ingroup versus outgroup, enemy versus friend, and Palestinians versus Israel and the UN builds the Palestinian national community around a common cause: Stopping this atrocity on their national land.

This dichotomy of ingroup versus outgroup is motivated by depicting the Palestinian resistance to the war in the ensuing human and universal image of sympathy.

Figure 25. Muḥammad Sabāʿnih, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah***, January 14, 2009**

This cartoon features a Palestinian woman mourning her two dead children, victims of the Gaza War. The woman wears a Palestinian embroidered dress. The child on the right is wrapped in green, while the child on the left is wrapped in orange, and has a Palestinian *kūfiyyah* head-scarf. The green and orange colors along with the Palestinian black-checkered *kūfiyyah*, symbolize Fatḥ and Ḥamās, respectively. Thus, we can construe a number of metaphors here: *kūfiyyah* is resistance, the child wrapped in green is Ḥamās, the child wrapped in orange is Fatiḥ, and the mother is the Palestinian nation. All of these metaphors are instances of monomodal metaphors because their source domains and target domains are recognized pictorially. I argue that these metaphors aim to emotionally bound together the politically disputed mobile masses with their nation as mother. The image of the two dead children reinforces a negative stereotype of Israel as being driven by a "lust for blood" by accusing Israel of "infanticide" (Levick). It simultaneously shows the type of audience targeted by the Israeli military during the war (Children). The graphic narrative of this cartoon metaphorically conveys two seemingly paradoxical messages: Invoking nationalism and criticizing Fatḥ and Ḥamās, for their political dispute through this nationalistic emotion.

These messages are best interpreted with the aid of the cartoon's caption. The speech balloon reads *subḥān Allāh yā awlādī! Faraqat-kum al-faṣāʾiliyyah wa jamʿat-kum al-shahādih* (Glory to Allah, my children! Factions have separated you but martyrdom rejoined you).[31] This linguistic message indicates that although the victims in the image belong to different political parties, they have a common fate when encountering Israel: The children of

Fatḥ and Ḥamās are victims of the Israeli war. The linguistic caption also carries an implicit criticism of Fatḥ and Ḥamās factions for their political dispute and separation. By highlighting the political disputes between the two factions and emphasizing their common fate, this cartoon invokes a nationalistic sentiment that calls for reconciliation. The emotional bond thus invoked is what gives the message its rhetorical potency. The image evokes a mixture of dislike of the political separation between Fatḥ and Ḥamās, with a sense of nationalism that can possibly mobilize the audience to call for unity between the two factions. In a nutshell, the deployment of the linguistic text in this cartoon serves as contextualizing background for the political milieu for which the cartoon was drawn. The linguistic message also provides a "semantic value" (Thomas) to the image. It provides ideational interpretations for the cartoon to help viewers understand what is meant by what is drawn.

Some literature shows that women are depicted to generate a call for protective action. In her analysis of the Iraqi women's societal roles, Gina Longo, found that the Iraqi "women were portrayed as weak and dependent on men for protection. This new image of women reinforced patriarchal family structures and increased gender conservatism" (35). This image of women purposefully taps into some cultural values to advance certain social and political goals. For example, the Western establishment supported some of its agenda by tapping into the concept of "protection of women." By invoking "the clash of civilization" through juxtaposing binary-images of some Afghani women, President George W. Bush, whips the American populace patriotic fervor to justify the war in Afghanistan (Dana I. Cloud, "To Veil the Threat of Terror"). Because women symbolize vulnerability, they appear in visual images to evoke emotions and then to generate a call for protective action. Likewise, this cartoon

---

[31]The term martyrdom is used to describe the suffering of death for the sake of defending one's land and for his/her religious faith.

invests in this concept to mobilize the Palestinians around their nation symbolized as a woman. These emotions enable these members to maintain an imagined identity, which in turn produces a moral obligation to protect the woman.

Palestinian women's capacity is shown not only through the emotional sentiments they evince or the moral obligation for chivalrous protection they incite, but also through their cultural repertoire and folkloric artifacts they display in the construction of the Palestinian national identity. The woman's Palestinian embroidered dress sends messages of national pride for the viewers, which constitutes a traditional terrain of belonging amongst the Palestinians. Different Palestinian folkloric dresses are linked with different "area[s] of historic Palestine" where each area "has a different type of dress, distinguished by the unique embroidered fauna and flora it carries" (O. Najjar, "Cartoons" 270). The Palestinian woman's national dress invokes the memory of Palestine and serves as terrain of national belonging.

I note that this cartoon displays what Robert L. Ivie called ("Images of Savagery") "victimage rhetoric" through depicting the Palestinian women and children as the victims of the Israeli war. Ivie argued that some American presidents used "victimage rhetoric" to justify several U.S wars by depicting their enemy as a savage, i.e. and aggressor, and the United States as civilized, rational and peaceful, among other things. Following Ivie's methodology, it seems that the Palestinian cartoons use "victimage rhetoric" to reject, denounce, and refuse the Israeli war portraying Israel in a vision of aggression and criminal behavior. Marja Vuorinen (*Enemy Images*) observed that since World War I, in order for some nation to advance some military and political agenda, they refer to evoking deep anguish by showing children as targets of terrorist marksmen's bullets" (11), among other strategies.

In conclusion, the visual value of the political cartoons is recognized. I have attempted to show how the Palestinian cartoons published during the Gaza War mirror the socio-political nature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in their use of various linguistic devices, namely metaphor and blending. It has been observed that these cartoons emphasize certain compelling themes in an attempt to sway the viewers. These themes include demonizing Israel in different forms (brutality and mockery), conveying a severe criticism of the key players in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Arab leadership, the United States, the UN, and, of course, *Fatḥ* and *Ḥamās*), and displaying a "victamage rhetoric" (Ivie 1980) through depicting the Palestinian women and children as the victims of the Israeli war. This type of rhetoric constitutes a rhetorical weapon, a communicator which can visually use to fight for/against different political and social issues. Through communicating these themes, the Palestinian cartoons intend to depict the sociopolitical nature of the conflict, to reject, denounce, and refuse the war, and to respond to the Israeli's justification of the war visually. The cartoons surveyed in this section embody a sense of Palestinian nationalism as it signals resistance, moves the public to support this resistance, and unifies the different political parties in Palestine. This finding goes in line with that of Tejumola Olaniyan, who investigated some of Akinola Lasekan's, one of the pioneer Nigerian political cartoonists, cartoons that were published during the "clamorous nationalism that gripped [Nigeria] from the 1940s on" (124). He found that cartoons were used as a medium for driving nationalist messages to free Nigeria from colonial rule. Parallel to that, the Palestinian cartoons constitute a vehicle for mediating the emotional attitudes of the Palestinians' experience during the war.

The cartoons during the Gaza War depicted Israel (authoritarian agent) in animalistic and self-destructive images. Israel is represented as a crocodile and a spider. In doing so, the cartoon

takes elements of reality and superimposes them into an imaginary context in order to emphasize the unethical and immoral nature of Sharon's visit of al-Aqsá Mosque. Deleuze and Guattari called the process of taking out the natural "territories" of an individual for tapping unethical properties on him "deterritorialization" (cited in Eco 219). Dehumanization or "transilience" and "deterritorialization" became a major visual vehicle for the Palestinian national resistance of the Israeli war on Gaza. This finding resonates with that of Eko (2007), who found that "transilience" and "deterritorialization" serve as means of resistance of African presidential abuse of power during the post-Cold War period (1995–2004). By these instruments of resistance, the Palestinian cartoons heighten and reinvigorate the "Otherness" of Israel and the UN. The use of animals as metaphoric devices in the Palestinian cartoons pinpoints their significance in caricatures. The viewers easily interpret the meanings these animalistic references evoke because they are, as Edwards (*Political Cartoons* 66) pointed out, "familiar and easily understood." This shows that the Palestinian collective identity is constructed in relation to the Israeli and American colonial and imperial practices towards the Palestinians in the aftermath of *al-Naksah*. Ahmad H. Sa'di (195) argued that "[v]arious sites of Palestinian collective memory exist, mostly tragic: *al-Nakbah*, the defeat of the 1967 War [*Al-Naksah*], Black September, Land Day, the massacre of Sabra and Shatila, the First Intifadah, etc." The ensuing chapter will analyze some political cartoons by the Palestinian cartoonist Nājī al-'Alī that featured some of these "sites of the Palestinian collective memory" mainly, 1970 Black September Events between the Jordanian forces and the Palestinian guerrillas, the massacre of *Ṣabra* and *Shātīlah*, and peace process negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis that proceeded signing the Oslo Accord in 1993.

Al-ʿAlī was forced into exile when he was 10 years old and spent the rest of his life moving from Lebanon to Kuwait until he was forced to leave Kuwait to England. His cartoons severely criticize the United States, Israel, the Arab leadership, and the Palestinian Liberation Organization alike. Because of that he was assassinated in London in 1987. Al-ʿAlī is one the refugees (*Felisṭiniyo al-Shatāt*, or *al-Khārij*) whose famous cartoons are the best examples to see how the Palestinian national identity is forged from exile.

CHAPTER FOUR
CONSTRUCTING PALESTINIAN/ARAB NATIONALISM IN EXILE: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF Nājī al-'Alī's CARTOONS

> But I am the exiled one behind wall and door,
> Shelter me in the warmth of young gaze.
> Take me. Wherever you are,
> Take me, however you are.
> To be restored to the warmth of face and body,
> To the light of heart and eye,
> To the salt of bread and song,
> To the taste of earthy and homeland.
> Shelter me in the warmth of your gaze,
> Take me, a panel of almond wood, in the cottage of sorrows,
> Take me, a verse from the book of my tragedy,
> Take me, a plaything or a stone from the house,
> So that our next generation may recall
> The path of return to our home.
> (Maḥmūd Darwīsh, "*A lover from Palestine*," in Abdelwahab Elmessiri)

Exilic imagining often involves national politics. Exile becomes a locus where strong national sentiments are cultivated. In her seminal book on the Serbian migrants in the United States *The Past in Exile*, Birgit Bock-Luna observed that migrants can participate in their nation building as if they are inside. Her book revealed that "long-distance nationalism occurs in times of crisis and war and is specifically characterized by a discourse on historical injustice and violence" (21-22). In a similar study but on the Lebanese diaspora, Michael Humphrey's "Lebanese Identities between Cities, Nations and Trans-Nations" discussed the Lebanese diaspora, which involves a huge migration and a nation-state formation in the 19th and 20th centuries. Humphrey found that the Lebanese war made the diasporic identification manifest, an identification which was motivated by "sectarian/communal confessionalism rather than national lines" (44). The

Palestinian diaspora is largely forged by the 1948 War and later by the 1967 War.[32] The Palestinian community inside and in exile are mobilized by a commitment to nationalism. According to Glen Bowman's "A country of Words," the dispossession and dislocation practices of the Israeli forces lead Palestinians of the "inside" and the "outside" to imagine their expropriated territory as the locus of their distinguished identity.

Palestinians have been experiencing displacement for more than six decades. For many Palestinians, enjoying the luxury of living in their homeland is not part of their daily life. The dispossession and dislocation practices of Israel lead Palestinians of the "inside" and the "outside" (Diaspora) to imagine their expropriated territory as the locus of their distinguished identity (Glenn Bowman, "A country of Words").[33] The Palestinian-Israeli conflict provides a ground for reading exile as characterized by injustice and violence. This grounding creates long-distance nationalism. Different political and social transnational activities helped maintain a national connectedness between the dispersal (*al-Shatāt* in Arabic) (as well as the Palestinians inside the West Bank, Gaza, and Israel) and their homeland including visual media. In her article "Cartoons," O. Najjar, for example, investigated how Nājī al-'Alī's political cartoons constructed Palestinian refugee and Arab identity. She found that Nājī al-'Alī's cartoons use the image of refugees, farmers (fellaheen), and the commonality of the Christian and Muslim religious experience to highlight the Palestinian shared heritage as they endured under the Israeli

---

[32]The majority of the Palestinian population live in the diaspora are refugees (Helena L Schulz., and Juliane Hammer)

[33]Glenn Bowman adopted the concept of "inside" and "outside" from the Palestinian writer Ghassān Kanafānī. Al-Kanafānī used the terms "inside" (*al-Dākhil*) and "outside" (*al-Khārij*) as part of *Adab al-Muqāwamah* (Resistance literature) in the aftermath of the 1967 War. In Bowman's "A country of Words," the concept of "inside" includes the Palestinians living within Israel's borders set in 1949, and those living in the Occupied Territories (The West Bank, Gaza, and the Golan Heights taken in the 1967). The situation of these Palestinians is a one of exile. The concept of "outside" includes the Palestinians living in the diaspora.

occupation. As such al-ʿAlī's cartoons belong to the realm of popular culture. Further, al-ʿAlī's cartoons utilized various national Palestinian symbols such the *kūfiyyah*, the pattern on the map of Palestine and the key in order to "stress Palestinian belonging to the land they had lost" (O. Najjar 281). O. Najjar used techniques chosen from social psychology, cognition, and anthropology as well as the cartoon code in her construction of the Palestinian identity of the self and other. The purpose of this chapter is to show how the diasporic artist Nājī al-ʿAlī constructs and maintains a sense of national identity in exile. The chapter draws on some of his anthologized cartoons published in the 1970s and 1980s by cartoon anthologies, extending the historical coverage of O. Najjar. Unlike O. Najjar, my analysis relies on Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Community*, John C. Turner's theory of self-categorization, and Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's theory of antagonism in the construction of the "US" (The Palestinians) and the Others" (The U.S, Israel, the UN, and the Arab leadership).

Like Bowman, I argue that the process of constructing Palestinian long-distance nationalism is primarily predicated on the presence of antagonistic "Others." I base this argument on the assumption that we cannot fully understand how the Palestinian national identity is shaped without looking at the work of artists in exile. Understanding the Palestinian national identity necessitates focusing not only on the wars inflicted on the internally displaced Palestinians, otherwise and ironically referred to as the "inside" (*Filisṭīnīy al-dākhil*), but also the wars inflicted on the refugees (*Filisṭīnīy al-shatāt*, or *al-khārij*). The model of long-distance nationalism I am setting out applies to refugees.

Benedict Anderson's self-titled neologism *Long-Distance Nationalism* describes the contribution of political figures in their nation building. The nature of long-distance nationalism can be discerned when migrant politicians return home to become statesmen. They, for example,

support a particular candidate in his/her political campaign for presidential or cabinet elections and if he/she wins, they return home to participate in that new government. In his *Long-distance Nationalism*, Zlatko Skrbiš defined long-distance nationalism as "that type of nationalism which crosses neighboring states and/or continents" (6). Benedict Anderson's "The New World Disorder" provided an example that explicates the nature of this type of nationalism. He stated that the survival of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) is possible "not only because of its national appeal and its ruthless methods, but because it has gained political and financial support in the United States and inside England, weapons on the international arms market, and training and inteligence from Libya and in the Near East" (13). Bock-Luna followed a different approach in her study by not only focusing on the prominent politicians but also on "ordinary individuals" (20). Similarly, this chapter will focus on the work of an "ordinary" Palestinian refugee whose work probably turned out by far more influential in the construction of the Palestinian national identity than any other prominent Palestinian politicians. Specifically, I argue that Nājī al-ʿAlī's political cartoons provide a discourse that articulates the Palestinian "imagined community" in national terms from the historical position of exile. Such an articulation provides fields for identifications among Palestinians whether internally displaced or in the diaspora. Al-ʿAlī's cartoons produce antagonisms to give rise to the Palestinian "imagined community."

Anderson criticized the diaspora participation in nation building as it lacked "accountability" (12). I nonetheless argue that the participation of al-ʿAlī's cartoons in constructing the Palestinian national identity is essential in identifying with Palestinian national politics. This is because in part Israeli literary and cultural censorship of what used to be called "the Arabs of 1948" made any attempt at articulating a Palestinian national identify difficult except outside the Palestine that became known as Israel. After all, his cartoons objected to his

refugee status, and his only hope for changing that status was through his contributions to the maintenance of a Palestinian national identity, communicated to Palestinians, Arabs, and to the wider world. And in that, he succeeded. New communication technologies later provided al-'Alī's cartoons with an opportunity to reach a large-number of Palestinian and Arab populations living inside and in exile, and to project that identity to the world at large.

Khālid al-'Alī, the oldest son of Nājī al-'Alī, has provided me with some other cartoons through personal communication. My analysis will tap into the following political events: the September 1970 Events between the Jordanian forces and the Palestinian guerrillas, the Lebanon War in 1982, and the Palestinian-Israeli clandestine peace process negotiations during the 1980s. I chose theses political events to analyze because they constitute turning points in the history of Palestine that dramatically shape the Palestinian identity. Further, the Arab-Israeli wars that occurred during this period resulted in further defeats that keep the bitter history of the Israeli army alive in the memory of Arabs and Palestinians. I argue that the cartoons surveyed in this chapter constitute a visual vehicle to hold open the possibility of this memory. This memory in turn helps forge the Palestinian national identity and therefore their consciousness from exile.

There are many reasons for why I chose to analyze Nājī al-'Alī's cartoons to tackle the construction of the Palestinian identity in exilic imagination. Al-'Ali has enjoyed a distinctive reputation in the Arab world and in the West. Here is some of what international newspapers wrote about al-'Alī's cartoons as reported in an article published by al-Qabas (The Light) newspaper about his life on August 31, 1987:

"if you want to know what the Arabs think of the U.S., look at Nājī al-'Alī's cartoons"
New York Times,

 "this man draws with human bones"
Times Magazine,

 "Nājī al-ʿAlī draws with phosphoric acid"
Japan Asahi Newspaper (cited in ʿIz al-Dīn al-Manāṣrah 57).

In 1979, Nājī al-ʿAlī was elected president of the League of Arab Cartoonists (cited in Khalīl al-Sawārḥrī). International Federation of Newspaper Publishers awarded him the "Golden Pen of Freedom Award" posthumously in 1988 (The Guardian).

Another reason for choosing to analyze Nājī al-ʿAlī's cartoons was his longevity on the political scene. His visual campaign on behalf of the Palestinian rights lasted for 30 years. During this 30 year-campaign, al-ʿAlī developed a poignant style utilizing various symbols that effectively depicted the Palestinian plight under occupation and in exile. At the age of 10, al-ʿAlī was expelled out from Palestine at *al-Nakbah* in 1948. He settled in ʿIn al-Ḥilwah camp in Lebanon. In a documentary about the life of al-ʿAlī, directed by Kasim Abid and produced by Camera Image, it is reported that "Nājī began to study painting at the Beirut Star Academy in 1960. He was continually harassed by the Lebanese Secret Police and arrested several times during his first year. Eventually, he was forced to leave the academy." The Palestinian writer and journalist Ghassān al-Kanafānī his talent in drawing during his visit to the camp in the late 1961 (personal communication with Khālid al-ʿAlī, March 3, 2013). Ghassān al-Kanafānī took some of al-ʿAlī's cartoons and published them in a magazine he used to edit. Al-ʿAlī's first cartoons were published on September 25, 1961. Al-ʿAlī commented on this incident:

> I started to use drawing as a form of political expression while in Lebanese jails. I
> was detained by the Deuxième Bureau (the Lebanese intelligence service) as a
> result of the measures the Bureau were undertaking to contain political activities

in the Palestinian camps during the sixties. I drew on the prison walls and subsequently Ghassan Kanafani, a journalist and publisher of al-Huria magazine— he was assassinated in Beirut in 1971— saw some of those drawings and encouraged me to continue, and eventually published some of my cartoons.[34]

Ghassān al-Kanafānī's encouragement resonated with al-ʿAlī and paved the way in front of him to be a professional cartoonist. In the early 1960s, al-ʿAlī left ʿIn al-Ḥilwah camp to Kuwait to work for *al-Ṭalʿah* (The vanguard) magazine. Later in the 1970s, he returned to Lebanon where he worked for the prominent Lebanese newspaper *al-Safīr* (The Ambassador). His experience at *al-Safīr* constituted a turning point in his career. He commented on this experience:

Working for *al-Safīr* newspaper in Beirut in 1971 was the best part of my life, and the most productive. There, surrounded by the violence of many army [sic], and finally by the Israeli invasion [in 1982], I stood facing it all with my pen every day. I never felt fear, failure or despair, and I didn't surrender. I faced armies with cartoons and drawings of flowers, hope and bullets. Yes, hope is essential, always. My work in Beirut made me once again closer to the refugees in the camps, the poor, and the harassed.[35]

After witnessing the horrible massacres in the Palestinian refugee camp of Ṣabra and Shātīlah in 1982, al-ʿAlī left Lebanon to Kuwait where he worked for *al-Qabas* newspaper. His influential

---

[34] Cited <http://www.najialali.com/articles.html>

[35] Cited in < http://www.najialali.com/articles.html>

cartoons brought both success and criticism. He received many threats. In 1985, he left Kuwait for political reasons to Britain where he worked for the same newspaper, *al-Qabas*, but in London. There, al-ʿAlī expected his assassination. Through a personal communication in Detroit with Joan Mandell, Detroit-based journalist and documentary filmmaker, al-ʿAlī told her:

> They expelled me from Kuwait (to London) under pressure from Saudi Arabia and maybe even from the PLO ... They knew there'd be a big fuss if I was killed inside- easier to pin the blame on someone. If I'm killed outside? In London? you couldn't easily know who did it (cited in Mandell 27).

After working two years in *al-Qabas* in London, al-ʿAlī was shot while he was walking towards the offices of *al-Qabas* on July 22, 1987. He died in the hospital on August 29th, 1987.

Al-ʿAlī's cartoons were circulated in Palestine in the 1970s and 1980s. "In the late seventies, Naji Al-Ali became a well-known cultural figure in the Arab World. His satirical drawings attacking injustice, corruption, the absence of democracy, and the abuse of human rights were published in the left and the right wing press" (Kasim Abid, *Naji Al-Ali*). Khālid al-ʿAlī, the oldest son of Nājī al-ʿAlī, explained that Palestinians in the Occupied Territories "would have started following his works from the late 70s and early 80s" (personal communication, October 26, 2012). Khālid al-ʿAlī forwarded to me an electronic correspondence that he exchanged with Elias Nasrallah, a Palestinian journalist who used to live in Palestine in the 1970s and 1980s. Nasrallah stated:

In the 1970s and 1980s, we used to receive copies of newspapers from the Arab World and Europe via mail to see Nājī al-ʿAlī's cartoons. Sometimes, these cartoons were republished in *al-Ittiḥād* [a Palestinian newspaper in Haifa] but not on a regular basis. We, however, started to receive more of these cartoons in the mid-seventies, during the civil war in Lebanon. After 1975, we started to receive copies of different Lebanese newspapers and magazines such as *al-Safīr* (The ambassador), *al-Muḥarrir* (The Editor), *al-Hadaf* (The Goal), and *al-Nidā'* (The Call) in which al-ʿAlī's cartoons were published (personal correspondence between Khālid al-ʿAlī and Nasrallah, October 28, 2012).

In a another personal communication with Professor Ghada Talhami, the D. K. Pearsons Professor emeritus of Politics at Lake Forest College, Talhami sent me a copy of a large number of al-Ali's cartoons (October, 24, 2012). The cartoons were photocopied and then assembled in a book. The book was published in *al-Quds* by maktab al-Ḥayāh li-l-iʿlām wa-l-nashr (al-Ḥayāh Office for Publishing and Distribution) in 1987. The following is the image of the book's preface:
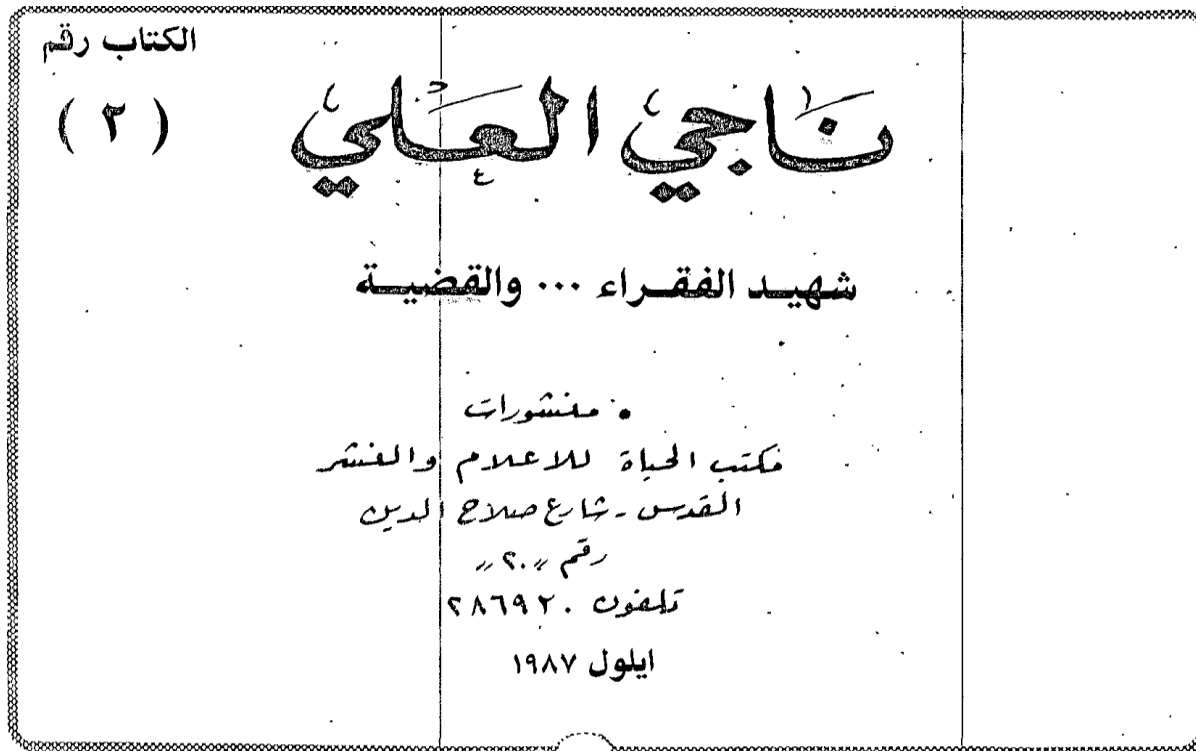
الكتاب رقم

(٢)

نَاجِي العَلي

شـهيـد الفقـراء ... والقضيــة

• مـنشـورات

مكتـب الحيـاة للاعـلام والنشـر

الـقـدس ـ شـارع صـلاح الـدين

رقم ٠٠.

تلفون ٢٨٦٩٢.

ايلول ١٩٨٧

Figure 26. This book's preface reads, Nājī al-'Alī: Shahīd al-Fuqarā'... Wā al-Qaḍiyyah (Nājī al-'Alī: The martyr of the poor... and the [Palestinian] issue as for its title.

