THE PALESTINE POSTER PROJECT ARCHIVES:

ORIGINS, EVOLUTION, AND POTENTIAL

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ABSTRACT

Focusing on the more than 6,000 posters now on view at the Palestine Poster
Project Archives Website ("Website"), I will outline its evolution from a (failed) class
project to online resource for viewing the poster art of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict
(1897 – Present). I will discuss the major features of the Website, including Special
Collections and Iconography and introduce the four Wellsprings of the Palestine poster:
Zionist-Israeli (2,005 posters); Palestinian (2,514 posters); Arab/Muslim (331 posters);
and International (1,195 posters). I will outline how I originally became aware of the
Palestine poster genre and began building a personal collection that would eventually
evolve into an archives ("Archives"). I will list some of the ways the Website is currently
being used by artists and teachers and outline some of its planned features including as a
clearinghouse for the display of new posters created in the context of Palestine poster
contests. In my conclusion, I will argue that the Website of the Palestine Poster Project
Archives opens a new "cultural position" (quoting Edward Said) from which Americans
can dispassionately discuss the Palestinian-Zionist conflict. This thesis is one of three

elements in my thesis project. The other two are the New Curriculum and the Palestine

Poster Project Archives Website.

DEDICATION

To Cathy,

who was the only person to believe in this project

until Rochelle came along.

Daniel J. Walsh

Rochelle Davis, whose ideas, energy, contacts, and hands-on efforts have been instrumental in launching the Palestine Poster Project Archives.

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From 1974–1976, I served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Marrakech, Morocco, working as an industrial arts instructor at the government-run Youth Employment Training Assistance Center (the "Center") in the working class neighborhood of Bab Kechich. The only language spoken or understood at the Center was Moroccan dialectical Arabic; the daily effort of translating lesson plans from English to Arabic was grueling for me because I was just learning the language myself. After several months of translating this technical material, my Peace Corps-provided tutor suggested an alternative assignment: translate some of the many posters pasted up on walls and buildings all over Marrakech. Over time I did translate a number of posters, most of which had to do with local issues such as upcoming sports events (mostly soccer games), family planning recommendations, commercial advertisements for everything from food products to laundry detergent, and many, many movie posters.

In 1975, while visiting friends in Rabat, I stopped to translate a poster; however, it contained an Arabic word I could neither sound out nor comprehend. My bafflement was evident to a man who was stepping out of a nearby building. He introduced himself as the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Morocco, explained that the word I was stumbling on was "Palestine," and invited me into his office. After tea and a cordial conversation about art and politics, I was led to a closet full of posters and told that I could have as many of them as I wanted. I found a cornucopia of Palestine posters, many beautifully designed and clearly the work of talented artists.

I left with about 25 different titles under my arm and an invitation to return any time, as new posters were always arriving. Back in Marrakech I showed the posters to my fellow Peace Corps volunteers: I was struck by the universal fascination they elicited from the Americans as they

absorbed the imagery and processed the captions. In almost no time word spread, and many

Peace Corps volunteers traveling through Marrakech would call at my home asking to see "the

Palestinian posters." I did not realize at that time that I had happened upon something unique and

something that resonated with Americans.

On subsequent travels while in the Peace Corps, including a month-long backpacking

odyssey between my two years of service, I visited PLO offices in France, Spain, Holland, Italy,

Germany, and the United Kingdom, collecting new posters along the way, aided by a letter of

introduction from the PLO representative in Rabat. By the time I finished my Peace Corps

service in 1976, I had amassed more than 200 Palestine posters printed in a variety of languages

and styles.

I returned home from Morocco in 1976 and entered Ohio State University, where I pursued a

degree in industrial technology education with a minor equivalent in Modern Standard Arabic

and contemporary Middle East studies. I continued to collect Palestine posters (through the mail,

conferences, and personal contacts) with the idea of someday writing an article or maybe even a

book on the subject. After graduating in 1979, I moved to Washington, D.C., where I became

active in several "RPCV" (returned Peace Corps volunteer) groups. Peace Corps service includes

a commitment to its "third goal:"[1] to help Americans understand other cultures. I was frequently

asked to speak about the contemporary Middle East and to exhibit some of the posters. Though

gratified by the growing interest in the Palestinian-published posters I had collected and the

opportunities to speak about them, the costs involved in the mounting of exhibits—framing,

transporting, setting up, taking down, insurance riders, and the like—prevented me from ever

being able to display more than a few at any given time. In 1982 the American-Palestine

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[1] Peace Corps, "Third Goal," accessed December 1, 2011.
    http://www.peacecorps.gov/index.cfm?shell=resources.returned.thirdgoal

Education Foundation (APEF) heard of my work, and with the support of the late Dr. Edward Said, who was on the board, awarded me a small grant to cover the costs of having approximately 300 Palestine posters professionally photographed and turned into a portable slide show. This slide presentation not only revolutionized the way I introduced the material, it also brought the posters to the attention of many more people.

By 1983 I had been working with Palestine posters for several years and had been interviewed by several newspapers and magazines. As a result of this press coverage, I was contacted by a number of nonprofit agencies working on a variety of issues (e.g., gun control, solidarity with the Sandinista movement, and the environment) in and around the Washington area and asked to conceptualize, design, or oversee the printing of posters for them on a professional basis. These offers grew in number and I eventually started my own company, Liberation Graphics, and launched a new career as an art director. Also in 1983, I was contacted by the United Nations (UN) Office of Public Information in New York City and asked to curate an exhibit of Palestine posters drawn from my personal collection. This exhibit was to coincide with the "UN Conference on the Question of Palestine" to be held in Geneva, Switzerland. The exhibit was not originally scheduled for an opening in the U.S., but the sponsors chose on the spur of the moment to launch it at the UN General Assembly Building in New York City prior to sending the exhibit on to Geneva. On the second day of the exhibit, the Israeli delegate to the UN lodged a formal complaint and the exhibit was immediately taken down and the Geneva showing cancelled.[2] This was the first in a long series of run-ins with Israel advocacy related to Liberation Graphics' practice of exhibiting Palestine posters.

Through all the years of operating Liberation Graphics, I continued to collect Palestine posters. My work required me to travel internationally and I used those occasions to amass more

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[2] "Outcry Shuts Palestinian Poster Show at UN." (New York Times, 1983).