Al-'Alī was very popular in Palestine. Orayeb A. Najjar ("Cartoon") stated that students and workers at Birzeit University held exhibitions of his work at Birzeit University before the Internet had his work (personal communication with Professor O. Najjar, October 6, 2012). His cartoons, she added, were photocopied and published in books in Palestine. While she was in Palestine, O. Najjar bought a book of al-'Alī's cartoons in the 1980s. She stated that from the quality of the reproductions, one could tell they were photocopied from elsewhere and assembled in that book. Further, in her article entitled "Cartoons," O. Najjar observed that al-'Alī's work "was reprinted in books, newspapers, and exhibits all over the Arab world. In the summer of 2004, T-shirts of al-Ali's signature, Handala, competed with the images of Yasser Arafat, Hamas leaders, as well as Che Guevara in downtown Ramallah, occupied West Bank" (259). Furthermore, here are some of the posters that commemorate some of al-'Alī's cartoons and his

iconic signature *Ḥanẓalah*. These posters were published by the PLO Department of Culture and disseminated in the Occupied Territories and in the diaspora.

Figure 27. Al-'Alī, N. (1985). A state for lovers will be built. The Palestine Poster Project Archive. (326, Portfolio 301 – 400). PLO-Department of Culture.

Figure 28. Al-'Alī, N. (1980). He will be planted more firmly. The Palestine Poster Project Archive. PLO-Department of Culture. Museum of Design Zurich.

The previous two images display the iconic image of *Ḥanẓalah*:

Figure 13. *Ḥanẓalah* - al-'Alī's cartoons' signature

Al-'Alī used the image of a 10 year old child for his cartoon's signature. Al-'Alī named this child *Ḥanẓalah*, which is an Arabic word for type of colocynth proverbial for its bitter taste,

which pre-Islamic poets of Arabic often cited to describe the bitterness of the separations from their beloveds. When al-ʿAlī was asked about *Ḥanẓalah* 's age, he responded, *Ḥanẓalah* "was born 10 years old and he will always be 10 years old. It was at that age that I left my homeland. When [*Ḥanẓalah*] returns, he will still be 10 years old, and then he will start growing up." al-ʿAlī introduced *Ḥanẓalah* in *al-Siyāsah* (The Politics) newspaper on July 13, 1969. Al-ʿAlī wrote *Ḥanẓalah* "has promised the people that he will remain true to himself . . . . [*Ḥanẓalah*] . . . is . . . an 'icon' that protects me from making mistakes" (Nāji al-ʿAlī, *The Gift* 10). "This character," al-ʿAlī said in an interview, "came out of my life in the camp. A typical child of those days: barefoot, destitute and deprived. I created this character so I never forget where I came from" (cited in Kim Jensen, "Witness to Brutality"). In the same documentary mentioned above, Bulānd al-Ḥārī, a poet, indicated:

> The name of *Ḥanẓalah* is derived from *al-Ḥanẓalah* which is a bitter-tasting plant. Al-ʿAlī added another graphic scene that adds to this bitterness. First *Ḥanẓalah* is a young child watching the tragedy of his people. Then *Ḥanẓalah* is a child and therefore an honest witness given the fact that honest witnesses are rare in the Arab world.

Joe Sacco ("Introduction") affirmed that *Ḥanẓalah* "was never allowed to grow old, because to permit him to do so would be to normalize the predicament of refugees" (2). Al-ʿAlī introduced *Ḥanẓalah* as a Palestinian child, but later wrote that "when his consciousness developed, he acquired a national [Arab] horizon, then a global and human horizon" (al-ʿAlī, *The Gift* 10). *Ḥanẓalah* appears in al-ʿAlī cartoons with his hands clasped behind his back and with sparse

hair. Al-ʿAlī indicated that "*Ḥanẓalah*'s sparse hair represents the thorns of a hedgehog that are his weapons to fight his enemy" (cited in al-ʿAlī, *The Gift* 9). *Ḥanẓalah* also hides his face standing as a witness to an event (Mahmūd Kallim). Despite the fact that *Ḥanẓalah* was created in the diaspora, this figure was and is still circulated in Palestinian and different parts of the world. The image of *Ḥanẓalah* is now painted on walls as graffiti in the Occupied Territories. It is also used as a key chain and drawn on jerseys and T-shirts. Dina Matar stated that:

> One of the most potent and emotive images of the Palestinian child witness, and one that shaped the visual landscape of the uprising, is that of Handala... The symbolic figure of Handala is that of a ten year-old-boy, a figure standing alone with his back to his audience, silently witnessing a world dominated by Israeli oppression, Arab egotism and American policy-makers seeing what they want to see. The figure of Handala, whose name derives from handhal, a bitter plant with deep roots, was omnipresent in the camps during the intifada, drawn by students in their notebooks, spray-painted on walls and worn as necklaces or carried as key chains, suggesting popularity that can be interpreted in various ways (162).

Al-ʿAlī used different characters to articulate his messages. He used Fāṭima who usually wears a Palestinian national embroidered dress. Fāṭima appears in al-ʿAlī's cartoons as a wife, a mother, and a freedom fighter. Al-Zalamah is another main character in al-ʿAlī's cartoons. Al-Zalamah means man in the Palestinian dialect. Al-Zalamah appears in al-ʿAlī's cartoons barefoot wearing patched clothes. Al-Zalamah symbolizes the victim of the wars and the victim of the Israeli settlement (Ṣalaḥ Ḥazīn). Al-ʿAlī also referred in his cartoons to another character and called him

the Evil Man or the Moron. The Evil Man or the Moron appears in al-ʿAlī's cartoons deformed and sometimes legless. He has no aesthetic features like a pig (Ḥazīn), an unloved and undesired animal in the Arab culture. According to Ḥazīn, this character represents the Arab/ Palestinian European elites/politicians. These characters play a crucial role in communicating the cartoons' messages about the political events in questions. The following section provides analysis for the cartoons featuring the 1970-1971 events between the Jordanian forces and the Palestinian guerrillas. Before we proceed to the analysis, a brief history of these events deem necessary for situating the analysis. Edward Said ("Invention") has eloquently articulated the idea that "[n]ational identity always involves narratives—of the nation's past, its founding fathers and documents, seminal events, and so on" (177). Black September events contribute generously to forging the Palestinian collective identity. These events serve as a bond that connects Palestinians to each other, and eventually mobilize them around a common goal: Liberating their land.

After its establishment on September 15, 1963, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) operated in different neighboring countries, including Jordan. George E. Bisharat's "Exist to Compatriot" stated that "[t]he principal goal of the [PLO] movement was defined as a liberation of Palestine and the creation thereof a "democratic secular state"" (218). While operating in Jordan, the PLO built an infrastructure of clinics, schools that "contributed to the picture of a 'state within a state'" (John K. Cooley, *Green March* 103); something that worried King Hussein of Jordan. These developments, lead to tension between King Hussein and the PLO, and eventually to a series of skirmishes between both sides. John Laffin'S *Fedayeen* argued that "[a]s early as January 1966 King Hussein had seen the danger of Fedayeen [the Palestinian guerrillas] activities and in January he attacked the PLO for its 'treasonable' attempt to undermine Jordanian unity and to create a separate army" (53). The skirmishes between both

sides mounted rapidly and major ones occurred in September 1970. This led former Egyptian

president, Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, to call for an emergency Arab League summit to cease hostilities

between the Jordanian Army and the PLO fighters. The summit was held on September 27, 1970

and forged an agreement ending the conflict Palestinian Liberation Organization). Shlaim (339)

stated:

> The Cairo agreement provided for an immediate ceasefire all over Jordan, the
>
> withdrawal of the Jordanian Army and the Palestinian resistance from all cities
>
> before sunset the same day, the release of all prisoners and the formation of an
>
> Arab communication to supervise the implementation of the agreement.

King Hussein signed another agreement, The Amman Agreement, with the PLO's Chairman

Yāsir ʿArafāt on October 13, 1970 that "required the Fedayeen to respect the laws of Jordan, to

disband their bases and not to be in uniform or bear arms in public" (Shlaim 342). Jūrj Ḥabash,

the leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and Nāyif Ḥawātmih, the

leader of Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), "rejected The Amman

Agreement and resumed their attacks on the monarchy. They openly called for the liberation of

Jordan as a necessary prelude to the liberation of Palestine" (Shlaim 342).[36] The Jordanian Army

---

[36] The PFLP and DFLP are two of the resistance organizations encompassed in the Palestinian Liberation
Organization (PLO).

launched several attacks against the DFLP and PFLP fighters that eventually expelled them and the PLO in July 1971 to Lebanon.

The PLO offered a different story for the eruption of September events of 1970. Palestinian Liberation Organization claimed that "[by] mid-1968, the feda'i [a Palestinian guerrilla] organizations began to escalate their activities in Israel; when Israel began to feel the pressure emanating from across the Jordan, a plan was made to attack the Palestinian Liberation Movement within Jordan" (11). The Palestinian Liberation Organization added that since then several confrontations took place between the Jordanian Army, backed by the United States and Israel, and the Palestinian guerrillas.

These events, also called Black September, resulted in the death of thousands from both sides, and the expulsion of the PLO and thousands of the Palestinian fighters to Lebanon. Palestinians have bitter memories of Black September events. These memories foster the Palestinian national identity highlighting their agony in liberating their lands.

While discussing cartoons in the section below, I argue that the negotiations of the Palestinian national identity is developed in the ordeal of violent disputations between the Palestinian guerrillas and multiple foes (the Jordanian Army, the Arab leadership, the United Sates, and Israel). The cartoons in this section are organized around the following themes: rejecting the peaceful/diplomatic solutions to solving the Palestinian-Israeli problem and, calling for armed resistance instead [*al-kifāḥ al-musallaḥ*], and resisting or exposing the involvement of the United Sates in quelling the Palestinian resistance.[37]

---

[37]Khālid al-ʿAlī, the oldest son of Nājī al-ʿAlī, has provided me with these cartoons through a personal communication with him. [this sentence should be footnoted] Nājī al-ʿAli published these cartoons in the Kuwaiti newspaper *al-Siyāsah* where he worked during the September 1970 events.
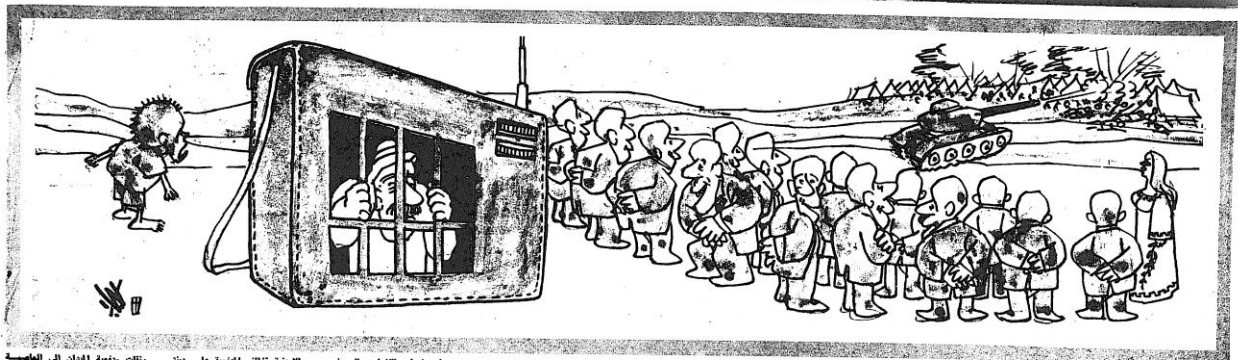
Figure 29. Nājī al-'Alī, *al-Siyāsah* **September 20, 1970**

This cartoon shows *Ḥanẓalah* witnessing a battle field. On the right-hand side of the image appears a Palestinian refugee camp full of tents. In front of the refugee camp appears a military tank attacking the camp. On the left-hand side of the cartoon appears a radio whose speakers convert into a prison. Inside the radio is an Arab man wearing a *kūfiyyah* and holding the bars of the prison while watching the tank attacking the refugee camp. Between the refugee camp and the radio, there is a large number of men wearing suits. Some are watching the attack with their hands clasped behind their back, and some other are laughing at the Arab man imprisoned inside the radio. Next to them stands a woman with a long dress holding a branch of olives.

The underlying message of these visual depictions indicates the nation's willingness and longing for peace. This idea is expressed through the pictorial manifestations of the woman, who stands for the nation, and the olive branch that symbolizes peace. The imprisoned Arab man metaphorically represents the Arab populace (Skype interview with Khālid al-'Alī, November 24, 2012). Following Charles Forceville's (*Pictorial Metaphor*) methodology, once the target (the imprisoned man) and the source (the Arab populace) are identified, the viewers are invited to map properties of a prototypical imprisoned man (weak, lack for freedom, impotent) onto the

Arab populace. This cartoon plays on the association between the radio and the stance of the Arab populace regarding the attack on the Palestinian refugee camps. They both empty talk. The prominent Palestinian poet Maḥmūd Darwīsh (who was a refugee) expressed this Arab stance in his poem "We Travel Like Other People." The poem opens with "We travel like other people, but we return to nowhere." It closes:

> We have a country of words. Speak speak so I can put my road
>
> On the stone of a stone.
>
> We have a country of words. Speak speak so we
>
> May know the end of this travel.

Darwīsh's poem articulates the trauma of the diasporic Palestinians with off-putting diction: "return to nowhere" doubles back on the mythological histories of return his poem articulates. While Darwīsh's poem speaks about mythological notions of return, the Palestinians in this cartoon endure the delay and deferral of an indifferent Arab world. Parallel to Darwīsh's poem, the cartoon shows that the imprisoned and refugee Palestinian populace are treated to the hypocrisy of Arab government's criticism of Israel while they imprison and isolate the Palestinian population in tents.

The cartoon uses the image of a Palestinian refugee camp under fire and the dormant Arab position to establish antagonistic relationships towards the Jordanian forces and the Arab politicians/leadership. This cartoon was published during the fiercest ten days of the conflict

between the Jordanian forces and the Palestinian guerrillas. By depicting the attack on the Palestinian refugee camps, the cartoon seeks to depict the threat to the Palestinian refugees and fighters, and, therefore, a threat to the Palestinian national project of liberation. For the PLO, the goal in establishing operational bases in Jordan was to build a strong army that is capable of liberating Palestine. Bisharat (218) commented that "liberation of Palestine" was the goal of the PLO operating in exile. The impotence of the Arab politicians/leadership (the Evil Men) constitutes another threat. They are represented in this cartoon. Instead of helping protect the Palestinian resistance, the Arab leadership stands idle as the cartoon shows. The Jordanian forces and the Arab politicians are portrayed as local foes, an extension to the foreign foe (Israel). They are then depicted as treacherous and therefore an enemy of the nation, in this case, the Palestinian nation.

These threats lead to feelings of antagonism. This antagonism builds thresholds of belonging among the Palestinians (the disadvantaged); it produces a sense of solidarity among those who oppose attacking the Palestinian refugees and quelling the Palestinian national resistance. Establishing this antagonistic relationship with the local foes (and the foreign foe—Israel) seems to engage the disadvantaged in a collective action. After the clashes between the Jordanian forces and the PLO fighters intensified, the former president of Egypt Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir called for an emergency Arab summit to put an end to these clashes. The following cartoon sees this summit as a diplomatic move to prevent this collective action from taking place.
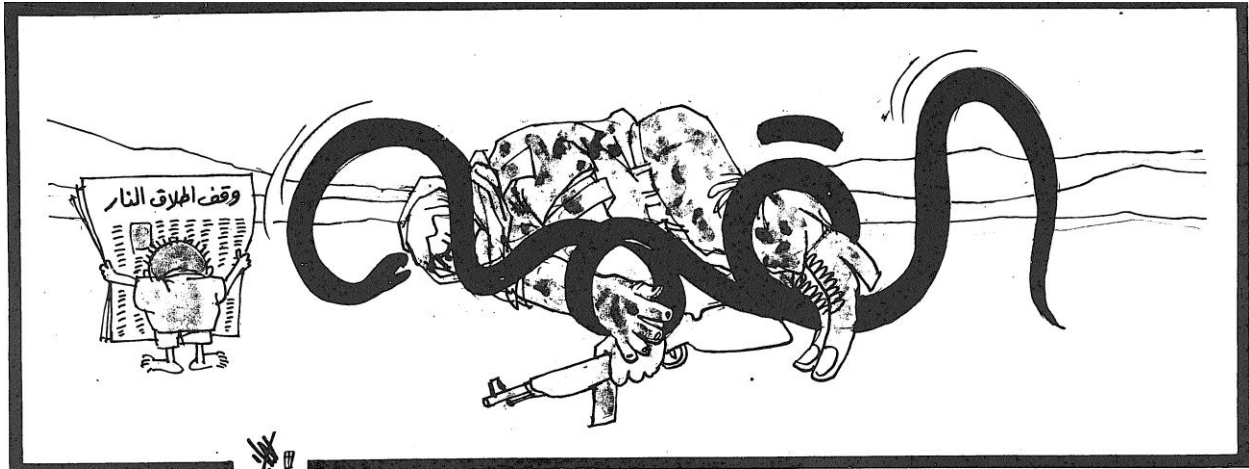
Figure 30. Nājī al-ʿAlī, *al-Siyāsah* **September 26, 1970**

This cartoon shows a *Fidāʾī* with a full combat gear holding his rifle and laying on the ground. The pictorial abstraction of the word *Qimmah* (summit) is inscribed in the shape of a snake. The snake ties the *Fidāʾī*'s legs and hands, and gets ready to bite him on the face. *Ḥanẓalah* reads a newspaper that reads *Waqf Iṭlāq al-Nār* (ceasefire).

Nājī al-ʿAlī drew this cartoon by the advent of Cairo Summit held under the auspices of the late Egyptian president Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir and the Arab League on September 27, 1970. The summit declares a ceasefire between the Jordanian forces and the PLO fighters. The cartoon rejects the ceasefire by blending the summit into a shape of a snake threatening the life of the *Fidāʾī* (pictorial metaphor of the Palestinian resistance), and therefore threatening the Palestinian project of national liberation. Borrowing Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner's (*The Way We Think*) terminology, blending occurs through the fusion of the summit's space to the snake's space resulting in a new metaphorical space with a new meaning. Such a meaning is represented through the metaphor the summit is a snake. Inscribing the word *Qimmah* in a shape of a snake is what Scott McCloud called "montage." Here, the word *Qimmah* is "treated as an integral part" (154) of the snake image. This technique of text-image relation heightens the intensity of the

cartoon's message. Kevin Brooks stated that through "montage" "the actual presentation of the text functions as an image that continues to reinforce the argument" ("More "Seriously Visible" Reading" W231). This political message is communicated by relaying on the interpretation of the visual and verbal modes. Each mode communicates a different message that is not communicated in the other ("relay," Ronald Barthes, *Mythologies*). Their marriage, however, contributes to a higher order of signification: The summit quells the Palestinian national resistance. This depiction steers feelings of fear among the Palestinian people, and consequently establishes an antagonistic relationship with those who stand behind the ceasefire agreement (Arab leaderships and the PLO). In this way, the cartoon "split the field of sociality" (Glen Bowman, "Constitutive Violence" 321) into "Us" (the resistance and those who endorse it) and the "Other" (Arab leaderships and the PLO). The cartoon invites members of the Palestinian people to distance themselves from the "Other" by portraying them (the "Other") as a threat symbolized by the image of the snake. In so doing, the cartoon constructs the Palestinian identity. The "construction of identity," Said (*Orientalism*) asserted, "involves the construction of opposites and 'others'" (331-332). Further, in depicting the "Other" as a threat, the cartoon indirectly calls for a "counterthreat" through rejecting the ceasefire and keep fighting. In *Faces of the Enemy*, Sam Keen argued that "threat breeds couterthreat" (23). In order for this "counterthreat" to take place, members of the Palestinian community need to unite. Despite the fact that the snake beats the Palestinian *Fidā'ī* and renders him on the ground, he still holds the rifle tightly**:** Both the *Fidā'ī* and the rifle are pictorial metaphors of resistance. In a nutshell, this cartoon constructs the Palestinian national identity based on a binary national feeling produced by the foes (Arab leaderships and the PLO) and the friends (the resistance and those who endorse it). This argument seems to be in line with that of Ernest Gellner (*Nations and Nationalism*), who

claimed that "[n]ationalist sentiment is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfillment. A nationalist movement is one actuated by a sentiment of this kind" (1). The "feeling of satisfaction" can be aroused by the fulfillment of the Palestinian national liberation, as this cartoon hopes to achieve.

This cartoon constructs this hope of national liberation by establishing antagonistic relationships with the local foes (Arab leaderships and the PLO) for their role in quelling the Palestinian resistance. The ensuing cartoon highlights the role of foreign foes, namely the United States, in curbing this national project. In the following cartoon, the stripes of the American flag curl around the *Fidā'ī* parallel to the way snake does in the previous cartoon.
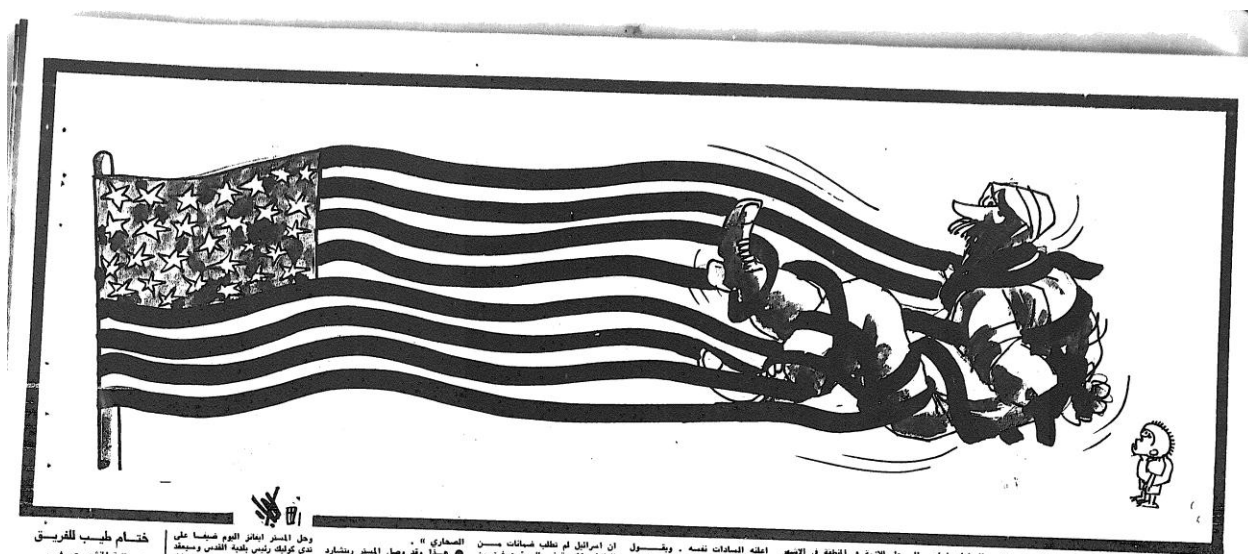

Figure 31. Nājī al-'Alī, *al-Siyāsah* May17, 1971.

This cartoon features the American flag. The red stripes become strings that tie and restrict the movement of a *Fidā'ī* resembling an octopus' arms. The monomodal metaphor is clearly the American flag is octopus. The mapping of these metaphors is that the United States is 'a destructive power.'

The cartoon attributes an identity to its viewers by the antagonism of the United States (and Israel). This pictorial representation highlights the United States' involvement in quelling the Palestinian resistance. To understand the motives of this involvement, we need to identify further the socio-political background. The *Fidā'yyūn* (who serve as a monomodal metaphor of the Palestinian resistance) constituted a threat to Israel operating in close proximity to the Jordan River. Palestinian Liberation Organization indicated that in June 1968, PLO attacks on the Occupied Territories increased and that "Israeli casualties during this period had risen higher than at any time since the 1967 war" (12), and since the United States takes the responsibility of protecting and keeping Israel safe, stopping the activities of the *Fidāyyīn* was a strategic plan for them. Samia A. Halaby wrote that the United States and Israel collaborated with the government of Jordan in Black September events. Here, the act of crushing the *Fidā'ī* highlights the immorality of the United States' involvement in Black September events in Jordan. Constructing this immoral image of the United States that obstructs the Palestinian resistance produces a "hostile imagination" that justifies and legitimizes a hostile act (Keen) against the United States (and Israel). Steven Heller affirmed that "the process of demonic manufacture, wherein the object of abhorrence must be thoroughly stripped of its human characteristics, is essential in securing mass hostility towards one group or another" (44). Consequently, this representation invites the viewers to classify the United States (and Israel) as enemies to the *Fidāyyīn*, and by default those who oppose them as friends. As a result, this cartoon calls for a collective performance roused by antagonistic emotions towards the foe to protect the self (Palestinian resistance) from threat caused by the villain (The United States (and Israel)). This finding resonates with that of O. Najjar ("Cartoon"), who concluded that al-'Alī constructed the Palestinian and Arab identity through identifying "friend and foe by being critical of the Israeli–

American relationship" (281). In other words, the United States and Israel as threatening forces impel a nationalistic activity on the side of the Palestinians.

In conclusion, the Palestinian national identity is constructed through the antagonistic portrayal between the self and the "Other." The selected cartoons disseminate their national political messages by creating foes who oppose the imagined self—the Palestinian call for self-determination. Depicting the foes as a threat to the imagined self-determination calls for a collective action against the foes mediated by feelings of fear and antagonism of the "Others," (the foes).

After their bitter experience in the aftermath of the Black September, the Palestinian guerrillas were expelled to Lebanon. There, they started to organize themselves, and consolidate their efforts to reshape their organization (PLO). The PLO achieved significant developments and started to reach out and influence the Palestinians residing in Lebanon and in the diaspora (Emile F. Sahliyeh, *The PLO*). Such developments worried Israel who believed that the PLO threatens its security. Sahliyeh reported that Israel "claimed that the PLO's military presence in Lebanon constituted a serious threat to [its] security" (3). Therefore, Israel decided to evict the Palestinians from southern Lebanon.

Israel launched a huge military operation in Lebanon on June 6, 1982. The purpose of which was "to eradicate the Palestinian Liberation Organization's political and military presence in Lebanon and to sever the link between the PLO in the diaspora and its increasingly and demonstrably steadfast support in the Occupied Territories" (Mary N. Layoun, *Wedded to the Land?* 127). Israel justified its military operation, or the so-called Peace for Galilee, by claiming that "the military aim of its operation in Lebanon was to create a 25-mile security zone in southern Lebanon free from the PLO men and artillery" (Sahliyeh 14). The Lebanon War lasted

for two months, and resulted in massacres at Ṣabra and Shātīlah refugee camps. In *Sabra* and *Shatila*, Nuwayhed B. Al-Hout stated that no official authority supplied an accurate number of the causalities in this war. She, however, reported that "PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat announced that the number of Sabra and Shatila victims was between 5,000 and 6,000" (277). Despite the massive destructions this war caused, Layoun (*Wedded to the Land?*) asserted that there were some advantages: "These losses … distinctly affect the shape and tenor of post-1982 visions and practices on national definition and community" (128). The massacres at Ṣabra and Shātīlah serve as a site of memory—for Palestinians experiencing a common history—for remembering the Israeli military operation. The massacre becomes a "terrain of belonging" (Anne-Marie Fortier, "Re-membering Places" 41) predicated on remembering the history inflicted on refugees. As a result, the memory of the massacre calls upon the past to create a locus for national resistance. Visual art plays a vital role for articulating this national goal. It serves as an affective mode for expressing people's grief and suffering under the occupation. Dana Bartelt articulated this theme in the realm of posters. She argued:

> At a time when life in the refugee camps threatened to eradicate Palestinian society, artists created paintings with scenes of pathos, naturalistic in style, humanitarian and journalistic in mode, with symbols of resistance. The verbal culture, based on the traditions evident in their many songs, poems and plays, revived the medium of painting, which provided an outlet to help overcome their feelings of significance and helplessness (54).

Visual art also functions as an important revolutionary vehicle for mobilizing the masses. Al-ʿAlī used to live in Sidon and go daily to Beirut to work. When Israel started its war in Lebanon, he went to Beirut, which was then under siege, got in to help with his cartoons (personal communication with Khālid al-ʿAlī, March 4, 2013). This section looks at some of Nājī al-ʿAlī's political cartoons published during the Israeli war in Lebanon to see how they serve as an essential medium of visual art and how they contribute to this definition of national community. The cartoons capture the major themes articulated by these cartoons on this occasion. The selected cartoons, taken from a book about al-ʿAlī's cartoons entitled *A child in Palestine: The cartoons of Naji Al-Ali (2009)*, articulate the brutality of the war, instill hope for a better future, and call the Palestinians to a collective plan of action. Al-ʿAlī's cartoons use the Lebanon War, particularly, the massacre of Ṣabra and Shātīlah as a site of memory to construct the Palestinian national identity in exile. His cartoons mediate this construction by commemorating the Palestinian pride through images of the Palestinian and Lebanese flags, and by utilizing the image of a woman being physically violated. The cartoons surveyed deploy some national symbols such as the *kūfiyyah* and key.

Here, I argue that the Palestinians' national identity is constructed in relation to their antagonism to the Israeli repressive and ideological apparatus. Bowman ("A country of Words") argued that:

> …two preconditions are required for the establishment of a conception of national identity in the absence of a state apparatus [i.e. Palestine] fomenting such an identity: (i) that an antagonism exists that people can recognize as 'the same as' that which troubles others in their imagined (but no less real) community; and

(ii) that people are able to recognize that others are, like themselves, suffering that antagonism (153).

 The cartoons invite members of the Palestinian and Lebanese communities to fulfill this national project by mobilizing them against the foe (Israel). These cartoons provide the ground on which the viewers can identify themselves with messages set out by these cartoons. The thousands (or millions) of viewers who could identify themselves with these messages and believe in them collectively constitute an imaginary nation. These cartoons communicate with members of this imaginary audience in an attempt to recruit them for a national cause (defending their nation) by fostering a collective identity. This collective identity can be accentuated by deploying some cultural artifacts (i.e. the *kūfiyyah*) to provide a sense of belonging and a "field of identification" (Bowman 141). Anderson explicated that "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (6). Through the circulation of these political cartoons among the Palestinian populace, their community is maintained although they never met or knew each other. I will proceed now to show how the following cartoons construct this sense of "imagined community."

Figure 32. Nājī al-'Alī, July 1982 (A child from Palestine)

This cartoon shows *Ḥanẓalah* standing on rubble of destroyed buildings caused by the Lebanon War. *Ḥanẓalah* carries the flags of both Palestine and Lebanon and waves them in the wind. The Palestinian *kūfiyyah* is draped around his neck. Out of the rubble, new leaves sprout around. The image's landscape is a black sky and crescent moon.

In this pictorial representation, the cartoon constructs the Palestinian identity by simultaneously communicating the destruction by the Israeli war, and by promising a happy end,

which is articulated through the monomodal metaphor hope is leaves. The rubble of the destroyed buildings shows some aspects of the refugees' plight during the massacre of Ṣabra and Shātīlah. The black sky as a background emphasizes this plight. The dark background of al-ʿAlī's cartoon goes hand in hand with the emotional states the Lebanese and the Palestinian refugees experience under the Israeli war. Most artists "exhibit a tendency to harmonize drawing techniques with content" (Charles Press, *The Political Cartoon* 74). This is no exception for this cartoon. O. Najjar ("Cartoon" 271) indicated that "[t]his is the case with al-Ali who uses the black background panels to advantage to illustrate the bleakness of the situation." Using the black background in this cartoon implies misery and sadness. "The combination of imagery and artistic technique," stated Press, "creates an emotional mood that gives a cartoonist's message its real impact and power" (75). The image invites the viewers to identify themselves with it and appeals to recruit support to get rid of this state of emotions.

This depiction seems to incite an armed struggle. The cartoon incites this call for armed struggle by tapping on national images: the *kūfiyyah* and the flags of Palestine and Lebanon.[38] On one hand, the *kūfiyyah* is the attire that the Palestinian fighters used to wear during the 1936 Revolt, and after *al-Nakbah*, and *al-Naksah*. Therefore, the *kūfiyyah* becomes a symbol of resistance. Nadia Yaqub ("Gendering" 200) found that wearing the *kūfiyyah* "suggest[s] the assumption of responsibility for Resistance." Having *Ḥanẓalah*, the child, wear *kūfiyyah* invites those who suffer from the Israeli invasion to resist the occupation as a means of national liberation. The flags, on the other hand, unfurled in the wind, promise a happy end. The flags of Palestine and Lebanon embody their respective nations. In addition to the feelings of national

---

[38]Palestinians turned to armed struggle because their attempts to get the UN to help enforce its own resolutions to allow refugees to return or be compensated (UN Resolution 242) were ignored and thwarted by Israel and its allies.

pride they invoke, the flags seek identification among members of the Palestinian and Lebanese communities. Flags are mythical sacred symbols, which help tie members of a particular group to their land (Elie Podeh, "The Symbolism of the Arab Flag"). The Lebanese and Palestinian flags provide a manifest object of such identification. The flags denote a shared set of values and principles for members of a particular group. They become an umbrella that represents this group with shared values and principles. In their "Waving the Flag," Robert T. Schatz and Howard Lavine asserted that national images "accentuate citizen's identification as national members" [and] "represent the group as a whole or in the abstract, thus communicating "groupness" itself, the shared ingroup categorization per se. Consequently, they should be particularly capable of rousing group identification and demarcating ingroup from outgroup(s)" (332). Further, the image of flags calls for unity, cohesiveness, and sense of belonging among members of the society who share a unique heritage. Flags connect members of the community to their lands. Flags are mythical sacred symbols, which help tie members of a particular group to their land (Podeh). Raising the Lebanese and Palestinian flags by *Ḥanẓalah* not only serves to remind the Palestinians and Lebanese of their occupied lands, but it also raises hope for regaining sovereignty over their lands. It also reminds them that the Palestinians and Lebanese are in this together, or should be because they have the same enemy. The flags flying freely in the wind invoke a set of values and principles such as that nations are "indestructible and immortal" (Sasha R. Weitman, "National Flags" 337). Keeping the Palestinian and Lebanese nations indestructible and immortal require members of their nations to self-sacrifice. The Lebanese and Palestinian invite their respective communities to self-sacrifice for a common goal: defying the foe (Israel). If the Palestinian and Lebanese communities self-sacrifice, they will be promised a

happy end. The new leaves turn the rubble into a spring metaphorically suggests this happy end. They assert fecundity and therefore hope for a fruitful future.

In light of these remarks, this pictorial representation is presented to the Arab populace, in general, and to the Palestinian and Lebanese communities, in particular. Using Robert Cialdini's terminology, this presentation fosters a feeling of ingroup membership and among these communities and consequently heightens commitment to their nations.

It is worthy to note that *Ḥanẓalah* usually hides his face from the viewers. This time he faces the readers. This visual move by *Ḥanẓalah* signifies resistance and defying Israel. In the ensuing cartoon, *Ḥanẓalah* performs another act of resistance.

Figure 33. Nājī al-'Alī, July 1982 (A Child in Palestine)

In a desolate night landscape, *Ḥanẓalah* climbs the post to replace the Israeli flag with the Lebanese one. The cartoon expresses rejection for the Israeli occupation by the image of replacing the Israeli flag with the Lebanese one. Here, the Lebanese flag is a metaphor of the Lebanese nation. The connotations mapped from source to target can be formulated as a 'the road to sovereignty,' which guides the intended interpretation as 'replacing the Lebanese flag with the Israeli one regains sovereignty.' This image of flags' replacement infuses emotional sentiments with political import. It serves as vehicle for mobilizing both the Palestinian and Lebanese communities for restoring the sovereignty of Lebanon.

Ḥanẓalah helps restore the Lebanese sovereignty by replacing the Israeli flag with the Lebanese one. In doing so, *Ḥanẓalah*, representing the Palestinian revolt refugee child, spreads a message of solidarity with the occupied Lebanon. He invites the Palestinian and Lebanese communities to come together to restore the sovereignty of Lebanon. The image though shows that *Ḥanẓalah* has not yet replaced the two flags; there is some work ahead of him. For *Ḥanẓalah* to successfully achieve his mission, he needs support and cooperation from the Palestinian and Lebanese communities. After all, the replacement of the two flags pours a national pride, feeling of national superiority over Israel, and opposition to the Israel occupation.

Having the Israeli flag unfurled in the Lebanese land reveals the aims behind the Israeli military operation: occupying the Lebanese land. This visual depiction goes against what Israel said about the goal of its military operation: "create[ing] a 25-mile security zone in southern Lebanon free from the PLO men and artillery" (Sahliyeh 14). Occupying Lebanon aimed at expelling the Palestinian guerrillas from Lebanon, as the following cartoon shows.

The ensuing cartoon sheds light on the reason behind the Israeli war in Lebanon: expelling the PLO fighters. Although Israel succeeds in expelling the Palestinian guerrillas, as

suggested by his cartoons, the cartoon raises the hope for the right of return symbolized by the image of a key.
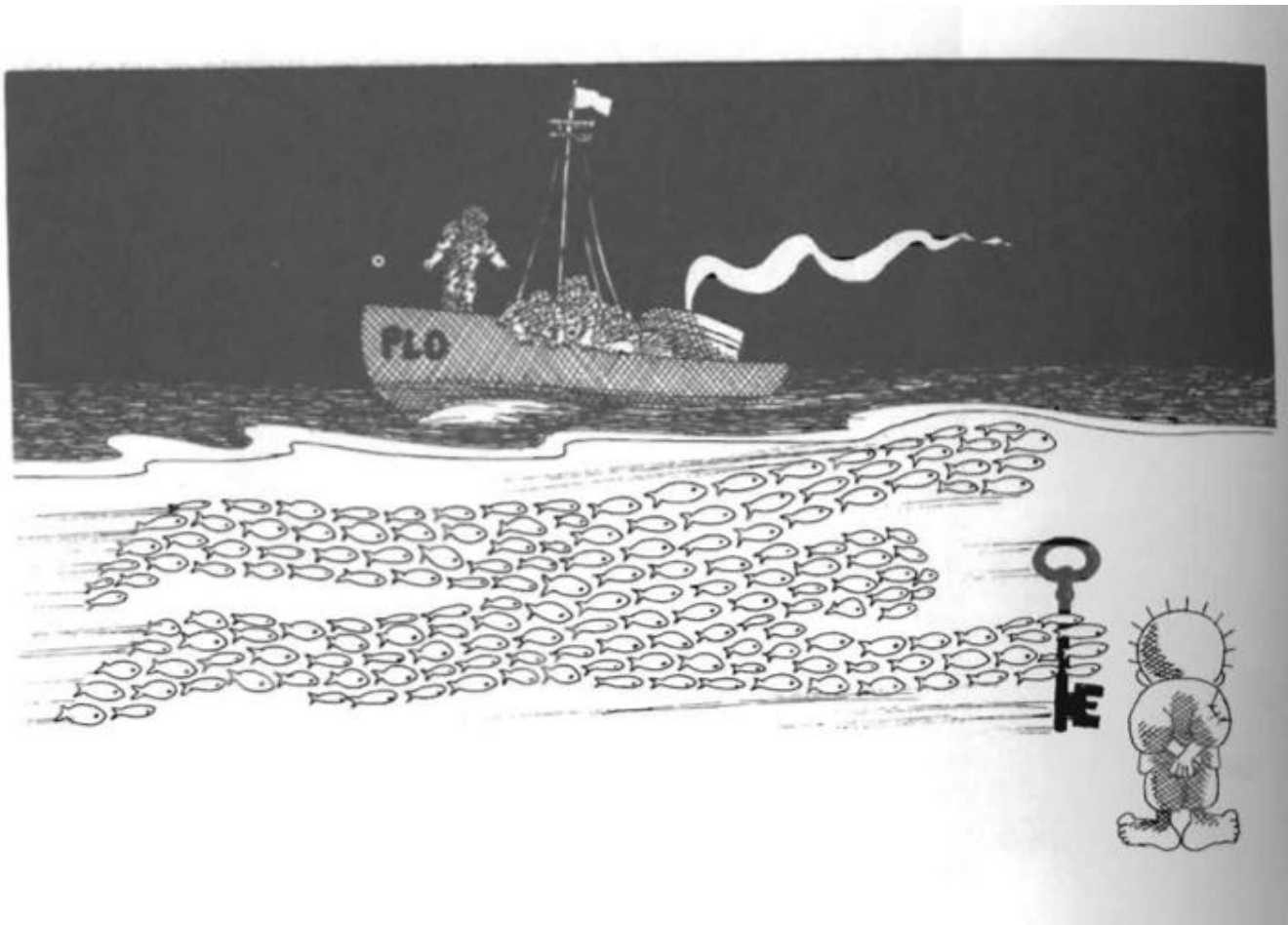
Figure 34. Nājī al-'Alī, December 1983 (A child from Palestine)

The cartoon shows a group of Fedayeen (PLO fighters) on a ship with a PLO inscribed on it. A body-shaped school of fish bearing a key swims in the opposite direction of the ship. The surface landscape is dark, and the underground current is light.

In this cartoon, the metaphoric representation of the right of return (symbolized by the key and the body-shaped school of fish bearing the key) fuses a historical event (*al-Nakbah*) with a present one (the expulsion of the PLO fighters) to reconstruct the present. Drawing on the national sentiment of *al-Nakbah* to the expulsion of the PLO fighters in turn helps forge the Palestinian "imagined community." Here, the image of the key constitutes the underlying

metaphorical concept that might be rendered as key is the right of return. This metaphoric interpretation invites people to remember *al-Nakbah* (when hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were forced to leave their lands and houses). The image of the key then serves as a site of remembering the Palestinians' *Nakbah* and their longing to return to their homeland. O. Najjar ("Cartoons") argued that "[t]he key is the ultimate Palestinian symbol of longing for a homeland. It is a material object whose possession is loaded with memory and hope (269). For Palestinians, the key, a nationalist icon, symbolizes mixed feelings. It symbolizes their agony and suffering when they were expelled from their homeland; it symbolizes their hope of reunion with their homes, and memories. The key becomes a terrain of belonging as it represents ownership and belonging. The image of the body-shaped school of fish swimming in the opposite direction of the ship—a metaphor for the right of return—reinforces this national claim of return. The cartoon suggests the means for the national return: resistance. The PLO fighters symbolize the Palestinian resistance during the Israeli war in Lebanon. Here, the target, PLO fighters, is represented verbally and pictorially. This metaphor is monomodal metaphor since we are able to construe the metaphor by relying only on the visual element (the PLO fighter), and not referring to the visual element (PLO inscribed on the ship). The verbal and visual elements appear to be mutually supportive: "anchorage." The linguistic text, PLO, emphasizes that those who are on the ship are PLO fighters as opposed to any other group. Brooks (W223) stated that "such combinations provide emphatic stress."

This pictorial juxtaposition of *al-Nakbah* and the PLO expulsion aim at reinforcing the continuous Palestinian plight and suffering under the Israeli occupation. The cartoon juxtaposes the past memory of *al-Nakbah* dispersal with the present suffer of the expulsion of the PLO fighters to reiterate the identity of the Palestinians as refugees expelled from one corner of the globe to another. In doing so, the cartoon creates a visual territory of collective claim of belonging. The cartoon makes the viewers live the past through the present to foreground their identity in the future. In this regard, Fortier remarked:

generations, in immigration discourses, are the living embodiment of continuity and change, mediating memories of the past with present living conditions, bringing the past into the present and charged with the responsibility of keeping some form of ethnic identity alive in the future (cited in Fortier 55).

By commemorating national past historical events (i.e. *al-Nakbah*), this cartoon marks out terrains of commonality that create a site of memory for Palestinians. This site of memory aims to construct the Palestinian national identity by inviting Palestinians to remember their past, and connecting them to their heritage. Consequently, it formulates an "imagined community." The Palestinian national identity becomes this community's weapon to fight against the occupation.

In short, what cemented this community is the identity of shared heritage, the bond of the common destiny and the common suffering they experienced during the war, followed by the suffering of yet another exile. The following cartoon illustrates this suffering by depicting a woman being physically violated.

Figure 35. Nājī al-ʻAlī, May 1983 (A Child in Palestine).

This pictorial representation shows *Ḥanẓalah* covering a woman whose body is riddled with bleeding bullet holes and covered by the Palestinian *kūfiyyah*. It also shows the naked woman's hands tied—a sign of helplessness. A blackened/checkered crescent moon appears in the surface black landscape.

The cartoon plays on the association of honor and women to construct a sphere of anxiety among the viewers, which invokes a sense of obligation/ responsibility to restore the woman's honor, the nation's honor. Literature asserts that the Palestinian nation is portrayed as a woman. Yaqub, for example, observed that al-ʻAlī's cartoons utilize the iconic symbol of a woman as a representation of Palestine. Similarly, this image portrays Palestine as woman undergoing a

physical and moral violation. Hence, the object woman is to be labeled the target object, and Palestine the source, and the metaphorical structure can be rephrased as Palestine is a woman whose suffering should be redressed. This metaphor expresses fear and moral obligation by fusing Palestine and woman. The image's nudity demonstrates that the woman is not only killed, but also raped. *Ḥanẓalah* comes to restore her dignity by draping the Palestinian *kūfiyyah* over her body. The *kūfiyyah* serves not only as a symbol of resistance, but also as a means of preserving dignity. This image simultaneously plays with these concepts of dignity and resistance and pictorially reinforces the associations that underpin them: restoring the Palestinian dignity can be achieved only through a national resistance. This idea of national resistance is further intensified by the blackened crescent moon. The moon lost it symbolic status in the Arab culture as a means of the mornings renewal of life. The blackened crescent moon provokes resistance. The horrific Israeli violence incurred on this victim and the humiliation coded produce emotions from the viewers to seek an action: restoring the woman's honor. Restoring the woman's honor requires a collective effort from those who share these values (of protecting women's honor).

After the expulsion of the PLO fighters from Lebanon to Tunisia, a series of negotiations between the PLO and Israel took place under the auspices of the United States. These negotiations intensified in the 1980s and several international peace conferences held that eventually culminated in the Oslo accord signed by the two parties in September 1993. Al-ʿAlī's cartoon rejected these negotiations and international peace conferences. His cartoons show that the international legitimacy that these negotiations presumably try to bring lies in re-gaining the Palestinian sovereignty on the historic Palestinian land. The following two cartoons of Nājī al-

'Alī, obtained from Khālid al-'Alī through a personal communication, exemplify this public idea.

Figure 36. Nājī al-'Alī, March 26, 1987.

This image shows five facsimile Arab men wearing suits, probably Arab diplomats or politicians. One of them is reading a newspaper that reads *al-Mu'tamar al-Duwalī* (the international conference). In front of the diplomats, a set of microphones is placed, where their wires' end formulate a guillotine.

Here, the cartoon attempts to forge the Palestinian national identity by highlighting the deceiving Arab diplomacy in promoting the international peace conference. This deception is articulated by way of metaphor-blending interaction. The microphones are blended into a guillotine resulting in a new metaphoric space. The target domain, the microphones—a metonymy for the Arabs' diplomacy—is pictorially projected on the source domain, guillotine to

formulate the monomodal metaphor: microphones are a guillotine. Taking the linguistic text, *al-Mu'tamar al-Duwalī*, into account could also lead to an alternative verbalization of the metaphor: *al-Mu'tamar al-Duwalī* is a guillotine. This metaphoric verbalization leads to a categorization of the metaphor as multimodal since the source is cued pictorially and the target is specified verbally. The mapped connotation is 'strategy for demolishing the Palestinian rights,' which guides the interpretation of the cartoon as 'the diplomatic solution represented by the international peace conference demolishes the Palestinian rights.' Here, the linguistic text and the images of the guillotine and microphones communicate two independent messages that add up to this connotative mapping of the metaphor "interdependent" (McCloud). The complex visual and verbal combination in this cartoon allows Palestinians to conceive of themselves in the torments of others (Arab diplomats, the US as a peace mediator, and Israel as the main foe). The cartoon articulates the danger and threats these diplomats incur to the future of Palestinians: hanging/death. In so doing, the cartoon depicts the diplomats as a traitors and therefore as untrustworthy source for representing the Palestinian voice. Their dangers and threats create antagonism that serves as a point of identification among the Palestinians. Bowman ("Constitutive Violence") argued that antagonism against the foe "impels them to join in the project of forming a nation state to protect them from that menacing other" (319). This concept of identification generates bond of solidarity that foregrounds the possibility of a nationalist community, and may provoke a collective nationalistic activity.

Al-ʿAlī's cartoon is designed to incite collective national activities by taping on historical events that threat and menace the Palestinian nation. Historical events serve to historize the nation in the present. This historicity of the nation is the long-distance main tool for making political claims (Bock-Luna). Here, I argue that al-ʿAlī's following cartoon taps on the *al-*

Nakbah to historize the Palestinian nation for formulating the claim of the illegitimacy of the Israeli occupation.

Figure 37. Nājī al-ʿAlī, December, 23, 1985.

The pictorial representation shows a man sitting and smiling. The Palestinian *kūfiyyah* is draped around his neck like a necktie, and an Islamic prayer beads (misbaḥah) hanging from his left sleeve. On the left side of the image, a map of historic Palestine (from the River of Jordan to the Mediterranean Sea) is drawn with the number 242 written on it. Next to the map of historic Palestine, 1948 is drawn and marked by an X. In the background, the word SOLD is inscribed.[39]

---

[39]The 1948 features the year when the State of Israel came into being, and when hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were forced into exile known as *al-Nakbah*.

Through the metaphor 1948 is *al-Nakbah*, this cartoon draws upon the memory of *al-Nakbah* to impel a nationalistic activity among the Palestinians. The threat inflicted by accepting the diplomatic solutions represented by the UN Resolution 242 reinforces this national call. The UN Resolution includes: "Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict [the 1967 War]" (cited in Farsoun and Aruri 407). For the PLO to accept negotiating with Israel on the ground of Israel withdrawing from the territories occupied in the 1967 Ware, leaving standing the territories occupied in the 1948 War is seen as an act of betrayal, according to Bowman ("Constitutive Violence" 327): "PLO negotiations with the Israeli state over which territories would be 'Palestinian' and which permanently surrendered to Israel left many Palestinians from the diaspora and the territories feeling betrayed" (327).[40] This discussion renders the UN Resolution 242 as an unacceptable solution for the Palestinian-Israel conflict for many Palestinians. The cartoon expresses this idea visually and textually. The capitalized linguistic text SOLD inscribed in the background asserts that through this UN resolution the Mandate Palestine is expropriated. This idea is further reinforced by placing the UN resolution number "242" on the map of historic Palestine. The expropriation of historic Palestine is accompanied by denying the Palestinian right of return. This idea is articulated by marking the year 1948, which marks *al-Nakbah* (where hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were forced into exile) with an X mark. Denying the Palestinians' right of return embodies Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) depiction of the antagonistic relationship between "Us" and "Other" when they

---

[40]In an interview with an Israeli TV channel on November 2, 2102, Maḥmūd 'Abbās, Chairmen of the PLO and President of the PNA, has committed that as long as he is in office, there will be no third *Intifāḍah*. In response to a question whether he would like to go to his hometown, Safed in Galilee that he was forced to leave during *al-Nakbah*, which is now regarded as an Israeli city, 'Abbās affirmed that he would like to see his village Safed, but not to 'return to it.' 'Abbās regarded it as an Israel city and for him Palestine is only the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. These statements were received with magnificent Palestinian public dissent and sever condemnation by Ḥamās Islamic Party and other Palestinian factions. The interview in English can be retrieved in <http://www.assabeel.net/important-topics/113607-/>.

argued "the presence of "Other" prevents me from being totally myself… (it is because a peasant cannot be a peasant that an antagonism exists with the landowner who is expelling him from his land)" (125). Likewise, denying the Palestinians' right of return to their homeland renders them Palestinianless. This depiction aims at, using Bowman's ("Constitutive Violence") terminology, dividing the "the field of sociality" (321), into two halves: friends who oppose the expropriation of Palestine that denies the Palestinians' right of return, and foes who cause and help cause these decisions, and who occupied Palestine and forced its landowners into exile. Through this dichotomy, the cartoon aims to create antagonistic relationships with the foe. Imagining these antagonistic relationships form "a community of all those who 'the others' wished to destroy" (Bowman, "Antagonism" 38). Placing the Palestinians' right of return and their homeland at risk maintains feelings of solidarity among the Palestinians and, as a consequence, puts them forward to protect the sovereignty of their homeland. The foe (Israel) is imagined as one who tries to buy Palestine with the collaboration of Arab elites and the UN symbolized by the UN Resolution 242. The image implicitly criticizes the Palestinian man (The Evil Man) for he is sitting, smiling, and doing nothing against 'selling' Palestine. The Evil Man wears the *kūfiyyah* as a necktie. This move indicates a deceptive marker by the Evil man (Skype interview with Khālid al-ʿAlī, November 24, 2012). I have demonstrated so far that the *kūfiyyah* is used as symbol of resistance and a marker of Palestinian distinctive national identity in the cartoons surveyed. Whenever the *kūfiyyah* appears with The Evil Man, it serves a different function. The Evil Man wears as a necktie to ostensibly disseminate a sense of nationalism. In reality, wearing the *kūfiyyah* as a necktie indicates deception of the opportunistic Palestinian politicians who used it as a fake nationalistic sign to achieve personal agenda at the expense of his nation, Palestine. Yaqub affirmed that wearing the *Kūfiyyah* as a necktie appears in the neckties of corrupt Palestinian

elites in al-ʿAlī's cartoons. The Evil Man performs another deceptive role by having the misbaḥah hang from his sleeve instead of a normal position, in the hands.[41] Although the basic goal of the misbaḥah is to assist the worshiper in counting his/her prayers and incarnations, it can also be used "as a source of comfort" (The Multi-cultural History, July 24, 2012). The Evil Man appears comfortable and indifferent for the expropriation of Palestine.

The 1948 invokes the memory of *al-Nakbah*, a shared history among Palestinians, and simultaneously connects them to their land visually depicted in this cartoon by the map of historic Palestine. This juxtaposition of shared memory and lost territory helps forge the Palestinian "imagined community." In this respect, Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson's "Beyond Culture" postulated that:

> It is here that it becomes most visible how imagined communities (Anderson) come to be attached to imagined places, as displaced peoples cluster around remembered or imagined homelands, places, or communities in a world that seems increasingly to deny such firm territorialized anchors in their actuality (10-11).