Palestine posters. I was frequently invited to speak about the Palestine poster at universities and conferences both at home and abroad, and at many of these events I acquired additional Palestine posters. In addition, a number of people gave me their personal collections of Palestine posters. In 1999, the Ruth Mott Foundation awarded me a Community Arts grant that underwrote the costs of electronically conserving all the Palestine posters I had acquired between 1975 and 1999, approximately 2,000 original Palestine posters. Essentially a salvage anthropology project, this effort resulted in all of them being digitally scanned and stored on thirty-two archival quality CDs. Some of these images were posted online in an early (2003) website called the Palestine Poster Project.[3]

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[3] http://liberationgraphics.com/ppp/index.html

PART 1: DESCRIPTION OF THE WEBSITE

CHAPTER 1—
GENESIS OF THE WEBSITE

The idea of creating a website to host all the Palestine posters that I had collected grew directly out of the research results gleaned from an independent study project I designed in 2009 as part of my course requirements for a master's degree in Arab Studies at Georgetown University. For this course I created what I termed the New Curriculum, a twelve-lesson curriculum for American high school teachers to integrate the early history of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict into existing curricula as a "patch." The New Curriculum had two goals:

1. To investigate the value of the Palestine poster as a student-driven, pedagogical resource.

2. To document, through Palestine posters, the emergence of political Zionism in 1897. and thus to demonstrate to secondary school teachers that the authentic starting point of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict predates 1948.

I postulated that the New Curriculum would resonate with teachers because of its extended historical timeline and its use of original source material. I wanted to demonstrate that existing, formal curricula share a significant flaw in terms of the 1948 date they put forward as the starting point of the conflict.

The New Curriculum opens with a poster featuring Theodor Herzl[4] in Basel, Switzerland on August 31, 1897, rather than with a poster of David Ben Gurion[5] in Tel

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[4] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/the-jews-who-will-it-will-have-their-state
[5] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/in-the-camp-magazine
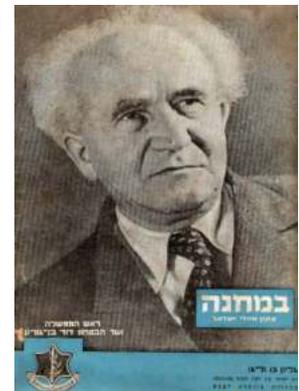
Aviv on May 15, 1948. The concept of "Ansatzpunkte," or "starting points," informed my chronological approach:

> …[O]ne has to look for Ansatzpunkte, that is, for starting points, for concrete details from which the global process can be inductively re-constructed…. By knowing less…by narrowing the scope of our inquiry, we hope to understand more.[6]

Every textbook I reviewed in the course of researching the New Curriculum refers to the date of Israel's independence, May 15, 1948, as the starting point for the outbreak of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict. *Modern World History: Patterns of Interaction*, a textbook used in the public schools of Montgomery County, Maryland, introduces the history this way (italics added):

> *In the years following World War II* the Jewish people won what for so long had eluded them: their own state. The gaining of their homeland along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, however, came at a heavy price. The Jewish state was unwelcome in this mostly Arab region, and the resulting hostility led to a series of wars. Perhaps no Arab people, however, have been more opposed to the Jewish state than the Palestinians, who claim much of the Jewish land belongs to them. These two groups have waged a bloody battle that goes on today.[7]

Another Montgomery County textbook, *World History: The Modern Era* states (italics added):

> After Britain withdrew from Palestine *in 1948*, Jews proclaimed the independent state of Israel. Arab states launched the first of several wars against Israel but were defeated.[8]

Yet another textbook, *The Earth and Its People–A Global History,* gives this account (italics added):

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[6] Gabriel Piterberg. The Returns of Zionism. (New York:Verso, 2008), 3.

7 Roger B. Beck, Linda Black, Larry S. Krieger, Phillip C. Naylor and Dahia Ibo Shabaka. Modern World History: Patterns of Interaction. (New York: Holt-McDougal, 2012), 583.

8 Elizabeth Gaynor Ellis and Anthony Esler, World History: The Modern Era. (New York: Prentiss Hall, 2007), 671.

> In *November 1947*, the [U.N.] General Assembly voted in favor of partitioning
> Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab. The Jewish community made
> plans to declare independence while the Palestinians, who felt the proposed land
> division was unfair, reacted in horror and took up arms.[9]

Such teaching is inaccurate because it fails to recognize the decades of Palestinian-Zionist land ownership tensions, the great waves of Jewish emigration, the military battles, the economic strikes, and even the "Great Arab Revolt of 1936–1939," all of which took place in Palestine before 1948. May 1948 is indeed an important date and it does mark the end of the British Mandate, the declaration of Israeli independence, and the beginning of the various Arab-Israeli wars; but it does not mark the authentic starting point of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict, which, to be comprehended, must be studied from 1897 and the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland.

The failure to integrate the 1897–1948 historical arc into the story of the contemporary Palestinian-Zionist conflict demonstrates that what is being taught is, in effect if not intent, a null curriculum. In *The Educational Imagination: On the Design and Evaluation of School Programs*, the null is one of the four categories of modern curricula; the others are formal, informal, and hidden.[10] Briefly, the formal curriculum is that which is "officially approved" by some institutional authority. For high schools in the U.S., this is usually the state government. The informal curriculum is that which is actually taught in the classroom; in other words, it is what the teacher does with the formal curriculum. For example, one teacher might take students on a field trip to a history museum to get across some aspect of the curriculum, whereas to cover that same material another teacher might assign readings from a book or invite a speaker to address

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[9] Richard W. Bulliet, Pamela Kyle Crossley, Daniel R. Headrick, Steven W. Hirsch, Lyman L. Johnson and David Northrup *The Earth and Its People: A Global History*. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), 848.

[10] Elliot W. Eisner. *The Educational Imagination: On the Design and Evaluation of School Programs* (New York: MacMillan, 1994).

the class. Both teachers are technically fulfilling the dictates of the formal curriculum; however, they are doing it "informally," according to their own experiences, resources, and preferences. The hidden curriculum is any subsidiary or unplanned teaching that takes place as a result of delivering the official curriculum but which is not officially part of it. For example, a student might ask a question that is seemingly unrelated to the assignment or lesson at hand such as, "Who was Theodor Herzl? His name was mentioned in the readings you gave but there is nothing in the textbook about him." This spontaneous question might open the door to a discussion of political Zionism, something that is not in the formal curriculum but that relates meaningfully to the topic. In essence, the student's question introduced a germane, but previously hidden, element into the curriculum. The null curriculum is content that is specifically not taught. With the New Curriculum, I aimed to leverage the early history of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict out of its position as a null curriculum and to argue for its inclusion within the formal curriculum. I theorized that "by narrowing the scope of our inquiry" to the early formative years of political Zionism, students would come "to understand more" about the contemporary history playing out between Palestinians and Israelis.

    The intellectual underpinning for a student-driven analysis of the Palestine posters in the New Curriculum was Bourdieu's theory of "voir-savoir":

> In a sense, one can say that the capacity to see (voir) is a function of the knowledge (savoir), or concepts, that is, the words, that are available to name visible things, and which are, as it were, programs for perception. A work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded.[11]

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[11] Pierre Bourdieu. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 2.