According to Anderson, maps help imagine national collective memory and present the reality of national territory. This is perhaps why this cartoon portrays the map of historic Palestine. By presenting the historic map of Palestine, the cartoon highlights the refusal to conciliate on any part of Palestine as what the PLO did upon their coming to the West Bank and Gaza Strip in

---

[41] The misbaḥah used by Muslims to count the repetitions of prayers and devotions *dhikr* (remembrance of *Allāh*). The misbaḥah usually contains 99 beads, ssymbolizing the 99 names of *Allāh* in Islam. It is made of a variety of materials from stones, olive seeds, ostrich shells, wood to amber, pearls, plastic and other ornaments.

1994. Sariel Birnbaum's "Historical Discourse" stated that the historic Palestinian map intends to preserve the 1948 lost land. The image of the Palestinian *kūfiyyah* contribute to this "symbolic anchors of community" (Gupta and Ferguson 11) for the Palestinian refugees. The *kūfiyyah* serves as a unifying national symbol and means of identification among the Palestinian who suffered a shared history. The cartoon taps on these symbols of the map of historic Palestine and the *kūfiyyah* in an attempt to forge the Palestinian national identity, imagine their homeland, and then mobilize the Palestinian masses by means of a nationalistic collective action.

In conclusion, al-ʿAlī's cartoons serve as a constitution of Palestinian national identity. They construct the Palestinian identity through deploying folkloric and national symbols such as the *kūfiyyah*, the key, and flags, and through portraying the Palestinian nation as a woman. Deploying these symbols aims at raising the consciousness of the Palestinian and Lebanese communities who experience similar plight during the war. These national symbols then invoke a communal response: national resistance.

The findings of this chapter resonate with that of Bock-Luna, who concluded that the Serbian long-distance nationalism is forged during times of war, crisis, injustice, and violence. The cartoons demonstrate that the Palestinian national identity is, in part, forged out of the antagonism of Israel, and its "harassment and brutality" inflicted upon the Lebanese and Palestinian refugees alike. Anthropologist Bowman ("Migrant Labour") suggested that people in exile mobilize "some elements of a cultural repertoire against a threatening other and that antagonism . . . remains fundamental to identity" (447). The cartoons surveyed deploy some Palestinian cultural repertoire in creating fantasies about a threat to the nation (i.e. Israel as a rapist of the Palestinian nation). These fantasies consequently mobilize the readers and put them as "protectors of 'what is in us more than ourselves', that is, that which makes us [Palestinians]

part of a nation" (Renata Salecl, "Nationalism" 211). I also noted that the story of the Lebanese and Palestinian refugees during the Israeli war is dominantly told through visuality. Mitchell termed this process "pictorial turn" (11), when he said that "[p]ictures with captions were easily transformed into talking pictures" (21). This quasi-free-text-image tactic contributes to the straightforwardness of al-ʿAlī's cartoons' symbolic representations. The symbolic representations make it easy for the viewers to understand the political message without requiring any linguistic texts to anchor the meaning of the cartoon. The editor of the prominent Lebanese newspaper *al-Safīr* Newspaper, Ṭalāl Salmān, indicated that "the key for Naji's success was the simplicity. Simplicity to the point of naiveté. It is as a simplicity that did not need anyone to explain or interpret it. Simplicity which was intuitive and deadly."[42] Al-ʿAlī mentioned that "I tried to draw without any [linguistic] comment and create shared symbols between me and the readers" (cited in Kallim 60). Al-ʿAlī's cartoons rely on direct visual representations to convey their messages so they become easily accessible to a large audience—literate and illiterate. Through this simplicity and straightforwardness, al-ʿAlī's cartoons attempt to recruit as many people as possible (literate and illiterate) under one Palestinian community by articulating nationalistic messages that are easy to digest and comprehend by this community. Fāḍil al-Rabīʿī, a literary and political activist, reported that al-ʿAlī's cartoons do not resort to linguistic commentary except when it is intended to accelerate the level of sarcasm and criticism (cited in al-Manāṣrah 60). Al-ʿAlī's cartoons also use the black and white colors dichotomy. In so doing, they aim at making contrast sharp and crystal clear for the readers. Ḥazīn affirmed that using only these two contrasting colors is what makes al-ʿAlī a genius cartoonist.

---

[42]Kasim Abid (*Naji Al-Ali: An Artist with Vision*).

My argument in this chapter is that Nājī al-'Alī's cartoons are constructed as responses to counter or confront antagonism. These cartoons are involved with the antagonists, who are imagined to be encountered, to invoke the Palestinian identity. Al-'Alī's cartoons play on the association of honor and women to construct a sphere of anxiety among the viewers. Figure 35 shows that this juxtaposition of concepts of honor and anxiety invokes a sense of obligation/ responsibility to restore the woman's honor. In short, women take a central stage in the journey of self-determination. Their presence serves as an emotional vehicle for political and national promotion. The next chapters, Women Cartoonists and Palestinian/Arab Nationalism: A Exploratory Study of Omayya Joha's Cartoons, sheds more light on association between women and nation. Particularly, the chapter is concerned with the manner in which the political cartoons of the first Palestinian and Arab cartoonist, Omayya Juha, participate in building the Palestinian national identity.

CHAPTER FIVE

WOMEN CARTOONISTS AND PALESTINIAN/ARAB NATIONALISM: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF OMAYYA JOHA'S CARTOONS

Although women are subordinated by male domination, national resistance movements often grant them an important role in nation building. In her seminal article "Masculinity and Nationalism," Joane Nagel observed that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, masculinity is tied to nationalism, colonialism, militarism, and imperialism; the masculine institution defines the national state. In *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, Cynthia Enloe (45) affirmed Nagel's observation in that "nationalism has typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope." She argued that women are used as national symbols who seek protection and defense, or disgrace the spoils of war. This argument is further affirmed by Anne McClintock in her article entitled "No Longer in a Future Heaven." McClintock explored the ways in which women have been represented in Afrikaans and African nationalism. She found that women are disempowered by depicting "the Afrikaner nation symbolically as a weeping woman" (109). These studies assert the male primacy in protecting women's honor and defending their nation. However, beyond Joane Nagel, I argue that women's role in enacting nationalism is governed by their traditional roles as symbol of national honor, raising their children, and supporting their husbands. Moreover, Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias have identified five ways in which women have tended to participate in nationalism:

> as biological producers of members of ethnic collectivities; (b) as reproducers of the [normative] boundaries of ethnic/national groups [by enacting proper feminine behaviour]; (c) as participating centrally in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of its culture; (d) as

signifiers of ethnic/national differences; and (e) as participants in national, economic, political and military struggles (7–8).

One of the best examples of women's participation in nationalistic struggle is the involvement of the Algerian women in fighting the French colonial rule. In his interview with women veterans of the Algerian liberation movement, Chris Kutschera reported that 11,000 women took part in the national resistance and 2,000 women participated in the armed struggle against French rule. In the case of Palestinian women's participation in the Palestinian national struggle, Mary Layoun's "Telling Spaces" stated that the Palestinian women's participation is not, or at least was not, characterized by violent actions (i.e. demonstrating in the streets, throwing stones). Their role was symbolic, "inside" the home as the nurturing sustainers of life, children, and so forth" (411).

Following this construction of women's role in the national struggle, the depiction of women in political cartoons seems to be inferior to men. Consequently, literature showed that male characters are more visible than female characters (Sarah Brabant and Linda Mooney). Male cartoonists depicted male characters to be more human and realistic than corresponding female characters (Ronald Anderson and Elaine Jolly). In other studies, female characters are stereotyped as "seductive, incompetent, and angry" (Arthur Asa Berger 477), whereas female cartoonists portray women realistically and use "concepts of womanhood" (Alice Shepard 186).

Palestinian art flourished during three major uprisings occurred in Palestine. During the 1936-39 Revolt, the first *Intifāḍah* in 1987, and the second *Intifāḍah* in 2000 a hopeful liberation of Palestine from the Ottoman and Israeli occupation and imperialism was fostered (Samia S. Halaby). The goal of Palestinian art is an art of resistance. Palestinian artists use images of women, usually in Palestinian traditional dress, as a source of national pride and as a symbol of

homeland. Sliman Mansour, a Palestinian artist, employed images of Palestinian women in their traditional embroidered dresses to connect the Palestinians to their homeland, and to impel national sentiments in opposition of the Israeli occupation (Dana Bartelt and Contemporary Museum).

In her article "Gendering the Palestinian Political Cartoons," Nadia Yaqub investigated how gender is represented in Nāji al-ʿAlī's cartoons and other Palestinian contemporary cartoonists (Bahāʾ Būkhārī, Khalīl Abū ʿArafah, Omayya Joha, Muḥammad Sabāʿnih, Nāṣir al-Jaʿfarī, and ʿImād ḥajjāj).[43] Yaqub found that al-ʿAlī's cartoons portray the Palestinian identity as "masculine and characterized by the emasculation that al-Zalameh [The man] continually encounters" (200). Yaqub's findings are in line with Amal Amireh's "Between Complicity and Subversion:" What is true for al-ʿAlī's cartoons is confirmed by post-1948 Palestinian fiction, namely, the idea that masculinity is in crisis. Still, Yaqub also found that al-ʿAlī's cartoons associate the role of women with the liberation of Palestine. The cartoons highlight the fact that women can perform their roles in a state of violence. The other Palestinian contemporary cartoonists, however, differ from al-ʿAlī in that they depict masculinity "divorced from military action" (Yaqub 187). Yaqub also indicated that Omayya Joha uses women in her cartoons as "mourners, victims, and survivors" (205).

The 1990s was a time of dramatic change in traditional gender roles in the Arab world. Palestinian men and women joined their nationalist efforts together in confronting a common enemy—Israel. The *Intifāḍah* (Uprising), Sherna Berger Gluck asserted, "provided a space in Palestinian society where boundaries were blurred, if not challenged" (8). Palestinian women started to look for new strategies to contribute to the Palestinian national project. On December

---

[43]These Palestinian contemporary cartoonists are Bahāʾ Būkhārī, Khalīl Abū ʿArafah, Omayya Joha, Muḥammad Sabāʿnih, Nāṣir al-Jaʿfarī, and ʿImād Ḥajjāj.

16, 2001, some Palestinian women activists in Ramallah held an initiating forum titled "*The Women's Movement and the Current Situation: Towards Integrating Nationalism and Feminist Agenda*" (Penny Johnson and Eileen Kuttab 39, emphasis in original). In this chapter I show how women participate in the Palestinian national resistance as revolutionary artists, in their role as political cartoonists. I explore the impact of gendered discourse on the cultivation of the Palestinian national consciousness. My analysis is based on the political cartoons featured by the first Palestinian and Arab woman political cartoonist—Omayya Joha.[44] Joha challenges traditional women's role in the Arab world by drawing political cartoons in several Arab and Palestinian newspapers. This chapter addresses the question of authorship: in articulizing Palestinian nationalism, do Joha's cartoons differ stylistically from those of male cartoonists under question? The chapter also addresses the question of representation: how do Juha's cartoons present women in relation to the Palestinian national identity? The chapter is concerned with the role of female figures in forging the Palestinian communal identity.

In this dissertation, male cartoonists dominantly deploy male characters in their cartoons. They depict male characters as being involved in militarized struggle against Israel. Whenever they use female figures, however, male cartoonists use the masculine imagery of rape, sexual conquest, and physical violation of women. They chiefly depict Palestinian motherhood in danger and crisis. Some male cartoonists, Nājī al-ʿAlī's and Muḥammad Sabāʿnih, feature motherhood visibly by depicting the image of women educating their children and mobilizing them in opposition of the Israeli occupation. Male cartoonists exploit these imageries to incite antagonism, which consequently leads to the dichotomy of friend vs. foe and "Us" vs. "Other."

---

[44]Omayya Joha said that there are now few Arab women cartoonists. This shows that women started to break the wall of the traditional fear imposed by their society, and become more confident of their creativity that this type of work requires (Personal communication, February 4, 2013).

Male cartoonists resort to animalistic imageries to alienate the foes (Israel, the United States, the international community, and the Arab leadership) to heighten their "Otherness." Except in the work of Nājī al-ʿAlī where women's potential for militancy is voiced, integrating women in militarized struggle is muted in the other male cartoonists. Women's national political agency is marginalized by the rhetoric of subordination. Women's participation in national defense discourse is seen through weeping women who appeal for solving local disputes, and calling for male national intervention. In short, women's involvement in nation building appears to be subordinate and auxiliary to the efforts of male cartoonists.

Political cartoons as a medium of mass communication give Joha an opportunity to be politically active, to show the role of women in the battlefield of nationalism. I argue that Joha's cartoons rely on gendered images for their articulation of the Palestinian national identity. Women are imagined as symbolic bearers of the Palestinian calamity under occupation seeking male guardianship. Using female figures Joha's cartoons too seek to forge a Palestinian national identity. Female figures incite this sense of nationalism by bringing into light a paternal (and national) guardianship. Like male cartoonists, I argue that depicting the enemy as a threatening and aggressive force is Joha's main technique in constructing the Palestinian national identity. The state of antagonism is impelled by using methods from popular culture, linking the Israeli election to military operations, highlighting the negative consequences of Palestinian local disputes, the immoral involvement of the international community in quelling the *Intifāḍah*, and women's appeals for help and unity among Palestinian factions. These depictions are often fraught with emotions; they defy the enemy, thus, create boundaries between "Us" and "Them." These boundaries consolidate a sense of solidarity among those who suffer, namely the Palestinians, because of the enemy, Israel, and thus categorize them as "Us" and the enemy as

"Them." Before proceeding to the analysis, the following section provides a biographical profile of Omayya Joha.

Omayya Joha was born in Gaza on February 2, 1972. She graduated from the Mathematics Department at Al-Azhar University in Egypt 1995. Then, she worked as a teacher of Mathematics for 3 years. The first cartoon Joha drew was in *al-Khalīj* (The Gulf) newspaper in 1991when she was a high school student in *al-Shāriqah* Emirate in the United Arab Emirates. (personal communication, February 4, 2013). In her first cartoon, Joha depicted *al-Quds* as a jailed woman weeping and calling for help. She started publishing cartoons in 1997 (Nadia Yaqub, "Gendering"). Joha published her cartoons in *al-Quds* and *al-Risālah* (The Message), *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah* newspaper (The New Life) since February 2002, and *Aljazeera.net*. On her website, Joha "publishes the cartoons Israelis censor" (Orayb A. Najjar, Cartoons 201). She lost her first husband in an Israeli raid in Gaza in 2004. Her second husband died after he was denied entry into Egypt from Gaza for medication in May 2009 (Nadia Yaqub). Joha used the image of a key, a symbol of the Palestinian right of return, as her cartoons' signature. Her first husband suggested that she uses the key for her cartoon's signature (Palestine's Dialogue Forum). Yaqub (205) found that "[w]omen in Joha's cartoons are largely symbolic of places (Gaza, Jerusalem, Al-Aqsa mosque), or props in Abu Aid's [the main character in her cartoons] family… the primary role for women in Joha's cartoons is as victims, mourners, or survivors." Joha won several prizes that acknowledged her creative and prominent political cartoons. In an article published in *Aljazeera.net* entitled "*Omayya tafūz bi-jā'izah fī Turkiyya*" (Omayya Won a Prize in Turkey), some of her awards were mentioned such as Nājī al-ʿAlī's International Prize for Caricature in 2010 in Turkey. This prize is organized by the Palestinian Solidarity Society and Humor Group for Humor and Caricature (*Aljazeera.net*). Iqbal Tamimi ("Muslim Women

Cartoonists") stated that Joha "won the Arab Journalism Award for her work in 2001 in a very competitive field dominated by men." She is a member of the Nājī al-ʿAlī Assembly of Fine Arts in Palestine. Joha was influenced by al-ʿAlī's cartoons. She indicated that she used to imitate his style when she started drawing cartoons but later followed her own path (Personal communication, February 4, 2013).

Unlike cartoons drawn by male cartoonists in this dissertation, Joha's cartoons rely on methods from popular culture for the depiction of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This is due, perhaps, to the fact that political cartoons are a fruitful area for exploring how popular cultural references both make sense of a political reality and understand political culture. Pop culture references (i.e. pop songs) in Palestinian cartoons are deemed to be an influential parodic means of anti-colonial resistance to the question of the Palestinian and Israeli conflict.

In the ensuing cartoon, the former United States president George W. Bush is metaphorically depicted as a singer. The cartoon uses a popular song to illustrate a political reality, US imperialism.

Figure 38. Omayya Joha, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah* **April 26, 2003**

This cartoon shows the former United States President George W. Bush singing and playing on the *oud* (lute). The song says:

I love Israel; it is my father and my mother. *Ana aḥibb Isra'īl hiya ummī wa Abūī.*

I have barrels of petroleum thanks to Iraq my brother *'indī min al-bitrūl baramīl bi-faḍl al-'Ir āq yā khūyyā*

The turn will come to the rest [of Arab countries] but first to Syria   *wa al-dūr jāī 'al-bāqyīn bas al-awal 'a Sūryā*

And hey.....   *Wa hīīīīh….*

The lyrics of this song mimic the lyrics of songs performed by a popular Egyptian folk singer—Sha'bān 'Abd al-Raḥīm.[45] The lyrics of the song, which constitute the linguistic text here, perform an "additive" (Scott McCloud) function since it elaborates and amplifies the pictorial image of Bush singing. The musical text enlightens the visual element by illustrating it, allowing for the visual narrative to be understood.

The lyrics of the song are humorous. Following Elliott Colla, its humor "derives from mimicking a recognizable original textual referent" (339). This song is influenced by Sha'bān 'Abd al-Raḥīm's songs in general (since all of his songs follow the same parodic style) and a song entitled "I hate Israel" in particular. The lyrics of this song go as follows:

> I hate Israel, and will say so if asked
> God willing, I'll be killed for it or thrown in prison….
> And hey….
> I hate Israel because of Southern Lebanon,
> Jerusalem, Iraq, Syria, and Golan Heights
> And hey….

Abdil Raḥīm's blockbuster hit makes him "a figure of national renown" (David C. Gordon 75). Gordon further stated that the song is considered part of Abdil Raḥīm's campaign against the Israeli efforts to vanquish the second *Intifāḍah* (*al-Aqsá Intifāḍah*). The connection between this political cartoon and a popular cultural reference lies in the fact that popular culture reflects

---

[45] Omayya Joha explains that she uses this song of Sha'bān 'Abd al- Raḥīm because it was very popular among the Arab world (Personal communication, February 4, 2013). Nonetheless, she states that she is now happy with "low art" in political cartoons.

reality and therefore adds credence to its message. Ḥusām ʿAbd al-Hādī suggested that Abdil Raḥīm's song "I hate Israel" interprets "the pulse of the Egyptian and Arab street" (39). Also the deployment of such parodic pop song helps the viewers decode the cartoon's messages and process them. The viewers are "familiar with the literary or cultural source to which it refers" (Michael DeSousa and Martin Medhurst 201). Steve Benson, a cartoonist of the Arizona Republic who frequently uses popular culture references in his political cartoons, indicated that "[p]op culture helps convey the message to a reader's reality, and tries to communicate to readers on their level" (cited in Joan L. Conners 264). Abdil Raḥīm's music is linked to two "events" in Egyptian and Middle Eastern history: one of these "events" is the Arab-Israeli War of June 1967 (the Six Day War). Given this cultural and historical background, I argue that appropriating Abdil Raḥīm's lyrics seeks to stimulate national identity through parody, and spark national resistance to the United States as a hegemonic imperial power. The parody in this cartoon lies in the way the cartoon turns the original lyrics of the song into a ludicrous one. We can read this parody as a medium of political criticism of Israel and the United States as imperial powers.

The song's parodic style reflects a political stereotype of the United States as an imperial power. Specifically, the lyrics serve as a savage critique of the United States' bias towards Israel, and unethical involvement in military operations in Iraq. This imperialism invokes a discourse of antagonism towards the United States. The cartoon's song manipulates the lyrics of the pop performer ʿAbdil Raḥīm's songs to communicate political messages in a funny and derogatory manner. These political messages range from full public support of Israel, to indirect confession of the goal for the American invasion of Iraq (controlling the Iraqi oil), to America's greediness in controlling the Arab world. This latter political message is implicitly understood from America's future plan for invading Syria in the next round (after the American invasion of Iraq

on March 19, 2003). In articulating these messages, the cartoon attributes diabolical features, and as a result hostility, towards the United States as an enemy. Simultaneously, the cartoon invites the Palestinian (friends) to perceive their enemies (the United States and Israel) as treacherous, and cruel, and eventually to stop these demonic practices. The threat imposed on the Iraqis, Syrians and (implicitly) the Palestinians (ingroup) by the United States (and Israel) (outgroup) menaces the ingroup's survival. Using anti-colonial rhetoric, the cartoon calls the ingroup to protect themselves from this threat, demolishing their enemies seems to become a national activity. John Connell and Chris Gibson found that "[m]usic remains an important cultural sphere in which identities are affirmed, challenged, taken apart, and reconstructed" (117). Likewise, this cartoon appropriates pop music and uses it as a locus for eliciting national support and patriotism in opposition to imperialism.

The self/"Other" essentialism has also extended to the representation of Israel as a puppeteer state. One of the most prevalent themes in Arabic political cartoons is the United States' hegemony and control of the Arab World.
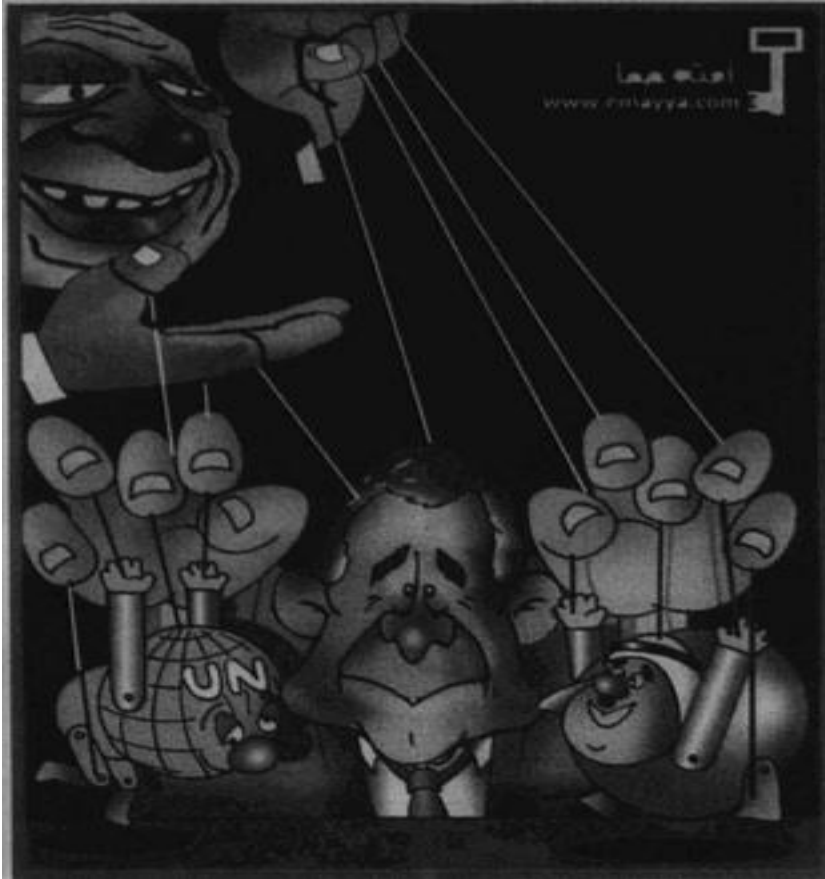
Figure 39. Omayya Joha, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah* **March 1, 2003**

This cartoon depicts Israel's former Prime Minister Ariel Sharon as a puppeteer. Ariel Sharon manipulates the former President of the United States George W. Bush with strings. Bush in turn manipulates an Arab man with an Arabic dress and headscarf, and another man whose head iconically resembles the Globe with the UN inscribed on it.

This cartoon builds the Palestinian national identity by deploying parodic images that epitomize the "Otherness" of the enemy, in this case the United States and Israel. The cartoon relies on personification to communicate this political message. Here, Sharon stands for Israel; George W. Bush stands for America; the Arab man stands for the Arab leadership. By way of textual anchoring, the man whose head resembles the Globe is the UN, a metonymy of the

international community. It fuses one space (a human being) into another (the UN) to result in a new emergent structure: the international community. Based on these personifications, the cartoon communicates a number of pictorial metaphors: Israel and America are puppeteers, while simultaneously featuring these two metaphors: America is a puppet for Israel, the Arab man and the UN are puppets of Bush. Mappings include 'Israel and America as threatening forces,' and 'marginalizing the Arabs and UN.' The overall connotative message is that Israel controls and dominates the whole world.

Depicting the United States as a dominant force and the Arab leadership and the UN as subordinates generates antagonism towards the United States. Likewise, portraying Israel as a dominant force over the United States and consequently over the Arab leadership and the UN promotes antagonism towards Israel. This feeling of antagonism leads the Palestinians to reject this stratification and eventually divides the "field of sociality" (Glenn Bowman, "Constitutive Violence" 321) into "ingroup" (implicitly the Palestinians) and outgroup (Israel and the United States). This visual stratification demands the Palestinians to look for a new categorization, to change the status quo. In other words, the "ingroup" becomes superior over the "outgroup." In this respect, Henry Tajfel and John Turner (41) explained that "[t]he aim of differentiation is to maintain or achieve superiority over anoutgr oup on some dimensions." In order for the "ingroup" to achieve this goal, its members need to foster cooperation, and mobilize themselves for a collective action: armed struggle.

In the last two cartoons, I noted that Joha's cartoons satirize real characters (Bush and Sharon) unlike male cartoonist who resort to symbolism. This rhetorical treatment aims at making sense of a political reality without resorting to symbolic gestures of these characters, which may make the cartoons' messages ambiguous. Communicating the cartoons' messages

without any ambiguity seeks to achieve a maximum effect on the viewers. Joha says that she uses images of real characters in her cartoons in order to make her ideas more receptive among the populace (Personal communication, February 4, 2013).

Many Arabs and Palestinians believe that the armed struggle is the only road towards Palestinian national liberation. Palestinians translated this belief through the second *Intifāḍah* (or, as referred to in national discourse, the *Intifāḍah* of stones), which erupted in 2000. The international community was aware of the successful goals the *Intifāḍah* achieved. Therefore, they revived peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians hoping to curb the Intifāḍah.

Figure 40. Omayya Joha, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah* **December 6, 2004**

This cartoon portrays the word *Intifāḍah* burning. Three water hoses are pouring water on the burning *Intifāḍah*. At the top of this pictorial representation, a linguistic text reads *al-masāʿī al-dūwaliyyah li-l-rujūʿ ilá ṭāwilat al-mufāwaḍāt* (the international endeavors to return to the negotiation table).