Most of the posters used in the New Curriculum were originally captioned in Arabic or Hebrew, but even when fully translated, the iconography needs interpretation and contextualization in order to be comprehensible to American students. To promote heuristic, student-driven analysis, each lesson began with a single question directed at the students: "What do you see in this poster?" This approach reverses the pedagogic model in which the teacher lectures, to one in which the students do the speaking and the teacher listens and responds. An important task of the teacher in the opening moments of the lesson is to guide students to comment solely on the iconographic content of the posters, as opposed to sharing their feelings about the content. In this manner, students engage in an exercise of applied visual anthropology, beginning with an exploration of the artwork itself, which creates the foundation for a deeper understanding of the poster's narrative.

On April 13, 2009, the twelve-lesson New Curriculum[12] was posted on the Internet featuring 33 Palestine posters in total (see Appendix B). Feedback was generally favorable and, while many teachers embraced the idea of using Palestine poster art in the classroom, few used the New Curriculum as hoped for and none adopted it in its entirety.

In the course of field-testing the New Curriculum, I often referred to Palestine posters that were not included in the lessons. The approximately 2,000 Palestine posters that had been digitized as a result of the PPP/Ruth Mott Foundation grant were stored in my computer and, to answer questions or elaborate a point, I would open those files to search for a particular poster. Because my desktop screen was projected onto the classroom's video screen, all the posters became visible to my audiences. Upon seeing them, the teachers' concept of the real universe of Palestine posters changed instantly and dramatically. Once they realized how many Palestine posters there were to consider for teaching purposes, they wanted to see everything. They wanted

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[12] http://www.slideshare.net/PalestinePosterProject/new-curriculum

to peruse the entire archives of Palestine posters and choose for themselves those they felt would be most useful to help them teach the history of the conflict in the lessons they were already professionally obligated to teach.

This happy accident showed me that a new curriculum did not merely have to be better, richer, and more complete; it would also have to support the fixed, often rigid, content requirements outlined in the formal curricula that teachers were required to use and the contents on which students would be tested. I knew this from the outset, and I had designed lessons (I thought) that paralleled formal curricula content. However, results demonstrated that I was under-informed relative to: (1) the amount of discretion available to teachers to emphasize or de-emphasize elements of the formal curricula and (2) the limited amount of time available for the teaching of a richer lesson once all the required teaching had taken place.[13] In any event, my independent study project revealed that I was 180 degrees off in my original assumption: the real center of gravity for the introduction of the Palestine poster as a teaching resource lay not in the New Curriculum but rather in what would become the Website. I had made a gross error in navigation: I mistook the moon for the sun. The takeaway lesson from the New Curriculum assignment was that what teachers needed was not a set of replacement lesson plans but rather an expanded pool of accessible, comprehensible Palestine posters from which they could choose themselves to integrate into their existing lessons. Though the New Curriculum might reasonably be considered a failure, it did point the way to something that does work: the Palestine Poster Project Archives Website (referred to hereafter as the Website).

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[13] The time constraint was less of a problem for the International Baccalaureate (IB) programs that usually dedicate an entire year to study a subject or a region in depth.

The main research product to come from my Master's program independent study project was the idea to create a Website that would feature not only the digitized and as-yet-undigitized Palestine posters I had on hand—about 3,000-plus titles—but also to incorporate any that could be located anywhere else, in either digital or hard-copy format. The Website would be created as a virtual research environment, which means that visitors to the site would have the ability to organize its contents for their own purposes rather than being required to use the materials in a predetermined way.

Through interviews with curators, librarians, teachers and archivists, I developed an outline of the features that were considered most useful for inclusion at the Website as well as those that were to be avoided. A review of the most current literature on digital special collections, including *Ten Commandments for Special Collections Librarians in the Digital Age*,[14] produced a working list of best practices including super-fast server speeds, greater data access, and downloadability.

My goal was to design a Website that would address the specific preferences of users in the educational sector—both teachers and students—and that would build on the lessons of the New Curriculum and be of value to the general public. Free, fast, and friendly features are now an ingrained expectation on the part of the online community and these were incorporated, to the degree possible, in the Website.

By contrast, many of the other websites featuring Palestine posters associated with government agencies, universities, and research institutions have yet to embrace the more open

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[14] Jackie Dooley. "Ten Commandments for Special Collections Librarians in the Digital Age," *RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Cultural Heritage 10* (1), (March 20, 2009), 51-60.

digital access culture that has evolved since the Internet's emergence. None could serve as models. For example, the Library of Congress (LOC) has a number of historic Palestine posters but they are scattered about its website in several different collections, such as the Yanker Collection[15] (14 posters) and Prints and Photographs (9 posters).[16] Moreover, LOC only makes small, low resolution JPEGs available over the Internet. To access larger digital files, one must either purchase a slide through the LOC's reproduction service or visit the LOC in person with a laptop computer to download a larger file at no cost. The International Institute for Social History[17] in Amsterdam features a significant collection of Palestine posters (100-plus). However, this website was set up in the early 1980's and the JPEGs are small and the resolution low. The Museum of Design Zurich[18] houses a unique collection (100-plus) of Palestine posters at an elegant, recently updated site; however, the navigation is still cumbersome.

In interviews with web technicians and designers, a free and open source content management system called "Drupal" was repeatedly recommended because it is flexible enough to address all the limiting issues I had identified in the archival websites. Drupal was also said to be capable of almost limitless customization and expandability as well as being very easy for web site managers to use, maintain and back up. It is also unlikely to become obsolete any time soon. Following those recommendations I installed Drupal as the Website's operating software.[19]

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[15] http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/awhhtml/awpnp6/yanker_coll.html
[16] http://www.loc.gov/pictures/
[17] http://www.iisg.nl/
[18] http://sammlungen-archive.zhdk.ch/code/emuseum.asp?style=browse&currentrecord=1&lang=EN
[19] The one drawback to using Drupal is that, owing to its growing popularity, there is a high demand for the services of Drupal support professionals yet a scarcity of them.

Inclusive Definition of the Palestine Poster

The definition of a Palestine poster[20] that determines which posters are included in the genre, and which is posted at the Website, is:

- Any poster with the word "Palestine" in it, in any language, from any source or time period;

- Any poster created or published by any artist or agency claiming Palestinian nationality or Palestinian participation (including Zionists in the 1897-1984 period)

- Any poster published in the geographical territory of historic Palestine, at any point in history, including contemporary Israel;

- Any poster published by any source which relates directly to the social, cultural, political, military or economic history of Palestine; and/or

- Any poster related to Zionism or anti-Zionism in any language, from any source, published after August 31, 1897.

This definition establishes the baseline from which to consider the Palestine poster genre as an integrated whole. Each sense of this definition addresses what I consider to be an artificial/gratuitous segmentation of what is actually a single genre. This segmentation has occurred because, typically, posters printed in and about Palestine are cataloged by archivists under terms *other* than "Palestine" including "Zionist," "Israeli," "Eretz Israel," "Holy Land," "the Promised Land," "Arab," or "Jewish" rubrics. For example, the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs' exhibit, "Images of a State in the Making,"[21] lists posters that include the term "Palestine" as being from/about "Eretz Israel" or the "Promised Land," while the Library of

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[20] http://palestineposterproject.org/content/about-the-palestine-poster-project-archives
[21]http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/History/Modern%20History/Centenary%20of%20Zionism/Images%20of%20a%20State%20in%20the%20Making-%20Page%201

Congress[22] site categorizes many Palestine, Palestinian nationalist, and Arab-published posters under the search terms "Jewish" and "Israel." The common practice of cataloging posters by donor name or by country of artist or publisher further explains, at least in part, why the Palestine poster genre has remained hidden. By defining Palestine posters based on content, source, location, and time, an entirely distinct genre emerges, one that is extraordinary in its scope and size, and that reveals a more complex and complete history of modern Palestine.

Home page

The Website opens with graphics: visitors see posters immediately. This is a complete reversal of the process used by the majority of websites that present Palestine posters. For example, to access the poster collections at the Jafet Library of the American University of Beirut,[23] the Museum of Design Zurich, [24] the Library of Congress,[25] and the Lavon Institute,[26] visitors must click through screens, menus, or text pages before actually seeing any posters. Yale University's Near East Collection[27] houses 92 posters, "Palestinian Intifada Images,"[28] but only makes eight viewable online.

By contrast, the Website features the Mahmoud Darwish Memorial Gallery,[29] eight posters in an exhibition format that auto-refreshes every twenty seconds. This feature allows the home page to serve multiple functions: as the main access portal, as a screensaver, and as a self-scrolling slide show. When connected to a projector, the home page becomes a revolving web exhibit

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[22] http://www.loc.gov/search/?q=jewish+posters&fa=digitized%3Atrue&sp=4
[23] http://ddc.aub.edu.lb/projects/jafet/posters/english.html
[24] http://www.museum-gestaltung.ch/?cx=008283760271313017895%3A5wk4ljcvdty&ie=UTF-8&q=palestine+posters&gsearchbutton=OK&tx_indexedsearch%5Blang%5D=1&siteurl=www.museum-gestaltung.ch%2F
[25] http://www.loc.gov/pictures/search/?q=prop+art&sp=1
[26] http://www.amalnet.k12.il/LavonInstitute/RightMenu/PostersCollection/?myId=1004
[27] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/yale-university-near-east-collection
[28] http://www.library.yale.edu/neareast/intifadah.html
[29] http://palestineposterproject.org/

made up of random selections from the Website's four wellsprings (see Chapter 3). For example, teachers can project the gallery as students file into class, as a way to introduce the subject matter and engage student interest. This format takes the most interesting part of the posters—their graphic content—and makes it the centerpiece of the Website, not a secondary or peripheral element as is the case almost everywhere else.

Translations

All posters are translated into English from Arabic, Hebrew, or whatever languages are featured in the poster's captions (in many cases, a poster contains text in multiple languages). This contrasts with the poster art on other websites related to the Palestinian-Zionist conflict, for example, the Lavon Institute, which presents its posters in Hebrew only, and the Jafet Library, which presents its posters in Arabic only. At these sites, most Palestine posters printed in Arabic or Hebrew are not available as translated-to-English works. The one (stunningly well done) exception is Yale University's Near East Collection: Arab Cinema Poster Exhibition,[30] which provides Arabic-to-English translations for its three posters on Palestinian themes. A portion of Palestine posters with captions printed in Romance languages, such as French and Spanish, have been translated, at least partially, at some of the existing websites; for example at the Museum of Design Zurich and the Library of Congress.

This dearth of translations into English, especially from Hebrew and Arabic, is perhaps the major factor inhibiting use of the Palestine poster as a resource for teaching American students the history of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict. Without translations, viewing the posters is akin to the viewing of pharaonic hieroglyphics prior to the deciphering of the Rosetta Stone: people

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[30] http://www.library.yale.edu/neareast/exhibitions/arabiccinema1.html

could see the hieroglyphics and know they existed and perhaps be intrigued by them, but the code could not be comprehended and the stories they told could not be absorbed.

Accordingly, all the Arabic and Hebrew captions on all the posters at the Website have been translated to the degree possible. A major barrier to the complete translation of the posters has to do with the digital resolution of the original images: higher resolutions allow for greater detail, especially valuable in reading the small type usually found at the bottom or sides of posters that identify printers, artists, and dates. In the absence of an original copy, these high resolution files are indispensable for the production of complete translations. However, it is the main captions on posters, the "headlines," that are of the greatest interest and value to teachers. These are almost always readable and thus readily translatable.

Downloadability

Large, readable, yet low-resolution images for academic and other noncommercial purposes are essential for teachers, scholars, journalists, and others. Thus, every JPEG at the Website is downloadable at no cost. This formatting falls squarely within "fair use" guidelines. It also embraces the library science axiom regarding access to digital collections: that archives "be promiscuous with their metadata."[31] This means that forward-looking archives freely and openly share everything they have about an item (metadata) though not the item itself (data).

Unique Identifiers (URLs)

Every poster at the Website has its own "unique identifier," i.e., a unique "URL" (Universal/Uniform Resource Locator) for ease of forwarding and bookmarking. Without this feature, all posters in a website share a common URL, which results in the visitor always being

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[31] Dooley, 56.

returned to the home page with no "history" recorded. Sadly, a number of sites, for example the Central Zionist Archives,[32] use this clunky and frustrating format.[33]

Organization by Titles

The Website practices titling of posters as an organizing principle, rather than using an alpha or numeric system. There are several reasons for this:

- Numbering systems are not flexible in the sense that if posters are entered in sequence and then it is discovered that there is a missing poster or a duplicate, the resulting addition or subtraction of posters scrambles the sequence.

- Titles give visitors a sense of what each poster is about; returning visitors can recall the title when searching for the poster again. Many artists title their posters, and since the PPPA is an artist-centered project, it is clearly a "best practice" to carry that titling over to the Website. Furthermore many posters, such as "Visit Palestine"[34] and "Return to Sender,"[35] already have a high degree of public recognition by title. It is also the case that titling allows the artists and publishers, as well as the viewing public, to think of Palestine posters as authentic works of art (which many clearly are) rather than mere propaganda or advertising.