By way of a number of visual metaphors, the cartoon rejects the international efforts to return to the peace negotiations. The metaphor water hoses are fire extinguishers is cued exclusively by the pictorial modality (monomdal metaphor of exclusive pictorial variety). This metaphor leads us to derive another which can be construed as the *Intifāḍah* is fire. Here, the target, *Intifāḍah*, is represented verbally, and the source is specified pictorially, which renders the metaphor multimodal. The text-image relation can be envisaged as a "relay" (Barthes, *Mythologies*). Hence both the text and the image of the water hoses communicate two independent messages that add up to the connotative mapping of this metaphor: the endeavors of the international community to resume negotiations quell the *Intifāḍah*—The Palestinian resistance and the road toward national liberation. Since the image of the *Intifāḍah* is depicted in the actual linguistic equivalent and thus is treated as an integral part of the *Intifāḍah* (the actual uprising), the text-image relationship is an example of "montage" (McCloud).

This cartoon was drawn into the *Intifāḍah*'s fourth year. The United States and the international community called Israel and the PLO to resume negotiations, and conditioned upon that, halting the *Intifāḍah*. The cartoon represents those who call for negotiations ("Them") as the "Others" who threaten the peoplehood of the *Intifāḍah* ("Us").

Following the outbreak of the Second *Intifāḍah*, Israel started constructing what is called the Separation Barrier or the Separation Wall or the "Security Fence" as the Israeli side called it.

Israel started building the Wall in June 2002 and it is still under construction. The goal of which, according to the Israeli officials, is "preventing Palestinian suicide bombers from entering Israel" (UNOCHA and UNRWA 4). When it is completed, the Wall's total length will be around 708 kilometers (439 mi) (UNRWA). It was expected that 62% of the barrier will be built by July 2012 (UNRWA). When completed, 85% of the Wall will run inside the Palestinian Occupied Territories (UNRWA). The International Court of Justice (ICJ) issued an advisory opinion on the *Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory* on July 9, 2004, which declared the illegality of the Wall. Building the Wall "has a major impact on Palestinian villages, towns and cities, isolating communities and separating tens of thousands of people from services, lands and livelihoods (UNOCHA and UNRWA, July 2008, 4). Further, "[a]pproximately 385,000 settlers in 80 settlements will be located between the Barrier and the Green Line" (UNOCHA and UNRWA, July 2008, 6).[46]

The following cartoon expresses its rejection of the Wall. The cartoon also denounces the disputes between Ḥamās and Fatḥ after Ḥamās received a decisive majority in the Palestinian Parliamentary elections of 2007.

---

[46]The Green Line refers to the 1949 Armistice lines that constituted the de facto borders of pre-1967 Israel. It refers to the line that separates Israel from the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel in the Six Day War in 1967 (Avram S. Bornstein).

Figure 41. Omayya Joha, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah* **January 19, 2007**

This cartoon shows a wall blended into an image of a huge man who drinks milk from a baby bottle. *Al-khilāfāt al-Filisṭīniyyah* (the Palestinian discords) is written on the baby's milk bottle. *Al-jidār al-fāṣil* (the Separation Barrier) is inscribed on the man. A small man wearing a long Arab traditional dress stands in front of the Separation Barrier with a *kūfiyyah* draped around his neck. The little man desperately appears shouting at the separation barrier. Also Fatḥ and Ḥamās become an enemy, an "*enemy within*" Marja Vuorinen (*Enemy Images*) states (3, emphasis in original).

The cartoon formulates the Palestinian "imagined community" based on antagonism to "Others," an "*enemy within*" Marja Vuorinen (3, emphasis in original) in references to the disputes between Fatḥ and Ḥamās, and a foreign enemy—Israel. The cartoon elaborates this

antagonism by relying on the text-image interaction as well as the visual metaphor. The linguistic text (*al-jidār al-fāṣil*) provides us with information that helps us anchor the personified wall as the separation barrier, thus inviting us to construe the metaphor the Separation Barrier is a personified wall. The source domain of the metaphor is cued verbally by the inscription *al-jidār al-fāṣil* on it. The target domain is specified pictorially. Thus the metaphor is a multimodal metaphor of "verbo-pictorial variety." The cartoon features another multimodal metaphor of "verbo-variety:" the Palestinian disputes are a baby feeding bottle. The textual anchorage in both multimodal metaphors helps identify the source domains and thus adds extra information that is not communicated visually ("relay"). Mapping includes the 'Separation Barrier as expanding tool,' which guides the intended interpretation as 'the Palestinian disputes feed the Israelis desire to expand their Separation Barrier.' By showing the negative consequences of the Palestinian disputes, the cartoon spreads anxiety and fear among its Palestinian viewers. The significant size difference between the Wall and the Palestinian man heightens this anxiety. The Palestinian man appears as a victim, looking weaker and smaller than the fearsome wall (Israel) standing in front of him. Nonetheless, the little Palestinian man does not surrender; he looks determined, which is communicated by his facial expression. Without the interaction between the image and the textual elements, we would not be able to specify the connotative function of this cartoon. The baby bottle, the Wall, and the respective accompanying texts "are conjoined in such a way that it is not possible to discuss one without considering the other" (Gene Kannenberg, "The Comics" 177). The text directs us to the intended message of this cartoon, without which the cartoon will be rendered ambiguous.

The victory of Ḥamās in the 2006 Palestinian parliamentary elections over *Fatḥ* gave "the party [Ḥamās] at war with Israel the right to form the next cabinet under the Palestinian

Authority's president, Mahmoud Abbas, the leader of Fatah" (Scott Wilson 2006). Two months later, after Ḥamās won the elections, on March 28, 2006, the Israeli elections for the 17th Knesset took place (Knesset Website <http://tinyurl.com/f8zqd>). The Kadima party won 29 seats, more seats than any other Israeli party (Knesset Website). Ehud Olmert, a member of the Kadima party and the acting Prime Minister at the time, formed the new Israeli government.[47] What will Ḥamās' new policy be towards Israel? This was the question that worried the Israeli administration and lead them to start thinking about changing the dynamics of occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In a documentary about the former Israel Prime Minister Ehud Olmert entitled *Frontline/World: March 28, 2006 Israel: The unexpected candidate*, Ehud Olmert said that "Ḥamās is a fundamentalist extremist terrorist organization whose whole nature is against everything we believe in that we can live with." The same documentary revealed that all the Israeli political parties that ran for the 28 March elections agreed on a common enemy and that is Ḥamās: "Ḥamās is the only subject everybody agrees on and warns about" (Jennifer Glasse, Ofra Bikel, Jon Rubin; WGBH (Television station: Boston, Mass), and PBS Video). The ensuing cartoon elucidates the Israeli dynamics in confronting Ḥamās' victory in the Palestinian parliamentary elections.

---

[47]Ariel Sharon, the founder of *Kadima* part and incumbent Prime Minister, was expected to lead his new party in the March 2006 election. Sharon, however, suffered a haemorrhagic stroke, leaving him in coma since then (Glasse, J.; Bikel, O.; Rubin, J.; WGBH (Television station: Boston, Mass); & PBS Video (2006).

Figure 42. Omayya Joha, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah* **March 29, 2006**

This cartoon shows an Israeli tank with *ṣandūq al-intikhabāt* (the elections' box) inscribed on it. The top of the tank is converted into a ballot box. A hand is extended to cast a ballot with a Star of David shadowing it.

This cartoon shows how the Israeli tank is fused into the balloting box to communicate a political message. This case of fusion construes the tank as a metaphor for the elections' box. This metaphor is multimodal since the target is cued pictorially and the source is specified both verbally and pictorially. The linguistic text, *ṣandūq al-intikhabāt*, lends itself a facility to the interpretation of the cartoon's meaning. The text provides information without which the interpretation will run something like: the Israeli tanks are one means of carrying out the occupation. The visual representation is not enough to decode the connotative attributes of this

cartoon. The verbal text complements the visual meaning; it "stand[s] in a complementary relationship" with the image (Barthes, *Mythologies* 41). In doing so, the text serves as "relay." Given this visual and verbal blend, this cartoon suggests that wining the Knesset elections was hinging on military operations against the Palestinian militants. Despite the decrease in the intensity of the *Intifāḍah* during 2005-2006, the Israeli public favored the high security measures on the Palestinian militants. Curbing the Palestinian resistance and the *Intifāḍah*, therefore, was part of Olmert's campaign for his political party to win the elections. This argument indicates that the (majority of the) Israeli people seem to support military solutions to curb and quell the Palestinian resistance. Here, the cartoon also shows how politicians manipulate political situations over certain issues to suit the public orientation in order to form political agendas. This finding agrees with that of Tejumola Olaniyan, who argued that cartoons cannot completely ignore reality because it is highly dependent on viewer identification.

Moreover, Israel justified their military operations in the Palestinian territories by claiming that Ḥamās increased its "terrorist attacks" on Israeli civilians, as such, militarization was needed to stop such attacks in the future. The function of this Palestinian cartoon can serve as a visual counterpoint to these justifications. This visual response, so to speak, attempts to raise the public awareness of the Palestinian perspective with respect to the Israeli military escalation prior to the elections, and eventually to delegitimize it.

The cartoon through this pictorial manipulation is designed to justify national resistance to the Israeli political agenda by morally victimizing and delegitimizing their actions. In this manner, the cartoon sheds light on the cruelty and treachery of Israel, the enemy. This cruelty and treachery alienate the enemy and disassociate the Palestinians ("Us") from Israel ("Them").

As a result, the cartoon calls the Palestinians to adopt a strategy of defense to stop the Israeli actions, and protect their national interests.

Figure 43. Omayya Joha, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah* **January 2, 2009**

This cartoon shows a child hung on a word that reads *al-ṣamt* (the silence). Through "montage" (McCloud) the word for silence forms the guillotine. The Palestinian child wearing the Palestinian *kūfiyyah* is bleeding.

Given the linguistic manipulation and the visual depiction of the Palestinian child, the cartoon conveys two political messages. First, it shows the types of victims suffering in the Gaza War, and therefore criticizes Israel. Second, it highlights the participation of the Arab leadership in this suffering, which is described by the linguistic word as *The* [Arab] *silence*. The Israeli war

on Gaza threatens the survival of the Palestinian children; therefore, Israel becomes their enemy. In a similar vein, any source that supports this threat is considered the Palestinians' imagined enemy. Not intervening by the Arab leadership to stop the war makes them an enemy, an "*enemy within*" Marja Vuorinen (3, emphasis in original). Vuorinen asserted that "the imagined others and enemies… resemble one another" (2). This depiction renders the Arab leadership is as menacing and threatening as Israel. In this manner, the cartoon turns *the Arab* "into the *intimate enemy within the same community*" (Vilho Harle, 35, emphasis in original). Arab leadership has a moral and national responsibility towards liberating Palestine but their menacing actions render them to be outside their nation, their "ingroup," and their "self." As a result, the cartoon invites the Palestinians to alienate themselves from Israel and the Arab leadership, and categorize them as the "Others." The purpose of this categorization is to construct antagonism against Israel and the Arab leadership, mobilize the Palestinian populace to impel a national resistance to stop the Israeli actions.

Constructing the "Us"/"Them" dichotomies by depicting children in danger is not the only strategy Joha's cartoons use to construct antagonism towards Israel. The cartoons also use images of endangered women which seem to be a universal phenomenon in constructing this dichotomy. Woman's participation in national struggle is dominant in Juha's cartoons. In the following cartoon, such participation is embodied in her appeal for aid from a nationalist Islamic hero, al-Muʿtaṣim, the second Abbāsid caliph and brother to al-Ma'mūn, the first caliph. The cartoon alludes to al-Muʿtaṣim's heroic deeds during the Islamic conquest of the Byzantine city of Amorium (ʿAmmūriyyah in Arabic). ʿAmmūriyyah is a small city located near the village of Hisarkö in Turkey in Asia Minor that was under the Byzantine Emperor and the hometown of the Byzantine emperor, Theophilus. During his reign, al-Ma'mūn named al-Muʿtaṣim a ruler over

Syria and Egypt in 828 (Paul M. Cobb 35), who later became the Islamic caliph (833-842). The cartoon transforms the historical story of the battle of 'Ammūriyyah in 838 into a legitimizing myth to incite national activity in opposition to the Israeli occupation. A review of the historical accounts with regards to the conquest of 'Ammūriyyah will provide a better understanding of our analytical claims to the following cartoon.

In 838, the Byzantine emperor, Theophilus, invaded the Abbāsid territory. The great historian Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (d. 450/1058) explained al-Mu'taṣim's reaction to the incursion on the Islamic nation:

> In this year (223) Tawfīl ibn Mīhā'īl, the leader of the Byzantines, attacked Zibaṭrah with his men, taking its inhabitants captive and destroying their city. He then proceeded immediately to Malaṭyah and attacked its people and the inhabitants of some of the Muslim fortresses besides. He took Muslim women captive—it is said more than a thousand—and mutilated the Muslim men who came into his hands, putting out their eyes and cutting off their ears and noses" (cited in Suzanne P. Stetkevych 153).

According to Zakariyya al-Tibrizī (d. 502/1109), a famous Arab philologist and commentarist, after Theophilus' invasion:

… word reached the caliph [al-Muʿtaṣim] … that on that day a Muslim woman who was taken captive cried out 'Help, O Muʿtaṣim!' (Wāmuʿtaṣimāh!). When he was informed of this, there was in his hand a cup of wine that he wanted to drink, but he put it down and ordered that it be kept for him to drink when he returned from the conquest of *'Amūriyah*" (Abū Tammām, 1951).The caliph's armies laid siege to *'Amūriyah*, and eventually conquered it, in which thousands were killed from both sides (Stetkevych).

The heroic action of caliph al-Muʿtaṣim leads Abū Tammām, one of the great Arab poets, to compose a famous panegyric ode that starts with:

The sword is more veracious

than the books,

Its cutting edge splits earnestness

from the sport (cited in Stetkevych 156).

Given this historical account, I argue that the Palestinian national identity is constructed through "a dialectic of male" chivalry and "female submission" (Stetkevych, 145). Specifically, the cartoon alludes to the devastated city of Gaza through feminine imagery, in turn, appealing to "conquering Muslim armies" (Stetkevych152). The cartoon takes the mythic triumph in the battle

of 'Ammūriyyah and imposes it into a contemporary political situation by representing Gaza in the form of a devastated city that appeals for national conquering. This national conquering is motivated by "a moral imperative" (Scott Atran 482), which defines and grounds the Palestinian national activity in opposition to the Israeli occupation. Using the allegory of the historical battle of 'Ammūriyyah, the cartoon also conveys ethical criticism of the Arab leadership for not taking bold action to protect Gaza from the Israeli military action.

Figure 44. Omayya Joha, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah* **January 30, 2007**

This image shows a woman weeping and chanting *Wā Muʿtaṣimāh* (Help, O Muʿtaṣim!). The woman laments while raising her hands to the sky. *Ghazzah* (Gaza) is written on her head scarf. By way of the textual anchoring, the cartoon construes the metaphor Gaza is a woman. The source domain is recognized by the text and the target domain is specified pictorially rendering the metaphor multimodal, of "verbo-pictorial variety." The other linguistic text, *Wā Muʿtaṣimāh*, serves an "additive" (Scott McCloud) function since it elaborates the woman's portrait invoking for help.

This cartoon plays on the mutual relationship between morality, guardianship, and motherhood in constructing the Palestinian national identity. In depicting the woman-as-Gaza lamenting the Israeli occupation, motherhood becomes an essential "ingroup" virtue used in the visual campaign against the "outgroup," the "Other." The concept of motherhood aims to unify the individuals of the Palestinian community, strengthen national identity, and justify collective action against the "Other." Tiina Lintunen's investigation into the moralist and judgmental treatment of Red female soldiers by the propaganda used during the Finnish Civil War of 1918, argues that "[w]omen have an important part in the construction of a positive self-portrait. They often get to represent the purity of the nation. This representation sets great demands to the women's virtue" (17). Constructing the image of woman-as-victimized Gaza as a result of the Israeli occupation invokes emotions and taps on the viewers' morals to stand up and take responsibility for helping the woman. Doing otherwise brings the viewers criticism, shame, and social underestimation. Atran (491) stated that "Arab culture... places a strong emphasis on values such as courage and dignity for males. These subcultural values define certain circumstances and stimuli that appropriately evoke physical aggression." Appealing to the Arab subcultural values such as that of protecting the disenfranchised woman is a symbolic

mobilization in favor of nationalistic activity for the opposition to the Israeli occupation. Further, the image of a submissive woman in need helps arm the Palestinians with "a moral imperative" to protect the woman. This "moral imperative" seized upon a popular religious story of al-Mu'taṣim, a masculine dominion, to fuel the Palestinian national movement. By appealing to famous well-respected religious leaders, such as al-Mu'taṣim, the cartoon embodies what Edward Said ("Invention") suggested: "collective memory is not an inert and passive thing, but a field of activity in which past events are selected, reconstructed, maintained, modified, and endowed with political meaning" (185). In addition to constructing the Palestinian national identity through gender and ethical appeals, the cartoon uses this past event of the battle of 'Ammūriyyah to criticize the dormant Arab policy towards the Palestinian issue.

The image of the needy woman-as-Gaza has an implicit criticism of the Arab leadership. Palestinians criticize Arab leadership because of their failure to protect Palestine from Israel. They blame Arab leadership because of the fact that some Arab leaders collaborated with the British and the Zionists in establishing the State of Israel for personal interests and for their states' interests. Having a Palestinian woman lamenting the Israeli occupation is just an outcome of this collaboration. Further, Palestinians feel that there is an Islamic obligation and Pan-Arab duty that dictate other Arab states to help them encounter the Israeli occupation. This explains the woman's chanting of *Wā Mu'taṣimāh* (Help, O Mu'taṣim). This serves as an invocation to Arab and Muslim leaders to take bold action to stop the Israeli actions.

Womanhood bears national significance not only through invoking morality, and then guardianship, but also through its role as educator for her children, as a reconciliatory national figure for local disputes.
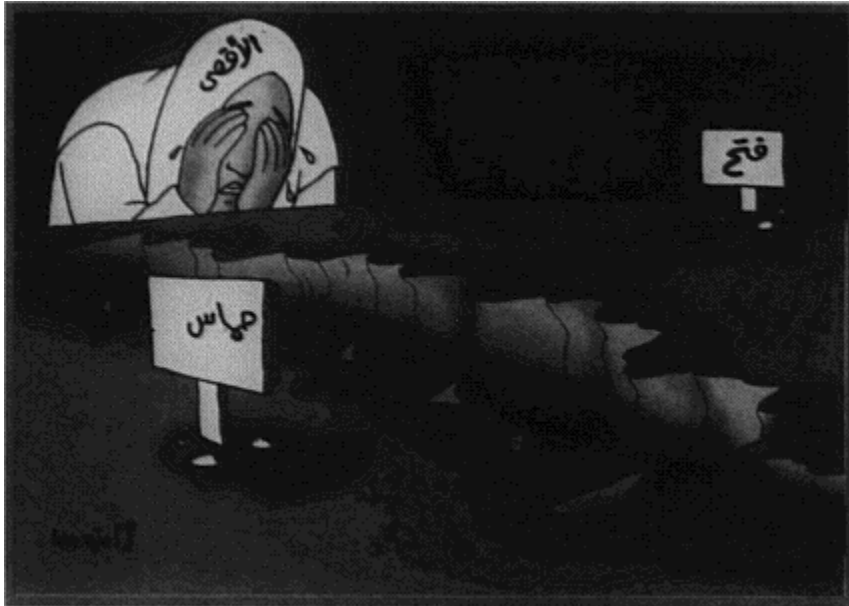
Figure 45. Omayya Joha, *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah* **July 20, 2007**

This pictorial representation shows a woman lamenting with al-Aqsá inscribed on her headscarf. On the right side of the image, the word *Fatḥ* is written on an instructional sign. On the left side of the cartoon, the word *Ḥamās* is written on another instructional sign. Between the two signs, a rift separates the two signs. If we take the caption on the woman's headscarf into account, the metaphor verges towards the "verbo-pictorial variety." A more precise verbalization of this instance of the metaphor is al-Aqsá is a woman. The texts on the instructional signs indicate the identity of each side of the landscape: Fatḥ and Ḥamās.

This cartoon plays with the discourses of womanhood and religion to reconcile the dispute between Fatḥ and Ḥamās. On one hand, the cartoon uses the representation of al-Aqsá-as-a-woman weeping to generate emotional fear and resentment of the dispute. The woman appeals to Fatḥ and Ḥamās, who metonymically represent Palestine, to reconcile. This emotional containment invites Fatḥ and Ḥamās to forget their political differences, band together, and maintain an imagined fusion to their nation as a mother, al-Aqsá. On the other hand, al-Aqsá as a religious symbol serves as a rallying point for consolidating the Palestinian consciousness thanks to its religious significance. Therefore, al-Aqsá invites the viewers to fulfill her desire, which can be inferred from the visual depiction as something like terminating disputes between Fatḥ and Ḥamās, consolidate their patriotic efforts in protecting the weeping al-Aqsá. These emotions enable members of Fatḥ and Ḥamās to maintain an imagined identity which, in turn, produces a moral obligation to protect the woman.

The last two cartoons have brought women's role to the gendered political discourse. For example, the story of Gaza during the war is characterized by a feminized motivator of a masculine heroic activity. The sexual domination in the form of destruction impels a military action. While doing this, the cartoon suggests that restoring Gaza's dignity and liberating it can be achieved through a military operation similar to the battle of ʿAmmūriyyah. Women in the Palestinian cartoons are conceived of in relation to male guardianship. Billie Melman argued that "the sexualization of the discourse on the war, and especially the analogues between sexual dangers for women and dangers to the nation, were universal" (133).

Some of the findings in this chapter are consistent with the previous analysis of women's depiction in political cartoons. The specific areas of similarity include the findings that Joha's cartoons are realistic and emphasize "concepts of womanhood" (Shepard 186). They depict women in stereotypical images, as mourners and as weepers. Joha's cartoons depict women as disempowered, as weeping women seeking male guardianship. Women in Joha's cartoons are not, however, weeping bystanders of the Israeli colonial rule, but are active in the invention of the Palestinian national identity. As such they use the power of the religious national discourse, and values of unity to impel and legitimize a national activity in opposition to occupation. Further, motherhood bears national significance for their role in rallying support through emotive appeal for male guardianship. Womanhood is associated with honor, which loads heavy responsibility over men for preserving her honor. Unlike Berger's finding about the depiction of female figures in cartoons, the cartoons of male cartoonists and Joha in this dissertation do not portray female figures in the stereotype of the seductive women. On the contrary, Joha's cartoons use the traditional image of Arab women with loose clothes and veils covering their heads. This perhaps reflects Joha's educational background as she graduated from Al-Azahar University in Egypt. Further, in contrast to Nājī al-'Alī's and Mohammed Sabā'nih's cartoons, which visibly feature motherhood by depicting women educate their children and mobilizing them in opposition to Israeli, Joha's cartoons feature "the failure of motherhood" (Yaqub 205) by depicting children alone and/or suffering from the occupation.

Joha's cartoons rely on personification for depicting the Palestinian landscape. They personify Palestinian cities (i.e. Gaza), and religious sites (i.e. Jerusalem, and al-Aqsá Mosque). The Palestinian sovereignty is granted through these personifications. The personifications make Palestine the Mother Land. In contrast to the cartoons of the male cartoonists who dominantly

use symbols to represent personal characters, Joha's cartoons often use actual personal characters of public figures. This style of cartooning makes her cartoons appear more realistic. Instead of relying on symbolism, which may create a space for ambiguous interpretations, personifications communicate Joha's cartoons clearly and directly, and make them more understandable. Unlike Anderson and Jolly's findings, the cartoons of both male and female cartoonists do not show any variation or differences with regards to how male characters are represented. Some cartoons drawn by male cartoonists, however, deploy animalistic images to portray some male characters (i.e. Sharon).

Like the cartoons featured by male cartoonist in this study, the public spaces of Juha's cartoons are marked by violence. The violence is incited by way of antagonism, which becomes their main machinery of resisting the Israeli occupation. This is because Palestinian men and women do not substantially differ in their support for the Palestinian national resistance or the means for inciting this resistance (Jerusalem Media and Communication Center). On the other hand, Israel's military action, the immoral American intervention in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and the dormant Arab leadership's policy towards the conflict are coded as evil. Although Joha's cartoons take a relatively more active step towards women's participation in the Palestinian national project by diffusing nationalistic activity, her cartoons do not depict female characters being involved in a militarized struggle as male characters are. Given this discussion of Joha's cartoons and cartoons drawn by male cartoonists in this dissertation and their relationships to constructing Palestinian nationalism, it seems that there is still a gender gap dividing the cartoons of men and women cartoonists. The Arab culture emphasizes the masculine cultural themes. Themes like honor, bravery, and duty are tied to masculinity. Women are located under the thumb of institutionalized patriarchy when it comes to militarism or violent national

struggle. By and large, the cartoons surveyed have been infused with feminine stereotype, which has depicted masculinity as the main player in the formulation of the Palestinian national identity. Not depicting women as participating in armed struggle reinforces the stereotype of their "incompetence" (Anderson and Jolly 470), it mutes their political agency in the national militancy. This depiction perpetuates the traditional image of male primacy, and reinforces the association between femaleness and domesticity.

Joha tends to include longer texts than her counterpart male cartoonists that elaborate on the pictorial representations of the cartoons. Our finding seems to agree with the results of Andrea C. Samson and Oswald Huber who investigated the gender differences in the use of amount of text in cartoons, among other formal features. Samson et al. attributed this finding to the fact that in Differential Psychology, women "tend to perform better in tasks testing verbal intelligence whereas men perform significantly better in tasks that require spatial intelligence" (1). Male cartoonists tend to be pictorial. In the Arab culture, women are expected to talk more than men. The longer textual support probably makes Joha's cartoons more direct and understandable. Joha believes that she uses long texts as a helping factor for understanding her cartoons, as illustrated texts (personal communication, February 4, 2013). She also mentions that she disagrees with those critics who believe that the best cartoons are those which are text free.

This chapter discusses how Joha's cartoons become the battleground of the Palestinian-Israeli struggle. Her cartoons show that women's full participation in national liberation is still missing. The cartoons of male and female cartoonists depict women by constructing nationalism as auxiliary. Women's marginalized role in constructing Palestinian nationalism emphasizes the central stereotype, male dominance. Joha constructs Palestinian nationalism in a similar way to male cartoonists for the period under investigation. She seems to be less concerned about

women's issues when it comes to depicting the Palestinian national struggle against Israel. For future research, it would be conceivable to trace the change in how male and female cartoonists depict women's participation and representation in the national liberation.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Nationalist confrontations with the Israel constitute a fertile milieu for Palestinian artists to express revolutionary ideologies that aim at mobilizing the Palestinian masses against the occupation. For Sliman Mansour, for instance, the *Intifāḍah* has fueled him to paint with more energy and courage (Dana Bartelt and Contemporary Museum, Raleigh, NC 21). The goal of this Palestinian visual campaign is to build a nationalistic community that seems to incite national resistance as the only road for liberation. Samia A. Halaby argued that "the art of Palestine rests on the Palestinian struggle for liberation" (54). This liberation-oriented art went three stages according in its development and flourishing:

> In the first phase (1885-1955), icon painting was developed as one of the country's earliest traditions of picture making. The possibility of an indigenous art was aborted as a result of the uprootedness of Palestinian society, leading to the second phase (1955-65), in which pioneers, mainly raised among the refugee population, forged a new Palestinian art. The third phase (1965-1995) includes art created both in exile and on native soil (cited in Gannit Ankori 18).

My dissertation examines the Palestinian cartoons featured during the third phase (1965-1995) and onward. Particularly, the dissertation examines how Palestinian cartoons visually narrate the history of Palestine from the aftermath of the Six Day War in June 1967 to the Gaza War in 2009. This study seeks to see how the Palestinian cartoons serve as a subaltern means of producing national consciousness among Palestinians to inspire resistance against the "colonial

domination." The study also examines the combination of pictorial images and words which yields an interpretation which allows the underpinning aesthetic values of Palestinian cartoons to emerge. This study is centered on the hypothesis that the Palestinian national identity is formulated through national images (political cartoons), among other media, that appeal to literate and the non-literate readers alike. I believe that these cartoons, as means of visual mass communication, are useful historical sources for reconstructing a sociopolitical history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The goal of which is to embody a sense of nationalism that invokes resistance, and move the public to support this resistance.

In order to carry out the objectives of this dissertation, I used cartoons that were published in two Palestinian newspapers, namely *al-Quds*, and *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah*, and three prominent neighboring Arabic newspapers, namely *al-Baʿth* of Syria; *al-Nahār* of Lebanon; and *al-Ahrām* of Egypt. Analysis reveals that the cartoons construct the Palestinian national identity, their "imagining community," on a number of terrains. First, the cartoons deploy the narratives of *al-Nakbah* and *al-Naksah* as sites of collective memory. Through this memory, the cartoons attach the Palestinians to places of belonging. The memory of *al-Nakbah* and *al-Naksah* "reconstructs and preserves the past" (Ahmad H. Sa'di 177), and incites a national feeling culminating in a national and armed struggle in opposition to the Israeli occupation. Such a memory points to the common destiny Palestinians encountered after these two wars, which in turn produce social cohesion among them. Social cohesion is essential for the Palestinian national identity. The goal of formulating the Palestinian national identity is to bind Palestinians together for a common purpose: liberating their national land. Speaking of land, the Palestinian "imagined community" is attached to their land, "the location of culture," Anne-Marie Fortier ("Re-membering Places" 42). Their land becomes the locus of their identity. The land maintains

a feeling of rootedness. In "Exist to Compatriot," George E. Bisharat argued that "[t]he [Palestinian] refugees, of course, were landless in a society in which there was a close nexus between land ownership, wealth, social status, and political influence exemplified in the folk proverb "*arḍī 'irḍī*" (my land is my honor)" (214). The cartoons also associate the land to woman since both share the concept of *'ard* (honor). The cartoons surveyed depict womanhood for being raped and physically violated. The sexual offensives on womanhood load the men with burdens (and privilege emanated from the hegemonic masculinity) to protect the woman. Defending the woman's honor is a defense for the Arab and Palestinian identity and culture, which is an essential component of the Arab nationalist institution. Doing otherwise becomes a matter of dishonor and cowardice; something that is not part of the Arab lifeways. Using George L. Mosse's (1985) terminology, the woman's "embodiments" of nationhood and her "suggested innocence and chastity" (98) are mobilizing factors for men to stand and self-sacrifice for her safety.

The Palestinian and Arab cartoons use several national symbols to raise the Palestinian national consciousness. The cartoons use indigenous as well as famous foreign iconic images and appropriated them into their case to demonstrate political realities of their time. Domestic images include, the Palestinian flag, the costumes of fellaheen, the Palestinian *kūfiyah*, and the image of the key. Foreign images include the Lebanese flag, and appropriating Iowa Jima to the Palestinian case. Appropriating well-known nationalist images like that of Iwo Jima is likely to spur the audience to commitment and action: support and resistance. Similarly, the deployment of the Lebanese and the Palestinian flags during the Israeli war in Lebanon in 1982 aims at mobilizing both the Palestinian and Lebanese communities for restoring the sovereignty of Lebanon. The Palestinian and Arab political cartoons also use universal images such as the dove

and the olive branch. Using indigenous images, and universal ones to celebrate the Palestinian experience under the Israeli occupation help the viewers interpret the cartoons, and leave the maximum impact on them. This observation seems to be in harmony with that of Michael DeSousa and Martin Medhurst, who postulated that in order for cartoons to make their messages easily understandable, the cartoonist has to "concoct imagery that is at once compelling and powerful, drawing frequently from potent symbols within the political and cultural mythology" (93).

The cartoons surveyed show that they are fraught with revolutionary ideas. They commemorate Gandhi's nonviolent national movement. The purpose of this commemoration is to raise the "anti-colonial" mass mobilization by transposing the characteristics of earlier successful nationalist movements to the Palestinian case. In addition, the image of fellaheen seeks to tap on the Palestinian national past, particularly the 1936-39 Revolt. The aim of this national celebration is to invoke national sentiment among the Palestinians, and mobilize them for a common goal: national independence. In this connection, Ted Swedenburg ("Popular Memory") stated:

> Many Palestinians might then evaluate the revolt [the 1936-1939 revolt] as an event in a narrative of defeat, remembering it as just another meaningless step— like the losses of 1948, 1967, and 1982—along a never-ending trail of disasters and disappointment, rather than as a stellar moment in an epic of intrepid struggle for national independence (152).

Second, the Palestinian national identity is constructed through depicting an antagonistic relationship with the "Other." Images used in the Palestinian and Arab political cartoons reflect anti-colonial sentiment directed towards Israel, the U.S, the UN, and the Arab leadership (as foes), as well as their attitudes towards the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. They employ particular terminology to present their story with Israel as a human calamity, world conspiracy, and victimhood. Specifically, and following Renata Salecl's terminology, "national identification with the nation ('our kind') is based on the fantasy of the enemy" ("Nationalism" 211). Similarly, the "alien" Israelis have insinuated themselves into the Palestinian society and threatened it by changing the Palestinian cultural landscape and imposing their own that is not of Palestinian "kind." This act is manifested, for example, in Sharon's visit to the al-Aqsá Mosque.

The Palestinian "imagined community" is identified by religion through the use of religious symbols such as Jerusalem and the al-Aqsá Mosque. This may perhaps be seen as an attempt to build a broader community "Islamic *Ummah*" that provokes rhetoric of resistance centered on the defense of Islamic holy places. Such a broad community "Islamic *Ummah*" seems to be a perquisite for a political mobilization to take place. Consequently, the Palestinian and Arab political cartoons surveyed embody Frantz Fanon's concept "political teaching" (159), which shows how these cartoons activate the Palestinians by imagining a local public that exists in opposition to the Israeli occupation. The cartoons convey the foes' brutality throughout various means, among which is through their rapacious appetite where they vent their brutality on women. The depiction of the foe also ranges from the scale of dehumanization, to barbarity, to inhumanity, and from savage, to puppeteer state, and to animalistic portrayal. Hinging on this state of antagonism and articulating these national symbols, the cartoons surveyed provide the ground on which the viewers can identify themselves with messages set out by these cartoons.

The thousands (or millions) of viewers who could identify themselves with these messages and believe in them collectively constitute an imaginary nation. Glenn Bowman ("A country of Words") remarked:

> … a national identity is constituted by discovering a set of concerns he or she 'recognizes' as his or her own within a text or texts. Through identification with the position set out in such discourse, the reader is carried out of the isolation of individual experience into a collective phenomenon which the discourse articulates in national terms (141).

The struggle against Israel was mediated by struggle against hostility. The Palestinian political cartoons visually constructed the Palestinian national identity, radicalized and severely criticized the discourse of the "Other," Israel.

The cartoons surveyed show dissatisfaction with the peace talks as diplomatic solution for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The Palestinians look at the peace process as a diplomatic move designed to quell the *Intifāḍah*, and therefore the road for their national liberation. They also conceive the peace process as a project to serve the Israeli interests, and to ignore the Palestinian rights; they conceive the diplomatic solution as a mechanism for burying the idea of Palestine as a whole, as has been demonstrated in al-'Alī's cartoons. This line of argument seems to be in line with that of Bowman ("Constitutive Violence" 327), who argued:

Concrete moves towards a settlement with Israel effected by the success of the first intifada shattered that general consensus by bringing into view the possibility of an actual state of Palestine. During their long exile Palestinians had diversely imagined what their nation would be if the antagonisms that prevented it were to disappear.

Feelings of antagonism towards Israel and the United States result in a harmonious relationship among the Palestinians. Borrowing Margarita Sanchez-Mazas' terminology, such a relationship "awaken[s] subjective attachment to the ingroup" (342) among its members of the Palestinian community.

As for the role of pictorial metaphor and blending in interpreting political cartoons, the findings show that metaphor and blending turn out to constitute a visual narrative to strike back at the Israeli occupation. E. H. Gombrich argued that "metaphor is a common and expected device in political cartoons: it is the main 'weapon' in the 'cartoonist's armoury'" (cited in Elizabeth El Refaie, Understanding Visual Metaphor 77). This structuralist approach to metaphor and blending deepen our understanding of how political cartoons portray political conflicts. Cartoons by means of employing unmistakable images (i.e. Israel as a puppet state) to stand for complicated ones (the Israeli hegemony and control of world politics), and "individuals [i.e. Uncle Sam] to stand for groups [i.e. US government]," or countries (Ray Morris 195). Further, in their investigation of the political cartoons of the 2008 global financial crisis, Liliana Bounegru and Charles Forceville (221) concluded that "the embodied aspects of the source domains are often complemented by socio-cultural knowledge and it is this knowledge that provides many of the mappings (Forceville et al., 2006: 91)." In this dissertation, I find not only

that socio-cultural knowledge both helps to identify the conceptual domains of some of the political cartoons under investigation and their mapped connotations, but also locate the historical and political knowledge therein. This historical and political knowledge is indispensable for understanding the metaphors used in the cartoons. Since cartoons rely heavily on pictorial metaphor, which is ambiguous by nature, the accompanying textual elements solve this ambiguity by stressing which meaning the image hopes to transmit. Paul Ricoeur remarked that cartoons are shaped by the interplay between linguistic (words) and aesthetic metaphors (images). Likewise, this study shows that in order to read cartoons, you need to draw on different interpretative strategies, including the deployment of the linguistic messages.

This study celebrates what W. J. T. Mitchell's called "pictorial turn" (11). It performs this in its investigation of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict through a visual medium: political cartoons. This study aims, among its other goals, to promote the significant role of visual rhetoric in the study of historical conflicts, such as that of the Palestinian-Israeli one, which history books and official documents may have glossed over and/or neglected. In so doing, this study does not ignore the textual medium but rather extends and enhances our perceptions of the political, historical, and cultural experiences about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. I hope this study will provide a basis for further inquiry into political cartoons and the means by which texts and images interact in narrating a national history of a nation. The study also hopes to heighten awareness of the necessary interaction between word and image in the field of visual rhetoric. Scott McCloud contended in his seminal work *Understanding Comics* that in comics "words and pictures are like partners in a dance and each one takes turns leading" (156). This metaphor indicates that there are times when both dancers perform the same move, and times where they perform in supplement and complement to the overall dancing performance. It is found in this

study that the visual and textual representations anchor their narratives, and shape the way readers decode the cartoons' message(s). This partnership is essential to clarifying these meanings.

Specifically, it is found that "duo-specific" (McCloud); "anchorage" (Ronald Barthes, *Mythologies*), "additive" (McCloud), "relay" (Barthes); "interdependent" (McCloud), and "montage" (McCloud) are at the heart of the functioning of political cartoons in this study. The interaction between visual and verbal communication serves to anchor (limit) or relay (reinforce) the other (Barthes, *The Rhetoric of Image*) that consequently helps decipher the cartoon's meaning(s). Charles Forceville ("Pictorial Metaphor") argued that "… contextual elements of any kind [verbal or pictorial] can be said to have an anchoring function, that is, to guide and constrain possible interpretations" (77). In other words, the text helps the viewer perceive the pictorial image and identify possible interpretations. In some instances, the image explains the caption or the caption explains the image so the meaning is revealed. After all, I find that the image-text relationship in this dissertation supports the argument of Gunther Kress and Vheo Van Leeuwen (*Reading Images*), who stated that the verbal and visual messages "intermesh and interact at all times" (40).

The cartoons communicate some similar themes in the period under question. Demonization is deemed to be the most prevalent technique used by the cartoons under question in opposition to the Israeli occupation. The cartoons in the entire period of the investigation stress the need for national resistance as the only road for liberation. This conclusion resonates with that of Fanon (196), who postulated that "[t]he existence of the armed struggle shows that the people are decided to trust to violent methods" (65). The symbolic gestures used in this study, however, changed from that of other studies. Halaby, for example, stated that "[t]he meaning of

the dove changed as the liberation movement changed during the 80's and 90's. Its connection with women and children rather than with fighters and guns is now a plea for peace" (9). In this study, the symbolic gesture of the dove is resistance, as Nājī al-ʿAlī's cartoons demonstrate. The dove carries a rifle in its mouth instead of an olive branch. In yet other cartoons, the dove is shown as killed, slaughtered, and prevented from movement. This against-the-norm-representation of the dove intends to express the disappointment of the Arab people of the un-seriousness of Israel and the United States in pursuing peace in the Middle East. This conclusion seems to resonate with that of Ron Schleifer, who observed that "[p]eace is represented by a dove; when the dove is flying there is hope, and when it is wounded, slaughtered, or imprisoned, it symbolizes the sorry state of peace at the time" (115). The cartoons through the entire period in question use the *kūfiyyah* as the Palestinian national marker. In al-ʿAlī's cartoons, the Palestinian *kūfiyyah* is usually draped on shoulders or around head and face or appears in the shape of the historic Palestine from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea. However, whenever worn by the Evil Man, it symbolizes deception and opportunism.

Unlike the themes addressed in other political events investigated in this dissertation, the symbolic representation in the Gaza War and the second *Intifāḍah* is not restricted to ideological rhetoric. It extends to direct severe physical, and derogatory naturalistic embodiments. The purpose of such derogatory and dehumanizing embodiments is to reinforce the "Otherness" of the "Other." The cartoons surveyed depict the "Other" as barbaric representation and inferior to the "Us." This finding seems to be in line with that of Harold D. Lasswell (18-19), who explained:

> For mobilization of national hatred the enemy must be represented as a menacing, murderous aggressor, a satanic violator of the moral and conventional standards, an obstacle to the cherished aims and ideals of the nation as a whole and of each constituent part.

The images of the Gaza War capture the enemy in its vin order to violent action in order to separate it from the ingroup. In their familial rhetoric, Omayya Joha's cartoons use images of women to depict Palestinian cities such as Gaza and Jerusalem, and religious sites as al-Aqsá, which are the extension of the Palestinian nation. Joha's gendered nationalist discourse does differ from her male counterparts in terms of how women are depicted in the cartoons. Women are depicted as lamenting, weeping, and physically violated. Protecting women's honor becomes the defining factor for the construction of the nation identity. According to Beth Baron's *Egypt as a Woman*, "those who share honor belonged to the nation" (7). Similarly, the cartoons' viewers who are willing to defend the women's honor become members of their "imagined community." Further, Joha's cartoons do not show women as participating in the armed struggle. Unlike Nājī al-ʿAlī, male cartoonists do neither depict women in armed resistance. This depiction asserts the primacy of male.

Diaspora participates in the process of shaping the Palestinian identity. As an artist in exile, Nājī al-ʿAlī was a vehement advocate of Palestinian nationalism. Al-ʿAlī's cartoons set up the rhetoric of national identity through demonstrating poignantly the urgent need for a political national struggle. His cartoons treat Israel, the U.S, the UN, and the Arab regimes as well as the Arab and Palestinian politicians less benevolently. His cartoons lament the loss of Palestine through rejecting the international diplomatic endeavors represented by UN Resolution 242, as

Nājī al-'Alī's cartoons. His cartoons depict the peace process as a failure for solving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. They instead call for violent nationalistic resistance. Al-'Alī uses his famous signature *Ḥanẓalah* as part of his national campaign in opposition to the Israeli occupation. *Ḥanẓalah* anchors the tragedy of the Palestinians after *al-Nakbah*. For highlighting 'Alī's heritage, a movie was made about his life and the main role was assigned to the famous Egyptian actor Nūr al-Sharīʾf. Many Arab and international newspapers and magazines still republish his cartoons. In sum, al-'Alī's cartoons become the terrain where nationalistic messages are conveyed, and a site on which a call for political struggle is articulated. Although his pictorial representations carry the main load in the narrative of his cartoons, the narrative was easily understood. Muḥammad al-As'ad pointed out that al-'Alī's cartoons did not need any commentary or interpretation, leaving this task to the viewers. He further argued that al-'Alī excelled in this technique and it became one of the secrets of art.

In conclusion, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is centered on gaining "a sovereign national territory in (and ideally over) historic Palestine" (Scot Atran, "Stones Against the Iron Fist" 482). Since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 till our present time, no side has achieved their stated ends. This is due, according to Atran (2006), to the lack of "a strategic plan for their violent opposition to each other" (482). This pictorial project hopes, therefore, to constitute a learning process for the Israeli and Palestinian societies alike as well as the international community through raising their awareness of the nature of the conflict by providing them with more information than that conveyed through verbal means alone. In doing so, the cartoons surveyed offer a subaltern means to depict the Palestinians' experience under colonial rule. Contingent on this experience, Arab political cartoons facilitates the creation of an "imagined community," which aim to incite a national collective action among the Palestinian populace.

The present work is intended to illuminate the communicative tool of political cartoons in constructing the Palestinian national identity. The contribution of this dissertation to literature is that it addresses the question of how political cartoons function as a subaltern way for narrating a history of nation under occupation. The Arab and Palestinian cartoons surveyed present a more or less coherent story of the nationalist struggle and are meant to provide the Arab nations, in general, and the Palestinian nation, in particular, with a shared understanding of the past and the present.

GLOSSARY

CARTOONISTS' BIOGRAPHICAL PROFILES

1- Nājī al-'Alī was born in 1936 in al-Shajarah village in Palestine and grew up in a refugee camp in Lebanon, *'In al-Ḥilwah*. Al-'Alī was one of the most prominent cartoonists in the Arab world. He produced over 12,000 drawings (personal communication with Khālid al-'Alī, March 3, 2013). Al-'Alī's cartoons generally deal with the situation of the Palestinian people, depicting suffering and resistance and harshly criticizing Israel, the Palestinian leadership, and the Arab regimes. Al-'Alī worked in Lebanon and Kuwait for several newspapers: *Al-Ṭal'ah*, *al-Siyāsah*, *al-Safīr*, and *al-Qabas*. He published his cartoons in various Arabic newspapers. It is widely understood that he was expelled in 1985 from Kuwait to London for political reasons pressured from Yāsir 'Arafāt (personal communication with Khālid al-'Alī, March 3, 2013). In London, he worked for *al-Qabas* international edition until his death. On July 22, 1987, al-'Alī was assassinated as he walked towards the offices of *al-Qabas* newspaper in London. He died in the hospital on August 29th. In a documentary about al-'Alī's life; Hani Mudher, a cartoonist, indicated that "the last day I saw him was in Kuwait airport. Along with another friend, we took him [Nājī al-'Alī] to the airport and the way he said to us: "I am going now, and I know that they will kill me there. I can stay here if I want, but I do not want to embarrass people… I will leave and whatever happens happens."

Up until now, al-'Alī's scorching cartoons, seen through the eyes of the refugee boy named *Ḥanẓalah*, continue to be used over and over again. *Ḥanẓalah* means "bitterness" in Arabic. The artist saw his *Ḥanẓalah* character as a bold witness to history, and he indicated that his character was "my icon which safeguards my soul from committing mistakes... he is the ever

alert conscience."[48] Although al-ʿAlī did not publish any of his cartoons in the newspapers under question, they used to borrow some of his cartoons. I will also analyze some of his cartoons that were published in books, especially those that depicted the Israeli war in Lebanon in 1982, and first Palestinian uprising *Intifāḍah*. The newspapers under question did not feature many cartoons of this crucial event in the Palestinian history.

In an interview al-ʿAlī, he expressed his admiration of Ṣalāḥ Jahīn and Bayādir Ṣādi's cartoons (cited in Mahmūd Kallim 60); another two cartoonists that I will analyze some of their works for the period 1967.

2- Ṣalāḥ Jahīn was born in 1930 and died in 1986, Ṣalāḥ Jahīn "began cartooning with the encouragement of a small quiet, but influential newspaper editor named Ahmed Bahaeddine" (Trudy Rubin) who the editor-in-chief of *al-Ahrām*. He started his career as a cartoonist in *al-Qāhirah* (Cairo) newspaper, then in *Ṣabāḥ al-Khayr* (Good morning) magazine. Later, he moved to *al-Ahrām*. He left law school to work on cartoons (ʿĀdil Kāmil), and on journalism (Rubin). Kāmil argued that the greatness of Jahīn's cartoons lies in the fact that they depict issues that touch the heart of the Egyptian's people concerns and problems. In addition, his cartoons portrayed important political events in the Egyptian and Middle Eastern history (Kāmil). Jahīn's cartoons were either social or political. The messages carried by his political cartoons were either direct, harshly criticizing political opponents, or expressing severe anger against enemies and colonizers (Kāmil).[49] Being a poet helped Jahīn encode and intensify meanings in his cartoons (Kāmil). Haim Shaked (1980) stated that Jahīn:

---

[48]Cited in <www.najialali.com>

[49]See al-Ahrām, 14 July 1965, for information on a military song written by Jahīn.

is best known for the cartoons that he has been drawing for so many years, and celebrated for his witty, courageous, and creative personality. …in 1956 [Ṣalāḥ Jahīn] began to draw cartoons for the newly-established Egyptian newspapers, [*Ṣabāḥ al-Khayr*], which was an enterprise for the [*Rūz al-Yūsuf*] Publishing House. In 1962, apparently recruited by Muḥammad ḥasanyan Haykal, [Ṣalāḥ Jahīn] moved to [*al-Ahrām*] and on 2 March that newspapers first published his drawings in a very prominent place, on the page opposite the famous Friday editorial ([*Biṣarāḥah* (Frankly)]) written by Haykal. From that day on, [Jahīn's] political cartoons have been appearing daily in a fixed corner of the "opinion" ([*Ray al-Ahrām*]) page of the newspaper (page 5 or 7).[50] [… An informant said] that when a cartoon by [Jahīn] was censored, the next day "the whole of Cairo" would speak of its contents or the print it was trying to make (304-305).

Afaf L. A. Marsot ("The Cartoon in Egypt") commented on the significance of Jahīn's cartoons and said "[t]oday a large majority of [*al-Ahrām*'s] readers turn to the inner page to glance at [Ṣalāḥ Jahīn's] cartoon before they even look at the front page, for his cartoon is not only funny, but is "news in brief" and gives the gist of what preoccupied people most" (14).

Jahīn was advocate of nationalism and his cartoons were affected by this ideology. The Egyptian revolution on July 23, 1952 was a source of inspiration for him (Aḥmad Ziyādah). "But since the Six Days War in June 1967 he has had frequent periods of gloom and despair at the economic and political malaise into which the defeat thrust his country" (Rubin). Jahīn criticized

---

[50]Until August 1965, Jahīn's cartoons were not published on Fridays. Then from October of that year, Jahīn published two cartoons every Friday, one usually devoted to social issues.

his country for engaging in the 1967 War "that it was unprepared to fight, for economic disorganization and government corruption" (Rubin). Jahīn's cartoons criticize the Israeli occupation of Palestine. Rubin posited that "are never vicious. But they show his bitterness towards the Israelis for destroying his country's economic prospects in war and for displacing the Palestinians. His Israeli figures are warlike and uncompromising, insensitive to Palestinian suffering and indifferent to world peace." The official website of Egypt State Information Service indicated that "Jaheen's cartoons did serve to highlight vital issues in Egypt and the Arab World as well. He is the founder of the modern Egyptian cartoon school." Such characteristics gave his cartoons unprecedented fame and wide circulation in and outside Egypt, particularly in Palestine.

3- **Bayādir Ṣādiq** was born in 1937, Bayādir Ṣādiq is a Lebanese cartoonist who worked for the most famous Lebanese newspapers such as *al-Nahār*. He graduated from the Lebanese Academy for Fine Arts and immediately worked as a cartoonist. His cartoons received admiration from the Lebanese president at that time—Kamīl Shamʿūn (*The Lebanese Institution for the National Library*). He was among other two cartoonists who featured cartoons in Lebanese newspapers at that time. He was the first cartoonist who produced animated cartoons and displayed them on the Lebanese TVs on a daily basis. In 1958, he moved to *al-Nahār* and worked there until 1978. He used to publish his cartoons in the last page of *al-Nahār*. He drew more than 30,000 drawings (*The Lebanese Institution for the National Library*).

4- **Omayya Joha**, the first Palestinian and Arab woman political cartoonist to draw cartoons for a daily newspaper, was born in Gaza on February 2, 1972. She graduated from the Mathematics Department at Al-Azhar University in Egypt 1995. Then, she worked as a teacher of Mathematics for 3 years. She started publishing cartoons in 1997 (Nadia Yaqub). Joha published

her cartoons on *al-Quds* and *al-Risālah* (The message), *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah* newspaper (The New Life) since February 2002, and Al-Jazeera net. On her website, Joha "publishes the cartoons Israelis censor" (Orayb A. Najjar, "Cartoons" 201). She lost her first husband in an Israeli raid in Gaza in 2004. Her second husband died after he was denied entry into Egypt from Gaza for medication in May 2009 (Nadia Yaqub). Joha used the image of a key, a symbol of the Palestinian right of return, as her cartoons' signature. Her first husband suggested her to use the key for her cartoon's signature (Palestine's Dialogue Forum). Yaqub (205) said that "[w]omen in Joha's cartoons are largely symbolic of places (Gaza, Jerusalem, Al-Aqsa Mosque), or props in Abu Aid's [the main character in her cartoons] family… the primary role for women in Joha's cartoons is as victims, mourners, or survivors." Joha won several prizes that acknowledged her creative and prominent political cartoons. In an article published in Al-Jazeera net entitled "Omayya *Tafūz bi-jā'izah fī Turkiyya*" (Omayya Won a Prize in Turkey), the article mentioned some of these prizes: Omayya won Nājī al-ʿAlī's International Prize for Caricature in 2010 in Turkey. This prize is organized by the Palestinian Solidarity Society and Humor Group for Humor and Caricature (Al-Jazeera). Iqbal Tamimi (("Muslim Women Cartoonists") stated that Joha "won the Arab Journalism Award for her work in 2001 in a very competitive field dominated by men." She is a member of the Nājī al-ʿAlī Assembly of Fine Arts in Palestine.