Internal Connectivity

The Website links posters to other posters in the Archives using hyperlinks ("hot links") based on historical, artistic, or political relevance. This internal connectivity enables visitors to see not only how a particular artist or image evolved but also how posters are re-interpreted outside the

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[32] http://www.zionistarchives.org.il/ZA/pMainE.aspx
[33] At the time of this writing (December 1, 2011), the CZA's poster web site appears to be completely removed from the Internet.
[34] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/visit-palestine-original
[35] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/homeland-denied-return-to-sender

arena in which they were originally created. Such a linkage can be seen, for example, with the weapons and upraised hands from an original 1969 poster, "Palestine—Revolution Until Victory,"[36] which reappear in the circa 1970 "Revolution Until Victory"[37] by Kamal Boulatta, and also in the circa 1971 American pop-culture remix, "Your Tax Dollars At Work"[38] by the now defunct publisher Pro-Arts. These linkages demonstrate the process Bourdieu calls "cultural diffusion": the movement and adaptation of symbols across time and space.[39] These linkages allow for a discussion not only of how the icons themselves are transferred from one culture, country, or time to another but also how the ideas they represent are transferred as well. In the case of these three posters, the idea is armed struggle.

Equivalent Display of Paper and Digital Posters

Palestine posters that are "born digital" are presented on an equal footing with works-on-paper. Digital-only posters are identified as such; however, there is no disparity between the Website's presentation of a poster that had been printed on paper and one that originated as a digital file. This makes sense because any digital file can be printed. In comparison, none of the institutional sites currently hosting Palestine posters features digitally designed posters. Decades of collecting posters exclusively as works-on-paper has left many curators and archivists struggling to define terms that reflect the new realities presented by digitization and to figure out where "born digital" works fit in the scheme of museum management and library science.[40] This is an artificial distinction, however, as is made clear by the global reach of the Palestine solidarity

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[36] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/palestine-revolution-until-victory
[37] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/revolution-until-victory-0
[38] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/your-tax-dollars-at-work
[39] Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.*
[40] Alice Prochaska. "Digital Special Collections: The Big Picture," *RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Cultural Heritage10* (1), (March 20, 2009): 13-24.

posters by artists such as [Carlos Latuff](#).[41] This Brazilian artist only creates electronic versions of his posters; anyone is free to download the graphics and print them out. That people *do* download and print is documented in a [photograph, published in a Palestinian newspaper,](#)[42] of protestors holding the 2009 Latuff poster, [Israeli Apartheid Week](#).[43]

A digital poster is, in essence, only one step away from being "realized" as a published work, and therefore as acceptable as mass-produced works-on-paper from pre-digital times. All the conceptualization, design, layout, typography, and other steps in the poster production process are carried out in the course of creating both digital posters and works-on-paper. The only difference is that the finished files have not been delivered to a printer for mass-production. Instead, the files are posted online and "production" takes place, if it takes place, in myriad locales and in runs as short as one. For all these reasons, the failure of institutional archives to recognize the importance of digital images is short-sighted, in my opinion; their absence creates an incomplete picture of the Palestine poster genre that the Website is now correcting.

Inclusion of Artist and Publisher Contact Information

Artists' and publishers' web addresses, where they were known, are included in the "Current Poster Data" that appears alongside each poster. This feature allows researchers and others to contact the artist or publisher directly for information about their posters. It also drives traffic to the artists' and publishers' sites, a plus for both.

Furthermore, inclusion of this data allows for interactions that were not possible, for the most part, before the emergence of the Internet. It provides artists with the potential for heretofore unheard-of levels of feedback about the social and political trajectories of their posters, and it

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[41] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/carlos-latuff
[42] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/israel-boycott
[43] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/israeli-apartheid-week

also facilitates the permission process in cases where publishers and others are interested in commercially reproducing an image or using it in some other way, such as for a book cover or in an exhibit. By facilitating this species of links, the Website demonstrates its ability to function as something other than a static conservatory; the overall effect is to nurture the creative community's sense of ownership of the Website. This claim is validated not only by the so-far-universal readiness of artists and publishers to have their posters featured at the Website but also by the fact that once contacted, most artists continue to send in new works spontaneously and to make efforts to locate past works, make JPEGs of them, and send them to the Website. Many artists write in saying that they heard about the Website from other artists and ask if they can submit works as well. Word-of-mouth promotion is a significant source of both new art and new artists for the Website.

Links to Wikipedia and Other Relevant Resources

Links to Wikipedia[44] entries on events, personalities, histories, etc., depicted in the posters are included whenever possible. Wikipedia is ideal for use at the Website because it is democratically organized (one can disagree with Wikipedia, suggest corrections, point out errors and engage in a debate about content) and committed to an "NPOV" (neutral point of view). Where no Wikipedia entries are available, other credible sources are featured. Direct links to archives, libraries, research institution publications and other open sources allow the Website to assert an apolitical tone and identity. Visitors may delve as deeply as they wish into the stories presented in the posters via these publicly available links and come to their own conclusions as to the intentionality of the publishers and the effectiveness of the posters. These links inoculate

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[44] http://www.wikipedia.org/

the Website from partisan criticism while at the same time allowing for the presentation of material that might have been, or perhaps still is, controversial in the public discourse.

Best-Quality JPEGs

Most other websites presenting Palestine posters offer very small, low resolution JPEGs; the poor images and unreadable text are of little value to scholarship. Some of these websites crop posters, thereby denying viewers access to the entire image, and some add watermarks that obscure parts of the image. A goal of the Website is to present material that can sustain rigorous intellectual and scholarly scrutiny; sometimes it is the smallest detail in a poster that is most important to access. Wherever possible, JPEGs presented at the Website are of a size and resolution that allow for detailed analysis of the posters and all their text. No gratuitous editing or cropping is done, and no watermarks are added. Sometimes the source file is itself too small or of too low a resolution to create a high-quality JPEG; however, whenever possible the highest resolution files are accessed to develop the images that appear at the Website. The operating principle is that only by giving visitors 100 percent of a poster's graphic content are they made truly accessible.

The Palestine Poster Project Archives

The contents of the Palestine Poster Project Archives are categorized into four browsable wellsprings,[45] that is, the four sources from which the posters emanate:

The International Wellspring[46] includes the very first Palestine posters on record as well as those designed and published by an expanding galaxy of international artists who hail from everywhere except Palestine and who are not included in the Arab/Muslim wellspring described below (1898–present).

The Zionist/Israeli Wellspring[47] includes posters of the early Zionist movement to colonize historic Palestine as outlined in the Basel Program (1897–1948), posters created after Israeli independence (1948–present), and posters created for Israel advocacy (circa 1970–present).

The Palestinian Nationalist Wellspring[48] includes posters designed by Palestinian artists *or* published by Palestinian agencies whether the artist is from Palestine or not (circa British Mandate – present).

The Arab/Muslim Wellspring[49] includes posters printed by Arab and/or Muslim artists or agencies (circa British Mandate –present).

When considered in sequence, posters read like visual synopses of the headlines of their day. This documentary quality may be seen by screen-scrolling through any of the four Wellsprings, because the posters are organized chronologically. The chronology of the Palestine poster genre as a whole is elucidated in the Historical Timeline of the Palestine Poster:[50]

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[45] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/browse/wellspring
[46] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/browse/wellspring/4
[47] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/browse/wellspring/2
[48] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/browse/wellspring/1
[49] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/browse/wellspring/3
[50] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/historical-timeline-of-the-palestine-poster-genre

Historical Timeline of the Palestine Poster Genre

"Palestine: A Homeland Denied"
First Major International Solidarity
Poster Exhibit (London)

First Arab/Muslim Palestine Poster
(on record to date)

First Islamic Design Biennale (Iran)

Golden Age of the
French Poster Begins

First Zionist Palestine Poster
(on record to date)

PLO Establishes Plastic Arts Section

First Palestinian Poster
(on record to date)

First Digital Palestinian Poster

First Palestine Poster (France)
(on record to date)

Battle of Al Karameh
New Phase of International
Palestine Posters

First Palestinian-sponsored
Poster Contest (BADIL)

1870   1890   1910   1930   1950   1970   1990   2010

"Israel" Replaces "Palestine"
on All Zionist-published Posters

The Internet

Golden Age of the
French Poster Ends

"Images of A State In the Making"
First Online Exhibit of Zionist Palestine
Posters (Israel)

First Zionist Congress Issues
"The Basel Program"
(Switzerland)

First Fatah Poster
(on record to date)

"International Exhibit For Palestine"
First Major Palestinian-sponsored
International Poster Exhibit (Beirut)

How the Wellsprings Emerged

I began to consider the Palestine posters I had amassed as something other than a private

collection during the salvage anthropology work funded by the PPP/Ruth Mott Foundation grant

(1999–2001). The photography company that was commissioned to do the digitization provided

me with a large well-lit space with lots of long tables on which I could organize the posters. The

photographers and technicians wanted the posters organized according to size: largest posters

first, then medium, and lastly the small posters. This sequencing would allow them to fix camera

and lens settings just once for each size group instead of having to constantly change lenses or

lighting for posters of different sizes.

The roughly 2,000 posters were all jumbled together in several large flat wooden boxes.

Separating posters by size was the first step in the photography process. It was also my first step

towards understanding the posters at a level other than that of random graphic political

memorabilia. Over the 25 years since I had begun to collect Palestine posters they had been

stored in attics, basements, friends' garages, and other un-archival places. Up until this time I

had never had all the posters together in one spot and had never been able to see and compare them one to another before. In the process of selecting out posters according to size I began, almost as an afterthought, to organize them according to the logos each featured such as Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS), the United Nations (UN), and so on.

This level of organization revealed that several of the publishers printed annually on themes such as the anniversary of the start of the modern Palestinian revolution or the *intilaqa* (Arabic: launching) on January 1, 1965; Land Day–March 30[51]; and the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People–November 29,[52] among many others. Next I began creating separate stacks of posters for these themes and soon I had scores of shallow but thematically consistent piles of posters. Next I discovered that many, perhaps most, featured artists' signatures or monograms and that I could isolate posters by artist into yet more separate piles. More categories appeared: dates, themes, languages, duplicates, country of origin, and the like. I had no idea at the time that these posters and their digital images would one day be online (the Internet was still emerging in 1999). I had the idea that by organizing them for the photographing according to the new categories that were emerging (instead of by size) I would simultaneously be organizing them as they would appear on the CD. I did not then realize that once digitized they could be ordered and reordered effortlessly and endlessly according to almost any criteria. By the time all the photography was completed, the collection had taken its first step towards becoming an

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[51] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/historical-figures-and-themes/land-day
[52] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/historical-figures-and-themes/international-day-of-solidarity-with-palestine .The "intilaqa" is the anniversary of the first armed action of the Palestinian revolution, which took place on January 1, 1965; May 15 is the Palestinian Day of Struggle/Solidarity; Land Day is March 30 and commemorates the deaths of seven Palestinian youths confronting the Israeli military over land confiscation; November 29 is the international day of solidarity with Palestine.

archives, and I had become aware of some of the major themes running through the posters as a genre. Eventually, I came to see that in addition to the various internal categorizations at work—publisher, theme, artist, etc.—several larger external criteria related to the geopolitical identities of the publishers—the wellsprings—were also emerging.

At the time of the PPP/ Ruth Mott Foundation work I had no Zionist or Israeli published posters in my possession nor do I think I even knew that such a wellspring of Palestine posters existed. But I did have approximately 1,300 Palestinian-published posters, 100 Arab/Muslim posters and 600 international titles. These I organized according to their wellsprings without fully appreciating how important this categorization was. Eventually, I realized that the pieces of a complex, and still evolving, puzzle were emerging and that the wellsprings were the key to completing a picture.

The International Wellspring
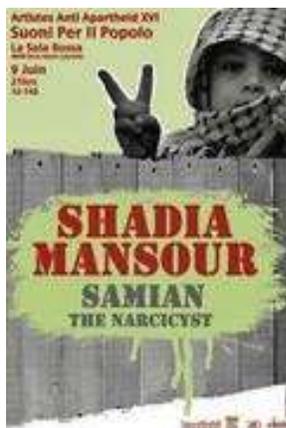
This wellspring contains the very first Palestine posters to appear, and it continues to produce a significant number of the genre's new titles, both digital and works-on-paper.[53] The earliest Palestine posters were produced via lithography, the printing of posters using hand-carved stone cylinders to carry ink. This technology was invented in Austria circa 1796 by Senefelder, but perfected by Chéret in France who produced large size, full color, mass produced (and therefore inexpensive) posters in the mid 1880's. Weill paid homage to Chéret's contribution: "Fortunately he also served as an example to artists of

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[53] The poster depicted here is "Suoni Per Il Popolo Festival" by Jesse Purcell (France, 2011). http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/suoni-per-il-popolo-festival

perfectly individual talents, who made the years 1880–1900 the golden age of the poster in France."[54]

The International wellspring of the Palestine poster emerged as a byproduct of that "golden age" and came about for the same reason all other posters of that era came about: commerce. The International wellspring of the Palestine poster was not created consciously nor did its evolution follow a straight, unbroken line. Rather, it arose from the near-simultaneous emergence of rapid, international rail and marine travel and the resulting commercial competition to fill ships and trains with tourists. "Palestine—1898—P.L.M."[55] (Compagnie des chemins de fer de Paris à Lyon et à la Méditerranée, a French Railway Company) was published in France and is the earliest Palestine poster on record. A copy offered at auction by the Swann Galleries poster department[56] in 2007 quoted an estimated sale price of $2,000-$3,000 in its catalog. The original role of the Palestine poster— to promote travel to Palestine—has persisted as can be seen in various tourism posters published circa 1970's by Air France[57] and Sabena Airlines.[58] (Posters promoting travel to Palestine, and later Israel (largely via the posters of Zim Israel Navigation Co. Ltd[59] and El Al Airlines[60]) are also a feature of the Zionist/Israeli wellspring, discussed below).