5- Muḥammad Sabāʿnih was born in Kuwait in 1979. He studied fine art at al-Najah University in Nablus in 2002. Sabāʿnih shares the political cartoons space with Omayya Joha in *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah* newspaper. He also participated in the cartoon exhibition about the War on Gaza held in Jordan in 2008. In an interview with *Rūsya al-Yawm* TV (Russia Today) in Arabic, Sabāʿnih asserted that the Palestinian, Arab, and international political cartoons published about Gaza during the 2008 War played a vital role in depicting the war. Sabāʿnih's cartoons tackled different

themes including the Palestinian-Israel conflict, and the economic and the social situations of Palestinians under the Israeli occupation. Yaqub (206) found that "Sabaaneh concentrates more attention on the economic and social effects of occupation and violence… Sabaaneh, like a number of other cartoonists, also draws cartoons that honor either past resistance movements or the abstract notion of a principled armed resistance."

Sabāʻnih carried out pedagogical workshops for cartoons, targeting school teachers in a number of major Palestinian cities during 2008. He participated in several international cartoon exhibitions (Jordan, Qatar, Syria, Germany, Holland, Spain, Geneva, Canda and Britain). He published his cartoons in two books. The first book is entitled *Palestinian Cartoons* (2005) and translated into French (2005). He published his second book in 2008 and named it *Ḥālat Shaghab* (A state of Chaos) (personal communication with Sabāʻnih, December 10, 2012).

Sabāʻnih won a number of prestigious domestic and international prizes, including the following:

1- The Palestinian Media Award – Cartoon, 2011.

2- First place winner in "*ismak yā baladī*" (Your name my country) Prize for Graphic Designs in the United Arab Emirates, 2007.

Further, he was honored by the French newspaper "*Mundo Doblomatk*" in 2011, and Media Development Center at Birzeit University as one of the most remarkable journalists (personal communication with Sabāʻnih, December 10, 2012). Rāsim al-Madhūn stated that Sabāʻnih relied heavily on pictorial representation at the expense of textuality in his cartoons. Al-Madhūn indicated that Sabāʻnih referred to textuality only when it is necessary for the viewers to interpret the intended message(s) of the cartoon. Sabāʻnih drew his cartoons in colors. Al-Madhūn stated that when using colors in his cartoons, Sabāʻnih reflects reality, "which attaches him to his

work." Al-Madhūn concluded that Sabāʿnih's cartoons complement and become an extension to the experience of Naji al-ʿAli although Sabāʿnih uses different modes and mediums of presentation and experienced different technological luxuries which effect the transmission of his cartoons.

Sabāʿnih's cartoons are also published in other many Arabic newspapers such as the Palestinian *al-Ḥadath* Newsletter (from January 2006-January 2008), the Jordanian *al-Ghad* Newspaper (from Jan 2008- Jan 2010), *al-Ittiḥād Emirati* Newspaper in the United Arab Emirates (Jan 2009 – Jan 2011), and Al-Jazeera net in Qatar (since 2011) (personal communication with Sabāʿnih, October 3, 2012).

6- Jalāl al-Rifāʿī was born in a small village near Ramallah called *Kufr al-ʿAyn* in 1946, two years before *al-Nakbah*. After he finished high school, he worked as an editor at *al-Jihād* (The Holy War) newspaper in Jerusalem**.** He started his profession as calligrapher in Arabic having learned the art of calligraphy from Sheikh Yūsif al-Najār. Later, al-Rifāʿī turned to cartoons. In the 1960s, he started publishing his cartoons in two famous Egyptian magazines *Ṣabāḥ al-Khayr* (Good Morning), and *Rūz al-Yūsif*. Before the 1967 War, al-Rifāʿī used to work in the Department of Culture and Arts as a calligrapher and painter.[51] In 1971, he started drawing his cartoons which appeared on the last page of *al-Dustūr*. He worked for *al-Dustūr* (The constitution) for a total of 20 years.[52] He published his cartoons in *al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīdah*. His cartoons documented the political and social life in Jordan, Palestine, and the Arab World. After that, al-Rifāʿī got a scholarship from the Jordanian Ministry of Information to study journalistic

---

[51]Before the 1967 War (*al-Naksah*), the West Bank was under the Jordanian rule.

[52]Najjar A. Orayb (*Power and the Palestinian Press*) explained that after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967, al-Manār (The lighthouse) newspaper appeared in Amman; Filastīn (Palestine) newspaper in East Jerusalem (which was under the rule of Jordan). Najjar added that both al-Manār and Filastīn became "amalgamated under the name of [al-Dustūr]… and relocated to Amman" (96).

directing in Britain. In 1976, he got another scholarship to study animated cartoons in Britain. While residing in London, he published cartoons for *al-'Arab* (The Arabs) newspaper. In 1979, al-Rifā'ī moved to Dubai to work as a cartoonist for *al-Bayān* [The statement] newspaper. Ten years later, he returned to Jordan to work for *al-Dustūr*. He continued working for *al-Dustūr* until he died in Amman on May 19, 2012 due to a severe heart attack. He received many awards and honors including the Arab Caricature Award in 1996, and the Armor Arab Pioneers in the field of Caricature under the auspices of the Arab League. He established many personal exhibitions in Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Libya, Tunisia, Britain, Turkey, and others. The distinguished cartoonist published his cartoon in eight books; the last of which called *Makānak Sirr* (Your place is a secret). He helped establish the Association of Jordanian Cartoonists.53

The Palestinian issue occupied a big space in al-Rifā'ī's cartoons (*al-Imarāt al-Yawm*, May 20, 2012). Al-Rifā'ī was a friend of Nājī al-'Alī (*al-Imarāt al-Yawm*). Here is a picture of both al-Ali and al-Rifā'ī taken in front of *al-Bayān* newspaper headquarter in Dubai in the 1980s (*al-Imarāt al-Yawm*):

53All of this information about *Jalāl al-Rifā'ī* is elicited from an article published in *al-Dustūr* on May 20, 2012, one day after his death.

Nājī al-ʿAlī (Right) and Jalāl al-Rifāʿī (Left).

In the introduction of al-Rifāʿī's book entitled One Thousand Caricature and Caricature, Muḥammad al-Murr, an Emirati literary writer, stated that al-Rifāʿī's cartoons are as creative and influential as those of ʿAlī Farzāt, a prominent Syrian cartoonist, and Nājī al-ʿAlī.

Works cited

‘Abd al-Hādī, ḥusām. شعبان وماكدونالز والفلافل [Sha‘bān, MacDonald's, and falafel]. Rūz al-Yūsuf, 20 July, 2001. 39–4.1. Print.

Abid, Kasim. *Naji Al-Ali: An Artist with Vision*. Brooklyn, NY: First Run/Icarus Films, 1999.

Abisaad, Malek. "Shiite Peasants and a New Nation in Colonial Lebanon: The Intifada of Bint Jubayl, 1936." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 29.3. (2009) : 483-501. Print.

Abu Odeh, Adnan. "The American Image in the Arab Mass Media." *Split vision: The portrayal of Arabs in the American Media*. Ed. Edmund Ghareeb. Washington, D.C.: American-Arab Affairs Council, 1983. 355-368. Print.

Abū Shāwar, Rashād. الفنان الذي تجاوز الحدود بالخطوط [The Artist Who Exceeded the Borders with Lines]. الهدية لم تصل بعد [The Gift has not Arrived yet: Essays and Caricatures]. Ed. Nājī al-‘Alī. Dār al-Karmal: Amman, Jordan, 1997. 31-38. Print.

Abū Tammām. ديوان أبي تمام بشرح الخاطب التبريزي. Ed. Muḥammad ‘Abduh ‘Azzā. Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘rārif, 1951. 4(1):61-62. Print.

Akman, Ayhan. "From Cultural Schizophrenia to Modernist Binarism: Cartoons and Identities in Turkey." *Political cartoons in the Middle East*. Ed. Fatma. M. Gocek. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998. 83-131. Print.

---. *Modernist National Identity and Its Demise: Politics and Cartoons in Turkey (1930-PRRESENT*). Diss. Chicago: UMLI, 1999. Print.

Alder, Jerry., and Jane Whitmore. "The Finer Art of Politics." *Newsweek*, 96. (1980): 74-85. Print.

---. *A child in Palestine: The cartoon of Nājī*. New York: Verso Books, 2009. Print.

Al-Hout, B. Nuwayhed. *Sabra and Shatila: September 1982*. Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2004. Print.

Al-‘Alī, Nājī. الهدية لم تصل بعد [The Gift has not Arrived yet]. Amman, Jordan: Dar al-Karmel, 1997. Print.

Amireh, Amal. "Between Complicity and Subversion: Body Politics in Palestinian National Narrative." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 102.4 (2003) : 747 -72. Print.

Al-Shaikh, Abdul-Rahim. "Historiographies of Laughter: Poetics of Deformation in Palestinian Political Cartoon." *Third Text* 21.1 (2007) : 65–78. Print.

Al-Asʿad, Muḥammad. المستقبل من يأتي دائماً" [He always Comes from the Future]." ناجي كاريكاتير العلي1985-1987 [Nājī al-ʿAlī's caricatures 1985-1987]. Ed. Nājī al-ʿAlī. Dimashq: al-muwazziʿūn, Aṭlas lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2008. 7-8. Print.

Al-Aṣbahānī, Abū al-Faraj. الأغاني [The Songs]. Vol. 12. No. 24. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā al-turāth al-ʿarabī, 2002. Print.

Al-Azhari, Muḥammad. والنوادر الأدب في الخواطر جمال [The Beauty of Thoughts in Literature and Anecdotes]. Read and annotated by 'bd al-'aziz Rbaa'. Dār al-ma'mūn lil-turāth, 1996. Print.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 1991. Print.

---. *Long-Distance Nationalism: World Capitalism and the Rise of Identity Politics*. Amsterdam: Centre for Asian Studies Amsterdam, 1992. Print.

---. "The New World Disorder." *New Left Review* 193 (1992) : 3-13.

Anderson, Ronald., and Elaine Jolly. "Stereotyped Traits and Sex Roles in Humorous Drawings." *Communication Research* 4 (1977) : 453-79. Print.

Ankori, Gannit. *Palestinian Art*. London: Reaktion Book LTD, 2006. Print.

Ateş, Hamz., Mehmet Duman., and Yuksel Bayraktar. "A Story of Infitah: Egyptian Liberalization Under Sress." *Yapi Kredi Economic Review* 17.1 (2006) : 59-77. Internet Source.

Atran, Scott. "Stones Against the Iron Fist, Terror Within the Nation: Alternating Structures of Violence and Cultural Identity in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." *Politics & Society*, 18.4 (1990): 481-526. Print.

Azzi, Asaad. "From Competitive Interests, Perceived Justice, and Identity Needs to Collective Action: Psychological Mechanisms in Ethnic Nationalism." *Nationalism and Violence*. Ed. Christopher, Dandeker. New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 1998. 73-138. Print.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and his World*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1984. Print.

Bal, S. Anjali., Leyland Pitt, Pierre Berthon., and Philp DesAutels. "Caricatures, Cartoons, Spoofs and Satires: Political Brands as Butts." *Journal of Public Affairs* 9 (2009) : 229–237. Print.

Baron, Beth. *Egypt As a Woman: Nationalism, Gender, and Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. Print.

"Barrier Monitoring Unit." *United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA)*. n. p. July. 2012. Web. 13 Dec. 2012.

Bartelt, Dana. "Palestinian Artists tell their People's Story Through Symbols and Allegory." *Eye* Spring. 2004: 54-59. Print.

Bartelt, Dana.; Contemporary Museum, Raleigh, NC., and et al. *Both Sides of Peace. Israeli and Palestinian Political Poster Art*. Raleigh, NC: Contemporary Art Museum, in association with University of Washington Press, 1997. Print.

Barthes, Ronald. *Mythologies*. Trans. Annette Lavers. New York: Hill and Wang, 1972. Print.

---. (1977). "The rhetoric of image." *Image, Music, Text: Essays Selected*. Trans. Stephan Heath. New York: Hill and Wang, 1977. 32-51. Print.

Bennis, Phyllis. *Understanding the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: A Primer*. Northampton, Mass.: Olive Branch, 2009. Print.

Bergen, Benjamin. "To Awaken a Sleeping Giant. Cognition and Culture in September 11 Political Cartoons." *Language, Culture, and Mind*. Ed. Michel Achard and Suzanne Kemmer. Stanford, CA (Center for the Study of Language and Information): CSLI publications, 2004. 23-35. Print.

Berger, Arthur Asa. *The Comic Stripped American*. Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1973. Print.

Bock-Luna, Birgit. *The Past in Exile: Serbian Long-Distance Nationalism and Identity in the Wake of the Third Balkan War*. Berlin: Lit, 2007. Print.

Brabant, Sarah., and Linda Mooney. "Sex Role Stereotyping in the Study Comics: The Years Later." *Sex Roles* 14.3/4 (1986) : 141-148. Print.

Bickerton, J. Ian., and Carla L. Klausner. *A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Boston: Prentice Hall, 2010. Print.

Billig, Michael. "Nationalism as an International Ideology: Imagining the Nation, Others, and the World of Nations." *Changing European Identities*. Ed. Evanthia. Lyons and Glynis. M. Breakwell. Oxford: Butterworth, 1996. 181-194. Print.

Birnbaum, Sariel. "Historical Discourse in the Media of the Palestinian National Authority." *Palestinian Collective Memory and National Identity*. Ed. Meir Litvak. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 135-168. Print.

Bisharat, E. George. "Exist to Compatriot: Transformations in the Social Identity of Palestinian Refugees in the West Bank." *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*. Ed. Akhil, Gupta and James Ferguson. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997. 203-233. Print.

Bivins, H. Thomas. "Format Preferences in Editorial Cartooning." *Journalism Quarterly* 61.1 (1984) : 182-185. Print.

Blanchet, Christian. "The Universal Appeal of the Statue of Liberty." *The Statue of Liberty Revisited: Making a Universal Symbol*. Ed. Wilton. S. Dillon and Neil. G. Kolter. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994. 27-37. Print.

Bornstein, S. Avram. *Crossing the Green Line between the West Bank and Israel*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. Print.

Boulding, Kenneth. *Three Faces of Power*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990. Print.

Bounegru, Liliana., and Charles Forceville. "Metaphors in Editorial Cartoons Representing the Global Financial Crisis." *Visual Communication* 10.2 (2011) : 209-229. Print.

Bowman, Glenn. "Antagonism And Identity In Former Yugolsavia: Introduction." *Journal of Area Studies* 1.3 (1993) : 35-39. Print.

---. "'A Country of Words': Conceiving the Palestinian Nation from the Position of Exile." *The Making of Political Identities*. Ed. Ernesto. Laclau. London: Verso, 1994. 138-170. Print.

---. "'Migrant Labour': Constructing Homeland in the Exilic Imagination." *Anthropological Theory* 2.4 (2002) : 447-468. Print.

---. "Constitutive Violence and the Nationalist Imaginary: Antagonism and Defensive Solidarity in "Palestine" and "former Yugoslavia"." *Social Anthropology: The Journal of the European Association of Social Anthropologists*. (2003). Print.

Bradley, James (With Ron Powers). *Flags of our Fathers*. New York: Bantam Books, 2006. Print.

Brennan, Timothy. "The National Longing for Form." *Nation and Narration.* Ed. Homi, K. Bhabha. New York: Routledge, 1990. 8-22. Print.

Brooks, Kevin. "More "Seriously Visible" Reading: McCloud, McLuhan, and the Visual Language of "The Medium is the Massage."" *College Composition and Communication* 61.1 (2009) : W217-W237. Print.

Brown, Scott A. *Caricatures of Revolution: Slovak Political Cartoons in the Czechoslovak Spring*. Pittsburgh: Center for Russian and East European Studies, 2011. Print.

Brummett, Palmira. "New Women and Old Nag: Images of Women in the Ottoman Cartoon Space." *Political Cartoons in the Middle East.* Ed. Fatma. M. Gocek. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998. 13-57. Print.

Burrell, S. Robert. *The Ghosts of Iwo Jima*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2006. Print.

Carroll, Noël. "A Note on Film Metaphor." *Journal of Pragmatics* 26 (1996) : 809–822. Print.

Chomsky, Noam. "The War on Lebanon is a War on Palestine." *The War on Lebanon: A Reader.* Ed. Nubar Hovsepian. Northampton, Mass.: Olive Branch Press, 2008. 88-92. Print.

Cialdini, Robert B. *Influence: Science and Practice*. (4th ed.). New York: Harper Collins, 2001. Print.

Cloud, Dana. (2004). "To Veil the Threat of Terror: Afghan Women and the <Clash of Civilization> in the Imagery of the U,S, War on Terrorism." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 90.3 (2004) : 285- 306. Print.

Cobb, M. Paul. *White banners: Contention in 'Abbāsid Syria, 750-880*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001. Print.

Colla, Elliott. (2005). "Sentimentality and Redemption: The Rhetoric of Egyptian Pop Culture Intifada Solidarity." *Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture.* Ed. Rebecca. L. Stein and Ted Swedenburg. Durham & London: Duke University press, 2005. 338-364. Print.

Connell, John., Chris Gibson. *Sound Tracks: Popular Music, Identity, and Place*. New York: Routledge, 2003. Print.

Conners, Joan L. "Hussein as Enemy: The Persian Gulf War in Political Cartoons." *Press/ Politics* 3.3 (1998) : 96-114. Print.

---. "Popular Culture in Political Cartoons: Analyzing Cartoonist Approaches." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 40.02 (2007) : 261–265. Print.

Cooley, K. John. (1973). *Green March, Black September: The Story of the Palestinian Arabs*. London: Frank Cass, 1973. Print.

Cordesman, Anthony H., and William D. Sullivan. *Lessons of the 2006 Israeli-Hezbollah War*. Washington, D.C: CSIS Press, 2007. Print.

Coulson, Seana., and Todo Oakley. (2000). "Blending Basics." *Cognitive Linguistics* 11.3-4 (2000) : 175-196. Print.

Coupe, W. A. "Observations on a Theory of Political Caricature." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11.1 (1969) : 79–95. Print.

Cronin, J, Keri., and Kristy Robertson. *Imagining Resistance: Visual Culture and Activism in Canada*. Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011. Print.

Curtis, L P. *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*. Washington, D.C: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997. Print.

Damon, H. George. "A Survey of Political Cartoons Dealing with the Middle East." *Split Vision*. Ed. Edmund. Ghareeb. Washington, DC: The American-Arab Affairs Council, 1983. 143-153. Print.

Danjoux, Ilan. "The Political Cartoon and the Collapse of the Oslo Peace Process." Conference Papers-- *International Studies Association* (2006) : 132-148.

Dard, Bertrand. "Liberty as Image and Icon." *The Statue of Liberty Revisited: Making a Universal Symbol.* Ed. Wilton. S. Dillon., and Neil. G. Kolter. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994. 71-78. Print.

Darwīsh, Maḥmūd., Samīh Qāsim., and Adūnīs. *Victims of a Map*. London: Al Saqi Books, 1984. Print.

DeSousa, Michael (1984). "Symbolic Action and Pretended Insight: The Ayatollah Khomeini in US Editorial Cartoons." *Rhetorical Dimensions in Media: A Critical Casebook*. Ed. Martin, Medhurst J., and Thomas W. Benson. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt. 1984. 204-230. Print.

DeSousa, Michael., and Martin Medhurst. "Political Cartoons and American Culture: Significant Symbols of Campaign 1980." *Studies in Visual Communication*, 8 (1982) : 84-97. Print.

Deutsch, Karl W. *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*. Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1966. Print

Diamond, Matthew. "No Laughing Matter: Post–September 11 Political Cartoons in Arab/Muslim Newspapers." *Political Communication*, 19 (2002) : 252-272. Print.

Duman, Steve., and Miriam A. Locher. "So Let's Talk. Let's Chat. Let's Start a Dialog: An Analysis of the Conversation Metaphor Employed in Clinton's and Obama's Youtube Campaign Clips." *Multilingua: Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication*. 27.3 (2008): 193-230. Print.

Dumper, Michael. *The Future for Palestinian Refugees: Toward Equity and Peace*. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007. Print.

Al-Dustūr. الرفاعي و"الدستور" .. عشرون عاماً من الريادة والعطاء [al-Rifāʿī and "al-Dustūr". Twenty Years of Leadership and Achievement]. 20 Sep. 2012. Web.

Eko, Lyombe. "IT'S A POLITICAL JUNGLE OUT THERE: How Four African Newspaper Cartoons Dehumanized and 'Deterritorialized' African Political Leaders in the Post-Cold War Era." *The International Communication Gazette*, 69.3 (2007) : 219–238. Print.

Eco, Umberto. *The Limits of Interpretation*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994. Print.

Edwards, Janis L. "Metaphor of Enmity in Gulf War Political Cartoon." *The Ohio Speech Journal,* 30 (1992) : 62-75. Print.

---. *Political Cartoons in the 1988 Presidential Campaign: Image, Metaphor, and Narrative*. New York: Garland Pub, 1997. Print.

Elmessiri, Abdelwahab M. *The Palestinian Wedding: A Bilingual Anthology of Contemporary Palestinian Resistance Poetry*. Washington, D.C: Three Continents Press, 1982. Print.

El Refaie, Elizabeth. "Understanding Visual Metaphor: The Example of Newspaper Cartoons." *Visual Communication*, 2.1 (2003) : 75-95. Print.

---. "Multiliteracies: How Readers Interpret Political Cartoons." *Visual Communication*. 8.2 (2009): 181-205. Print.

Enloe, Cynthia. *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990. Print.

Fahmy, Khaled M. *Legislating Infitah: Investment, Currency, and Foreign Trade Laws*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1988. Print.

Falah, Ghazi. "The 1948 Israeli-Palestinian War and Its Aftermath: the Transformation and De-Signification of Palestine's Cultural Landscape." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 86.2 (1996): 256-285. Print.

Falah, Ghazi-Walid., Colin Flint., and Virginie Mamadouh. "Just War and Extraterritoriality: the Popular Geopolitics of the United States' War on Iraq As Reflected in Newspapers of the Arab World." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 96.1 (2006): 142-164. Print.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 1965. Print.

Farah, Randa. "Oral History in the Palestinian and Sahrawi Context: A Comparative Approach." *Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights*. 14 Apr. 2012. Web. Winter 2007.

Farsoun, Samih K., and Naseer H. Aruri. *Palestine and the Palestinians: A Social and Political History*. Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 2006. Print.

Fauconnier, Gilles. *Mental Spaces: Aspects of Meaning Construction in Natural Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. Print.

Fauconnier, Gilles, and Mark Turner. *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities*. New York: Basic Books, 2002. Print.

Firth, Raymond. *Symbols: Public and Private*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1973. Print.

Fortier, Anne-Marie. "Re-membering Places and the Performance of Belonging(s)." *Theory Culture & Society,* 16.2. (1999) : 41-64. Print.

Forceville, Charles. *Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising*. London: Routledge, 1996. Print.

---. Further thoughts on delimitating pictorial metaphor. *Theoria et Historia Scinetiarum*, 6: 213-227 [Torun, Poland], 2002. Print.

---. "Non-verbal and Multimodal Metaphor in a Cognitivist Framework: Agendas for Research." *Cognitive Linguistics: Current Applications and Future Perspectives*. Ed. Gitte. Kristiansen., Michael. Achard., Rene. Dirven., & Fancisco. J. R. M. Ibanez. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006. 379-402. Print.

---. (2008). "Metaphor is Pictures and Multimodal Representations." *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought*. Ed. Raymond W Gibbs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 462-482. Print.

Forceville, Charles., and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi. *Multimodal Metaphor*. Berlin: M. de Gruyter, 2009. Print.

Frisch, Hillel., and Menachem Hofnung. "State Formation and International Aid: The Emergence of the Palestinian Authority." *World Development.* 25.8 (1997) : 1243-1255. Print.

Furani, Khaled. *Silencing the Sea: Secular Rhythms in Palestinian Poetry*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2012. Print.

Gaza After the War: What Can Be Built on the Wreckage? : Hearing Before the Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred Eleventh Congress, First Session, February 12, 2009. Washington: U.S. G.P.O, 2009. Print.

"Gaza Facts: The Israeli Perspective." *Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. 24 Oct. 2010. Web. 2008.

Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, 1973. Print.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983. Print.

George, Alan. ""making the Desert Bloom" a Myth Examined." *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 8.2 (1979) : 88-100. Print.

Giarelli, Ellen., and Lorraine Tulman. "Methodological Issues in the Use of Published Cartoons As Data." *Qualitative Health Research*. 13.7 (2003) : 945-956. Print.

Giddens, Anthony., and Anthony Giddens. *The Nation-State and Violence*. Cambridge [England: Polity Press, 1985. Print

Gillis, John R. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1994. Print.

Givton, Dan. (2001). "Grounded Theory: Meaning, Analysis Process and Theory Construction in Qualitative Research." *Genre and Tradition in Qualitative Research*. Ed. Sabar-Ben-Yehoshua. Tell Aviv: Dvir, 2001. Print.

Glassberg, David. "Rethinking the Statue of Liberty: Old Meanings, New Contexts." *Statue of Liberty National Monument: New Directions*. Ed. David Glassberg. US National Park Service & Organization of American Historians, 2005. 10-13. Print.

Glasse, Jennifer., Ofra Bikel., and Joe Rubin. *Frontline/world: Israel: the Unexpected Candidate*. Alexandria, Va.: Distributed by PBS Video, 2006.

Gluck, Sherna Berger. "Palestinian Women: Gender Politics and Nationalism." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 24.3 (1995) : 5-15. Print.

Gocek, M. Fatma. "Political Cartoons as a Site of Representation and Resistance in the Middle East." *Political Cartoon in the Middle East*. Ed. Fatma. M. Gocek. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998. 1-11. Print.

Gordon, David C. *North Africa's French Legacy, 1954-1962*. Cambridge: Distributed for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University by Harvard University Press, 1964. Print.

Gordon, Joel. "Singing the Pulse of the Egyptian-Arab Street: Shaaban Abd Al-Rahim and the Geo-Pop-Politics of Fast Food." *Popular Music*. 22.1 (2003). Print.

Goswami, Manu. "Rethinking the Modular Nation Form: Toward a Sociohistorical Conception of Nationalism." *Comparative Studies in Society and History: An International Quarterly*. 44.4 (2002) : 770-799. Print.

Guba, Egon G. *Toward a Methodology of Naturalistic Inquiry in Educational Evaluation. Cse Monograph Series in Evaluation, 8*. Center for the Study of Evaluation, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Los Angeles, California, 1978. Print.

Gupta, Akhil., and James Ferguson. "Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of difference." *Cultural Anthropology*, 7.1 (1992) : 6-23. Print.

---. "Antagonism and Identity in Former Yugolsavia: Introduction." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*. 1.3 (1993): 35-39. Print.

Halaby, Samia. *Liberation Art of Palestine: Palestinian Painting and Sculpture in the Second Half of the 20th Century*. New York: H.T.T.B. Pub., S.A. Halaby, 2001. Print.

Hall, Stuart. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage in association with the Open University, 1997. Print.

Halm, Heinz., Allison Brown., and Thomas Lampert. *The Arabs: A Short History*. Princeton, N.J: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2007. Print.