By the late 1960's the International wellspring of the Palestine poster had achieved far more diversity in terms of its visual content and provenance. The contemporary impetus to publish Palestine posters is driven by political solidarity with Palestinian national political aspirations, rather than by the earlier commercial motives. The Website currently features Palestine posters

[54] Alain Weill. The Poster: A Worldwide Survey and History. (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1985), 34.
[55] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/palestine-1898-plm
[56] http://www.swanngalleries.com/pos_ters.cgi
[57] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/air-france-israel-3
[58] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/palestina-amp-medio-oriente
[59] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/content/zim-israel-navigation-co-ltd
[60] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/content/el-al-airlines

from 38 countries (not including Israel, Palestine or the thirteen Arab/Muslim countries whose posters are organized into their own wellspring) as well as the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia. Sizable as it may be, this number is not an accurate reflection of all the international sources for the Palestine poster either in the Archives, at the Website, or in reality. This is due primarily to the fact that my collection efforts are not comprehensive and not all the posters in the Archives have been processed up onto the Website. It is probably safe to assume that the majority of countries represented in the United Nations, as well as most revolutionary movements including some very obscure ones, have produced posters in solidarity with Palestine.

This is not to say that the governments of these countries are responsible for publishing Palestine posters but rather that artists/collectives, trade unions, solidarity movements, political parties and the like based in those countries have published them. The sources of these posters range from the efforts of individual artists acting independently, such as Doug Minkler[61] in the USA and Mirouille[62] in Switzerland, to large political and cultural institutions such as: the United Nations;[63] Plakat Posters[64] (former Soviet Union); the Communist Party of Italy;[65] and Amnesty International.[66] The multifarious origins of the posters in this Wellspring are evidenced by some of the more marginal and far-flung publishers such as the Eelam Revolutionary Organization of Students[67] (Sri Lanka), the Revolutionary Communist Party-USA,[68] the Irish

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[61] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/doug-minkler
[62] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/mirouille
[63] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/content/united-nations-public-information-office
[64] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/content/plakat-posters-ussr
[65] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/content/communist-party-of-italy-pci
[66] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/publishers-political-cultural-social-organizations/amnesty-international
[67] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/victory-to-palestine-victory-to-eelam
[68] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/a-victory-for-the-palestinian-people

Republican Movement,[69] and Feygelech (Yiddish: gays) For a Free Palestine.[70] These publishers did not act in concert; this independence of action carried out on a worldwide basis over the course of more than sixty years explains the phenomenal visual diversity of this Wellspring and indicates how the story of contemporary Palestine resonates in the most unlikely of places.

The Zionist/Israeli Wellspring

Timely and cost-effective innovations in mass printing technology and dissemination at the turn of the twentieth century aided early efforts to mobilize the poster in the service of Zionism.[71] The printing and distribution of posters became an integral part of the effort to advance the four foundational goals adopted by the First Zionist Congress in August 1897 and named the "Basle Program":

> Zionism seeks to establish a home for the Jewish people in Palestine secured under public law. The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end:
> 1. The promotion by appropriate means of the settlement in Palestine of Jewish farmers, artisans, and manufacturers;
> 2. The organization and uniting of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, both local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country;
> 3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and national consciousness;
> 4. Preparatory steps toward obtaining the consent of governments, where necessary, in order to reach the goal of Zionism.[72]

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[69] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/irish-solidarity-with-the-palestinian-people
[70] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/l039chaim-intifada
[71] The poster depicted here is "Drink Citrus Juice" by Franz Krausz (1940).
   http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/drink-citrus-juice
[72] Aharon Zwergbaum. "Basle Program." *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik. Vol. 3. 2nd ed. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 202-203.

Illustrative posters include "Palestine Produces Aromatic Tobacco"[73] (goal 1), "Tarbut—Foundry of National Consciousness"[74] (goal 2), "Jews! The Key to Zion Is In Your Hands—Open the Gates"[75] (goal 3), and "Jews! Rebuild Palestine"[76] (goal 4).

The Jewish National Fund (JNF) was among the earliest Zionist agencies to recognize the power and efficacy of the poster to advance these goals:

> Commercial propaganda essentially aspires to achieve the same goal we are trying to achieve, and that is to arouse as many people as possible for a known purpose to do something they would not have done without the propaganda; buy some given product, prefer a certain well known firm. …We also wish to cause the large Jewish multitudes to remember the JNF at all times.[77]

Accordingly the Head Office of the JNF recommended the following:

> We must inundate the Jewish people with slogans and pictures, to rivet their attention, to create an atmosphere of unrest…[to distribute the pictures and slogans] in every place a Jew sets foot in: in communal centres, lodges, places of business, society and union centres, the offices of charity organizations, mutual aid societies, rabbinical offices, libraries, theatres, bath houses and rest houses, shelters, hospitals, pharmacies, clinics, synagogues, seminaries, schools, doctors' waiting rooms, restaurants, hotels, pensions…leave no place where there is no illustrated poster with a clear and brief text….[78]

The Zionist movement began publishing posters featuring the term "Palestine"[79] (which it also called "Eretz Israel"[80] [Hebrew: the land of Israel]) at around the time the JNF was established in 1920. The term "Palestine" abruptly disappeared from all Zionist published posters after May 15, 1948, the day Israel declared its independence. Henceforth, "Palestine"

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[73] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/palestine-produces-aromatic-tobacco
[74] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/tarbut-foundry-of-national-consciousness
[75] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/jews-the-key-to-zion-is-in-your-hands-open-the-gates
[76] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/jews-rebuild-palestine
[77] *Karnenu (Our Fund)*, Year 3 (1926), No. 5-6, 5, as cited in Yoram Bar-Gal, *Propaganda and Zionist Education—The Jewish National Fund 1927-1947* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 12.
[78] *Karnenu (Our Fund)*, Year 4 (1927), No. 1, 6, as cited in Yoram Bar-Gal, *Propaganda and Zionist Education—The Jewish National Fund 1927-1947* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 12.
[79] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/build-industries-in-palestine
[80] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/tourism-in-palestine-come-and-see-eretz-israel

was replaced with "Israel." On May 15, 1949, the <u>first Israeli Independence Day poster</u> appeared,[81] designed by the acclaimed artist Yohanan Simon. This established an annual Israeli poster publishing tradition that continues to this day.