Al-Hamadhānī, Badīʿ al-Zamān. مقامات بديع الزمان الهمذاني [The Rhymed Prose of Badi' al-zamān al-hamathānī]. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyah, 1994. Print.

Hartman, Robert., and John L. Lucaites. "Performing Civic Identity: the Iconic Photograph of the Flag Raising on Iwo Jima." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 88.4 (2002): 363-392. Print.

Harle, Vilho. *The Enemy with a Thousand Faces: The Tradition of the Other in Western Political Thought and History*. Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2000. Print.

Harrison, Randall. *The Cartoon, Communication to the Quick*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981. Print.

Heller, Steven., and Gail Anderson. *The Savage Mirror: The Art of Contemporary Caricature*. New York: Watson-Guptill, 1992. Print.

---. "Designing Demons: The Rhetoric of Hate Provides a Different Kind of Measuring." *Eye*, 41 (2004) : 42-51. Print.

Hempelmann, F. Christian., and Andrea C. Samson. "Cartoons: Drawn jokes?" *The Primer of Humor Research*. Ed. Victor Raskin. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008. 609-640. Print.

Hess, Stephen, and Milton Kaplan. *The Ungentlemanly Art: A History of American Political Cartoons*. New York: Macmillan, 1968. Print.

Al-Hilālī, Muḥammad Taqī-ud-Dīn., and Muḥammad M. Khān. *Translations of the Nobel Qura'n in the English Language.* Madinah, K. S. A. King Fahd Complex For The Printing Of The Holy Qura'n, 1996. Print.

Hobsbawm, E. J., and T O. Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. Print.

Holt, P M.; Ann K. S. Lambton., and Lewis Bernard. (1970). *Cambridge History of Islam*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970. Print.

Hou, Charles, and Cynthia Hou. *Great Canadian Political Cartoons, 1820 to 1914*. Vancouver: Moody's Lookout Press, 1997. Print.

Hovsepian, Nubar., and Rashid Khalidi. *The War on Lebanon: A Reader*. Northampton, Mass: Olive Branch Press, 2008. Print.

Humphrey, Michael. "Lebanese Identities between Cities, Nations and Trans-Nations." *Arab Studies Quarterly*. 26.1 (2004): 31. Print.

Hunter, Jefferson. *Image and Word: The Interaction of Twentieth-Century Photographs and Texts*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1987. Print.

Ḥazīn, Ṣalaḥ. االفنان الذي رأى العالم بالأبيض والأسود [The Artist Saw the World in White and Black]. الهدية لم تصل بعد [The Gift has not Arrived yet: Essays and Caricatures]. Ed. Nājī al-ʿAlī. Dār al-Karmal: Amman, Jordan, 1997. 89-101. Print.

Al-Imarāt al-Yawm. رحيل فنان الكاريكاتير جلال الرفاعي [The Departure of the Cartoonist Jalāl al-Rifāʿī]. 20 May. 2012. Web. 18 Dec. 2012.

Irele, Abiola. *The African Imagination: Literature in Africa and the Black Diaspora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. Print.

Ivie, Robert L. "Images of Savagery in American Justifications for War." *Communication Monographs*. 47.4 (1980): 279-94. Print.

"Jaheen's Marvels of Colloquial Tongue." *Egypt State Information Service*. Retrieved on November 12, 2012 from <http://www.sis.gov.eg/En/Story.aspx?sid=1333>.

Al-Jaḥiẓ, Abū 'Uthmān. البخلاء [A book of Misers]. Verification and collection by Qaṣ-ṣāṣ, M., Ismāʿīl, M., & ʿamir, A. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyah, 1992. Print.

Jamal, Amal. "State-building and Media Regime: Censoring the Emerging Public Sphere in Palestine." *Gazette*. 63 (2001): 263-282. Print.

Al-Jazeera. أمية جحا تفوز بجائزة في تركيا [Omayya Wins a Prize in Turkey]. Al-Jazeera net. 1 Dec. 2010. Web. 15 No. 2012.

Jefferess, David. "Behind the mask/ I am the other: Solidarity and struggle in the Fourth World War." *Imagining Resistance: Visual Culture and Activism in Canada*. Ed. J Keri Cronin; and Kirsty Robertson. Waterloo, Ont: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001. 219-236. Print.

Jensen, Kim. "Witness to Brutality: Film Documents Life and Death of Naji al-Ali." *Al Jadid*, 6.32 (2000). Web. 20 May. 2012.

Jerusalem Media and Communications Center. *Public Opinion Polls: On Palestinian Attitudes Towards Politics Including the Current Uprising, No. 39*. Jerusalem: JMCC, 2000. Print.

Johnson, Penny., and Eileen Kuttab. "Where Have All the Women (and Men) Gone? Reflections on Gender and the Second Palestinian Intifada." *Feminist Review* 69. (2001) : 21-43. Print.

Kāmil, ʿādil. *Caricature in Egypt* [الكاريكاتير في مصر]. Egypt: Higher Council for Education, 2008. Print.

Kallim, Mahmūd. *Nājī: The Whole Palestine Soil: For this Reason They Killed Me*. Beirut: Bīsān Publishing and Distribution, 2001. Print.

Kannenberg, Jr, Gene. "The Comics of Chris Ware." *The Language of Comics*: *Word and Image*. Ed. Robin Varnum; and Christina T Gibbons. London: Routledge, 2001. 174-197. Print.

Keen, Sam. (1991). *Faces of the Enemy: Reflections of the Hostile Imagination*. San Francisco: Harper, 1991. Print.

Kennedy, M. John., Christopher D. Green., and John Vervaeke. "Metaphoric Thought and Devices in Pictures." *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity*, 8.3 (1993) : 243–55. Print.

Khādūr, Adīb. الصحافة السورية: نشأتها، تطورها، واقعها الراهن [The Syrian Print: Its Evolution- Its Development- and Its current Status.] Damascus: *Dar al-Baʿth* for Publication and Distribution, 1972. Print.

Khalīli, ʿAlī. الصحافة الفلسطينية تحت الاحتلال [The Palestinian Press Under the Occupation]. The Palestinian Center for Spreading Alternative Information: Panorama, 1992. Print.

Kishtainy, Khalid. *Arab Political Humour*. London: Quartet Books, 1985. Print.

Kogan, Nathan. *Understanding Visual Metaphor: Developmental and Individual Differences*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press for the Society for Research in Child Development, 1980. Print.

Korn, David A. "Us-soviet Negotiations of 1969 and the Rogers Plan." *The Middle East Journal*. (1990). Print.

Kotek, Joël. *Cartoons and Extremism: Israel and the Jews in Arab and Western Media*. Edgware: Vallentine Mitchell, 2009. Print.

Kress, Gunther. (1994). "Text and Grammar as Explanation." *Text, Discourse and Context: Representations of Poverty in Britain*. Ed. Ulrike. H. Meinhof and Kay. Richardson. London: Longman, 1994. 24–46. Print.

---. "What Is a Mode?" *The Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis*. Ed. Carey Jewitt. London: Routledge. 2009. 54–67. Print.

Kress, Gunther R., and Leeuwen T. Van. *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge, 1996. Print.

---. *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*. London: Arnold, 2001. Print.

Kutschera, Chris. "Algeria's Fighting Women." *The Middle East*, April 1996. 40–41. Print.

Laclau, Ernesto., and Chantal Mouffe. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso, 1985. Print.

Laffin, John. *Fedayeen: The Arab-Israeli Dilemma*. New York: Free Press, 1973. Print.

Lakoff, George., and Mark Johnson. *Metaphors We Live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003. Print.

Lakoff, George., and Mark Turner. *More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989. Print.

Lamont, Michèle., and Laurent Thévenot. *Rethinking Comparative Cultural Sociology: Repertoires of Evaluation in France and the United States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Print.

Landau, S. Paul. "Empires of the Visual: Photography and Colonial Administration in Africa." *Images and Rules: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*. Ed. Paul. S. Landau and Deborah Kaspin. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. 141-171. Print.

Lasswell, D. Harold. "Propaganda." *Propaganda*. Ed. Robert Jackall. New York: New York University Press, 1995. 13–25. Print.

Layoun, Mary. "Telling spaces: Palestinian Women and the Engendering of National Narratives." *Nationalisms and Sexualities*. Ed. Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer, and Patricia Yaeger. New York: Routledge, 1991. 407–23. Print.

---. *Wedded to the Land?: Gender, Boundaries, and Nationalism in Crisis*. Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001. Print.

---. "Telling Stories in Palestine: Comix Understanding and Narratives of Palestine-Israel. *Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture*. Ed. Rebecca L Stein; Ted Swedenburg. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005. 313-337. Print.

Levick, Adam. "Anti-Semitic Cartoons on Progressive Blogs." *Institute For Global Jewish Affairs*. 2 Sept. 2010. Web. 16 Aug. 2011.

Lintunen, Tiina. (2012). "Filthy whores and brave mothers: Women in War Propaganda." *Enemy Images in War Propaganda*. Ed. Marja Vuorinen. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012. 15-34. Print.

Longo, Gina M. *Analysis of the Political Participation and Societal Roles of Women in Iraq*. Diss. Florida Atlantic University, 2008. Print.

Lynfield, Ben. "Palestinian's Keen Caricatures Keep Censors Occupied." *The Christian Science Monitor*. (2001, 28. Nov. 2001. Web. 17 Sep. 2010.

Litvak, Meir. *Palestinian Collective Memory and National Identity*. New York City, NY: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2009. Print.

Maasri, Zeina. *Off the Wall: Political Posters of the Lebanese Civil War*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2009. Print.

Al-Madhūn, Rāsim. حين يولد من الأهوال كاريكاتيراً... محمد سباعنة! [Muḥammad Sabāʿnih...When a Cartoon is Born out of Horrors]. *Le Monde diplomatique*. 7 Apr. 2008. Web. 21 Oct. 2012.

Makovsky, David. *Making Peace with the PLO: The Rabin Government's Road to the Oslo Accord*. Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1996. Print.

Al-Manāṣrah, ʿIz al-dīn. الذي قال لا في عصر نعم [The One Who Said "No" at the Time of "Yes"]. الهدية لم تصل بعد [The Gift has not Arrived yet]. Ed. Nājī al-ʿAlī. Dār al-Karmal: Amman, Jordan, 1997. 47-63. Print.

Mandell, Joan. "Naji Al-'ali Remembered." *Merip Middle East Report*. (1987): 26-27. Print.

Manor-Tamam, Keren. *Images in Times of Conflict: Al-Aqsa Intifada, As Reflected in Palestinian and Israeli Caricatures*. Jerusalem: Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003. Print.

Marsot, Afaf L. A. "The Cartoon in Egypt." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 13.1 (1971) : 2-15. Print.

---. "Humor: The Two-Edge Sword." *Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin*, 14.1 (1980) :1-9. Print.

Maṣālḥah, A. Omar. (2009, March). لمحة عن الصحافة العربية-الفلسطينية في إسرائيل (A Glance at the Arab-Palestinian Press in Israel]. *The Palestinian Ministry of Information*. Mar 2009. Web. 21 May 2012.

Matar, Dina. *What It Means to Be Palestinian: Stories of Palestinian Peoplehood*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2011. Print.

Mazid, Bahaa-Eddin. "Cowboy and Misanthrope: a Critical (discourse) Analysis of Bush and Bin Laden Cartoons." *Discourse & Communication*. 2.4 (2008) : 433-457. Print.

McClintock, Anne. "No Longer in a Future Heaven: Women and Nationalism in South Africa." *Transition*. (1991): 104-123. Print.

McCloud, Scott. *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art*. New York: Harper Perennial, 1994. Print.

Medhurst, Martin J., and Michael Desousa A. "Political Cartoons as Rhetorical Form: A Taxonomy of Graphic Discourse." *Communication Monographs*. 48.3 (1981): 197-236. Print.

Melman, Billie. "Re-generation: Nation and the Construction of Gender in Peace and War—Palestine Jews, 1900-1918." *Borderlines: Genders and Identities in War and Peace, 1870-1930*. Ed. Billie Melman. New York: Routledge, 1998. 121-140. Print.

Mitchell, W J. T. *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. Print.

Mitchell, W J. T. *What Do Pictures Want?: The Lives and Loves of Images*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005. Print.

Modlin, Joanne B. *Political Cartoons and the Perception of Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Diss. New York: City University of New, 1987. Print.

Molinaro, Enrico. *Negotiating Jerusalem: Preconditions for Drawing Scenarios Based on Territorial Compromises*. Jerusalem: PASSIA, Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, 2002. Print.

Morris, Benny. *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Print.

Morris, Ray. "Visual Rhetoric in Political Cartoons: A Structuralist Approach." *Metaphor and Symbol*. 8.3 (1993) : 195-210. Print.

Mosse, George L. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985. Print.

Al-Murr, Muḥammad. Introduction. ١٠٠٠ [One thousand caricature and caricature]. By Jalāl al-Rifāʿī. كاريكاتير وكاريكاتي. Amman: al-Dustūr Commercial Print, 2000. 7. Print.

Muslih, Muhammad Y. *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988. Print.

Nagel, Joane. "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21.2 (1989) : 242-269. Print.

---. "Ethnicity and Sexuality." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000) : 107–33. Print.

Najjar, Aide A. *The Arabic Press and Nationalism in Palestine: 1920-1948*. Diss. Syracuse University: New York, 1980. Print.

Najjar, Orayb A. *Power and the Palestinian Press: Israeli Censorship on the West Bank, 1967-1991*. , 1992. Diss. Indian University, 1992. Print.

---. "Cartoons as a Site for the Construction of Palestinian Refugee Identity." *Journal of Communication Inquiry*. 31.3 (2007) : 255-285. Print.

---. "New Palestinian Media and Democratization from Below." *New Media and the New Middle East*. Ed. Philip M. Seib. New York: Palgrave Macmillan Series in International Political Communication, 2007. 191-212. Print.

Nikolajeva, Maria., and Carole Scott. *How Picture Books Work*. New York: Garland, 2001. Print.

Nossek, Hillel., and Khalil Rinnawi. "Censorship and Freedom of the Press Under Changing Political Regimes: Palestinian Media from Israeli Occupation to the Palestinian Authority." *Gazette*. 65.2 (2003) : 183-202. Print.

Olaniyan,Tejumola. "African Political Cartoons Have a Subversive Edge." *The University of Wisconsin-Madison NEWS*. Dec. 2005. Web. 25 Nov. 2010.

---. "Cartooning Nigerian: Anticolonial nationalism." *Images and Rules: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*. Ed. Paul Landau and Deborah Kaspin. (pp.). Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. 124-140. Print.

Olson, Lester C. "Benjamin Franklin's Pictorial Representations of the British Colonies in America: a Study in Rhetorical Iconology." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 73.1 (1987): 18-42. Print.

Palestinian Liberation Organization. *Black September*. Beirut: Palestinian Liberation Organization, Research Center, 1971. Print.

Palestine's Dialogue Forum.أمية جحا .. زوجة الشهيدين! [*Omayya Joha*. The wife of the two martyrs]. *Palestine's Network for Dialog*. May 6, 2009. Web. 21 Dec. 2012.

Pandikattu, Kuruvila. *Gandhi: The Meaning of Mahatma for the Millennium*. Washington, D.C: Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2001. Print.

Patton, Michael Q., and Michael Q. Patton. *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications, 1990. Print.

Pearlman, Wendy. *Occupied Voices: Stories of Everyday Life from the Second Intifada*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation Books, 2003. Print.

Perkins, David. "A Definition of Caricature and Caricature and Recognition." *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication*. 2.1 (1975): 1-24. Print.

Pettman, Jan J. "Gendering International Relations." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 47.1 (1993) : 47-62. Print.

Pettman, Jan. *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics*. London: Routledge, 1996. Print.

Podeh, E. "The Symbolism of the Arab Flag in Modern Arab States: between Commonality and Uniqueness." *Nations and Nationalism*. 17.2 (2011) : 419-442. Print.

Press, Charles. *The Political Cartoon*. Rutherford N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981. Print.

Qassim, Andreas. *Arab Political Cartoons: The 2006 Lebanon War*. Diss. Lunds University: Minneapolis, 2007. Print.

Al-Qayrawānī, Ibrāhīm. جمع الجواهر في الملح والنوادر [Collecting the Jewels in Wits and Anecdotes]. Cairo: Dār Iḥyā al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyah, 1953. Print.

Renan, Ernest. "What is a Nation?" *Nation and Narration*. Ed. Homi, K. Bhabha. New York: Routledge, 1990. 8-22. Print.

Ricoeur, Paul. *La Métaphore vive* [The Living Metaphor]. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1975. Print.

Rodinson, Maxime. *Israel: a Colonial-Settler State?* New York: Monad Press; distributed by Pathfinder Press, 1973. Print.

Rogan, Eugene L., and Avi Shlaim. *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Print.

Rowland, Robert C., and David A. Frank. *Shared Land/Conflicting Identity: Trajectories of Israeli and Palestinian Symbol Use*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002. Print.

Rubin, Trudy. "Salah Jaheen: An Egyptian Political Cartoonist Looks at the Conflict." *Historical Society of Jews from Egypt*. 11 Oct. 1974. Web. 22 Jul. 2012**.**

Sacco, Joe. "Introduction." *A Child in Palestine: The cartoon of Naji Al-Ali*. By Naji Al-Ali. Ed. New York: Verso Books, 2009. 1-2. Print.

ṣadīq, A. Rāmī. الصحافة المصرية في القرن التاسع عشر: تاريخها وافتتاحياتها [The Egyptian print press in the nineteenth century: Its history and openings]. Cairo: al-shurūq International Library, 2006. Print.

Sahliyeh, Emile F. *The PLO after the Lebanon War*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986. Print

Sa'di, Ahmad H. "Catastrophe, Memory and Identity: Al-Nakbah as a Component of Palestinian Identity." *Israel Studies*. 7.2 (2002) : 175-198. Print.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978. Print.

---. *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981. Print.

---. Invention, Memory, and Place. *Critical Inquiry*, 26.2 (2000a) : 175-192. Print.

---. *The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2000b. Print.

Salecl, Renata. "Nationalism, Anti-Semitism, and Anti-Feminism in Eastern Europe." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*. 1.3 (1993) : 78-90. Print.

---. "The Crisis of Identity and the Struggle for New Hegemony in the Former Yugoslavia." *The Making of Political Identities*. Ed Ernesto. Laclau. London: Verso, 1994. 205-232. Print.

Samson, C. Andrea., and Oswald Huber. "The Interaction of Cartoonist's Gender and Formal Features of Cartoons." *Humor* 20.1 (2007) : 1–25. Print.

Sanchez-Mazas, Margarita. "Intergroup Attitudes, Levels of Identification and Social Change." *Changing European Identities*. Ed. Evanthia. Lyons., and Glynis. M. Breakwell. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1996. 329-349. Print.

Saraceni, Mario. *The Language of Comics*. London: Routledge, 2003. Print.

Al-Sawārḥrī, Khalīl.[حنظلة شاهد العصر [*Ḥanẓalah*: The Witness of Time]. الهدية لم تصل بعد [The Gift has not Arrived yet]. Ed. Nājī al-ʿAlī. Dār al-Karmal: Amman, Jordan, 1997. 31-38. Print.

Schatz, Robert T., and Howard Lavine. "Waving the Flag: National Symbolism, Social Identity, and Political Engagement." *Political Psychology*. 28.3 (2007) : 329-355. Print.

Schiller, Frederich. *Aesthetical Essays*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004. Print.

Schilperoord, Joost., and Alfons Maes. "Anger in Asterix: The Metaphorical Representation of Anger in Comics and Animated Films." *Multimodal Metaphor*. Ed. Charles, Forceville., and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009. 213-242. Print.

Schmidt, Bettina E., and Ingo Schröder. *Anthropology of Violence and Conflict*. London: Routledge, 2001. Print.

Schleifer, Ron. "The Enemy's Image: Propaganda in the Arab-Israeli Conflict." *Enemy Images in War Propaganda*. Ed. Marja Vuorinen. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012. (107-126. Print.

Schulz, Helena L, and Juliane Hammer. *The Palestinian Diaspora: Formation of Identities and Politics of Homeland*. London: Routledge, 2003. Print.

Shaked, Haim. "A Stereotype Illustrated: An Egyptian Cartoonist's Perception of the United States." *The Middle East and the United States: Perceptions and Politics*. Ed. Haim Shaked., and Itamar Rabinovich. New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1980. 301-346. Print.

Shaley, Aryeh. *The Intifada: Causes and Effects*. Jerusalem, Israel: Jerusalem Post, 1991. Print.

Shehadeh, Raja. *The Third Way: A Journal of Life in the West Bank: Between Mute Submission and Blind Hate*. London: Quartet Books, 1982. Print.

Sheppard, Alice. *Cartooning for Suffrage*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994. Print.

Shlaim, Avi. *Lion of Jordan: The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008. Print.

Shlaim, Avi., and William R. Louis. *The 1967 Arab-Israeli War: Origins and Consequences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Print.

Skrbiš, Zlatko. *Long-distance Nationalism: Diasporas, Homelands and Identities*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Pub, 1999. Print

Smith, Charles D. *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001. Print.

Sontag, Susan. *Reading the Pain of Others*. New York: Picador, 2003. Print.

St. Augustine. "The City of God." *Basic Writings of St. Augustine*. Ed. Whitney. J. Oates. New York: Random House. New York: Random House, 1948. Book 19, Chap. 21 and 24. Print.

Stetkevych, Suzanne P. *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy: Myth, Gender, and Ceremony in the Classical Arabic Ode*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002. Print.

Streicher, Lawrence H. "On a Theory of Political Caricature." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 9.4 (1967) : 427–445. Print.

Strinati, Dominic. *An Introduction to Studying Popular Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1995. Print.

Strindberg, Anders. "Forgotten Christians." *The American Conservative*. 24 May. 2004. Web. 27 Dec. 2012.

Sufian, Sandy. "Anatomy of the 1936–39 Revolt: Images of the Body in Political Cartoons of Mandatory Palestine." *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 37.2 (2008) : 23-42. Print.

Sulaymān, Muḥammad. (1876-1976) تاريخ الصحافة الفلسطينية [The history of the Palestinian press (1876-1976)]. Cyprus, Nicosia: Bisan Press & Publication Institute Itd, 1987. Print.

---. الصحافة في غزة [The press in Gaza]. *The Palestinian Ministry of Information*. May. 2009. Web. 13 Oct. 2011.

Suleiman, W. Michael. "The Effect of American Perceptions of Arabs on Middle East Issues." Ed. Edmund Ghareeb. *Split Vision: The Portrayal of Arabs in the American Media* (337-353). Washington, D.C.: American-Arab Affairs Council, 1983. Print.

Swedenburg, Ted. "Popular Memory and the Palestinian National Past." *Golden Ages, Dark Ages: Imagining the Past in Anthropology and History*. Ed. Jay. O'Brien., and William. Roseberry. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991. 152-179. Print.

---. (1995). *Memories of Revolt: The 1936-1939 Rebellion and the Palestinian National Past*. Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 1995. Print.

Tajfel, Henry., and John Turner. "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict." *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. EdS. William. G. Austin and Stephen Worchel. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1979. 33-47. Print.

Talhami, Ghada H. *Palestine in the Egyptian Press: From Al-Ahram to Al-Ahali*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010. Print.

Tamimi, Iqbal. "Muslim Women Cartoonists." *Middle East Online*. 7 Dec. 2009. Web. 14 Feb. 2011.

Tarbān, Mājid. الصحافة الفلسطينية والنشأة والتطور[The Palestinian Press: It Evolution and Development]. *The Palestinian Ministry of Information*. Mar. 2009. Web. 18 Jul. 2012.

The Guardian. "Murdered Arab Cartoonist Honoured." *The Guardian Newspaper*. 8 Feb. 1998. Internet Source.

"The 6-day War, 40 Years Later." *The Chronicle of Higher Education,* 53.41 (2007*)* : 4. B.4. Web. 21 May. 2012.

The Lebanese Institution for the National Library. 1858-1958 قرن من الصحافة في لبنان [A century of print press in Lebanon 1858-1958]. Beirut: The Lebanese Institution for the National Library, 2010. Print.

"The Multi-cultural History of Prayer Beads." *Foraging Squirrel*. n. p. 24 July. 2012. Web. 30 Dec. 2012.

The Palestinian Ministry of Information. *Palestinian Press… a story of 133 years: The Israeli Violations Against the Press and the Journalists.* Palestine: Ministry of Information, 2010. Print.

Thomas, Martin. "Developing Multimodal Texture." *The World Told and the World Shown*. Ed. Eija Ventola., and Arsenio. J. M. Guijarro. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 39-55. Print.

Turner, John C. *Re-discovering the Social Group: A Self-categorization Theory*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1987. Print.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. "Uprootedness and Sense of Place." *Landscape*, 25 (1980) : 3-8. Print.

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) and United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). *The Humanitarian Impact of the Barrier*. United Nations, July 2008. Internet Source**.**

U.S. Library of Congress. "Nasser and Arab Socialism." 1998. Web. 12 Jan. 2012.

Al-'Uṭarī, 'Abd al-Ghanī. أدبنا الضاحك [Our Laughing Literature]. Damascus: Dār al-bashīr, 1992. Print.

Vuorinen, Marja. *Enemy Images in War Propaganda*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012. Print.

Wales, Katie. *A Dictionary of Stylistics*. London: Longman, 1989. Print.

Warburton, Terry. "Cartoons and Teachers: Mediated Visual Images as Data." *Image-based research: A Sourcebook for Qualitative Researchers*. Ed. Jon Prosser. London; Bristol, PA: Falmer Press, 1998. 252-262. Print.

Weitman, Sasha. R. "National Flags: a Sociological Overview." *Semiotica*. 8.4 (1973) : 328-367. Print.

Wilson, Scott. "Hamas Sweeps Palestinian Elections, Complicating Peace Efforts in Mideast." *The Washington Post*. 27 Jan. 2006. Web. 17 Mar. 2012.

Wootten, James P. *Hamas: The Organization, Goals, and Tactics of a Militant Palestinian Organization*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, 1993. Print.

Yaqub, Nadia. "Gendering the Palestinian Political Cartoon." *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*. 2.2 (2009) : 187-213. Print.

Yehoshua, Jacob. (1908-1918) تاريخ الصحافة العربية في فلسطين في العهد العثماني [The History of the Arabic Press in Palestine during the Ottoman Rule (1908-1918)]. Jerusalem: Iroshalim, 1974. Print.

---. تاريخ الصحافة العربية الفلسطينية في نهاية عهد الانتداب البريطاني على فلسطين1930-1948 [The History of the Palestinian Arab Press during the British Mandate on Palestine 1930-1948]. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University-Harry Truman Institute for Research, 1982. Print.

Ying, Ding. "Hamas in Lead Election Win Rattles Middle East Politics." *Beijing Review*. 49.7 (2006) : 14-15. Print.

Yuval-Davis, Nira., and Floya Anthias. *Woman-Nation-State*. London: Macmillan, 1989. Print.

Zerubavel, Yael. *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995. Print.

Ziyādah, Aḥmad. صلاح جاهين 1986-1930 [*Ṣalāḥ Jahīn* 1930-1986]. Al-amīn House for Publishing and Distribution, 1996. Print.