The collective body of poster art created from 1897–1948 to advance Zionism's colonial objectives in Palestine has earned an ironic legacy: It comprises one of the most visually resplendent and chronologically complete political art genres of the 20th century, yet it has been more or less invisible to the world until very recently. Furthermore, it is not enthusiastically promoted by either Israeli art institutions or Zionist historians; this may have to do with the preponderance of the abandoned term "Palestine" in many of the posters. Several narrowly-focused books and some catalogs have been printed to accompany an exhibit of Zionist posters or to mark an anniversary, but to my knowledge no comprehensive survey of the genre exists in English. The majority of texts on posters in this Wellspring are printed in Hebrew only. One sterling exception is *Blue and White in Color: Visual Images of Zionism, 1897–1947*,[82] which is a book-sized catalog published for a 1996-1997 exhibit by the same name hosted by <u>The Museum of the Jewish People</u>,[83] in Tel Aviv. This book presents Zionist poster art and associated graphic products such as maps, book covers, newsletters, and postcards; it is accessible and comprehensible to audiences outside of Israel primarily because it is printed in English and provides a useful, if somewhat ideologically driven, contextualization.

A few websites feature Zionist posters, such as "<u>Images of a State in the Making</u>,"[84] published online in 1997 by the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs to mark the centenary of the

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[81] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/israel-independence-day-1948-0
[82] Rachel Arbel, ed. *Blue and White in Color: Visual Images of Zionism, 1897–1947* (Tel Aviv: Beth Hatefutsoth, 1996).
[83] http://www.bh.org.il/
[84] http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/History/Modern%20History/Centenary%20of%20Zionism/Images%20of%20a%20State%20in%20the%20Making-%20Page%202

Zionist movement. This website offers 35 small, low resolution JPEGs with captions related to the subject of the poster, such as the "[buy Hebrew](#)"[85] campaigns of the 1930's[86] and Zionist "[redemption" of the land](#),[87] among others. This is not a poster website per se, as the exhibit does not mention the posters or the artists. Instead, it merely uses the posters to illustrate the historical narrative.

The [Central Zionist Archives (CZA)](#)[88] launched a significant [new website](#)[89] in 2010, which hosted more than 300 Zionist posters; however, it has since eliminated the site without explanation. As this is written, it has not reappeared.

[Keren Hayesod](#) (Hebrew: the Palestine Foundation Fund)[90] hosts one of the best websites for seeing Zionist posters online, but the exhibit is small (40 images) and the credit captions are almost unreadable. It also does not feature specific URLs for each poster, which means they cannot be forwarded; however, the website does permit the JPEGs to be copied, which appears to be unique for contemporary Zionist poster web sites.

The [Lavon Institute](#)[91] has a very interesting series of posters at its web site; however, it practices almost every thinkable form of access-blocking imaginable short of not displaying any posters at all. The site's posters are very small, and cannot be copied directly. The text is Hebrew only and the JPEGs, even though small and unreadable, have large watermarks across them. This formatting does little more than announce that the Lavon Institute has some interesting-looking Zionist posters in its archives.

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[85] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/buy-hebrew-melons
[86] Today's Palestinian-led Boycott-Divestment-Sanctions (BDS) "don't buy" movement is an ironic flipside to the early Zionist "buy" campaigns.
[87] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/redeem-the-land
[88] http://www.zionistarchives.org.il/ZA/pIndexE.aspx?I=1090&Src=4
[89] http://www.zionistposters.org/
[90] http://www.kh-uia.org.il/EN/IsraelOnline/Pictures-gallery/Pages/KH-Posters.aspx
[91] http://yeda.amalnet.k12.il/LavonInstitute/RightMenu/PostersCollection/?myId=1004

The Palestinian Nationalist Wellspring
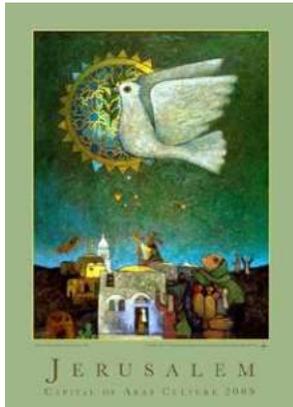
[92] In *The Palestinian Poster*,[93] Shafiq Radwan establishes that there had been a long-running poster/printing tradition in pre-1948 Palestine. His examples include British Mandate era Palestinian-published advertising posters (fruit drinks, footwear, tobacco products, Buick automobiles), broadsides, (the Palestine Iron and Brass Foundry, Ltd.), postage stamps, and even some examples of explicitly political posters denouncing the British occupation of Palestine.[94]

Unlike the early Zionist posters, which emerged as the products of well-thought-out public relations strategies and methodical marketing research aimed at accomplishing the long-term objectives of Jewish investment, tourism, and emigration to historic Palestine, the posters of the Palestinian nationalist movement came into being under often-chaotic conditions associated with revolution and refugeehood. Post-1948, the primary objectives of Palestinian-published posters were to inspire volunteers for military service,[95] and to heroicize military action against Israel.[96]

Radwan dates the "real birth" of the Palestinian political poster as occurring in the five years following the 1967 June War.[97] In March 1968, the insignificant-yet-pivotal battle of Al Karameh took place in the Jordanian Rift Valley, and in its aftermath Israel, the Palestinians, and Jordanians all claimed victory. Irrespective of how military historians parse the details of the

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[92] The poster depicted here is "Hope" by Sliman Mansour (2009). http://www.palestineposterproject.org/node/149

[93] Shafiq Radwan. *The Palestinian Poster*. (Damascus, Syria: Cultural Section of the Palestine Liberation Organization, 1997).

[94] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/jemal-pasha-to-sir-wauchope

[95] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/joining-the-palestinian-liberation-army

[96] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/i-did-not-die

[97] Radwan, 127. Note that for the purposes of the Website, I eschew Radwan's term "Palestinian political poster" to describe all the posters in the Palestinian Wellspring. Radwan's term is accurate to describe the posters produced by the PLO, its member organizations, and other political groups; however, it cannot be used to describe the Wellspring in all its current complexity. The terms "Palestinian-published" or simply "Palestinian" is more accurate.

battle, it is clear that even before the dust settled the PLO began mobilizing the poster to project

its "victorious" version of the battle. Evidence for this initiative can be seen in the battle of Al

Karameh Special Collection;[98] 11 of these 41 posters were printed in 1968, the same year as the

battle. The next ten posters, chronologically, were published between 1969 and 1971. According

to the poster artist Hosni Radwan (no relation to Shafiq Radwan), it is also very likely that five

of the six posters in the "First Fatah Series"[99] also refer to the battle of Al Karameh and were

printed in 1968.[100] Fatah hosted a major art exhibit in Beirut on the first anniversary of the Al

Karameh battle. Although the battle of Al Karameh has, in all likelihood, faded from public

consciousness in Israel and Jordan, it has been ensconced in the Palestinian political calendar.

There is mention of it in a poster printed circa 1988,[101] 20 years after the battle was fought.

This rapid mobilization of the poster is a reflection of the PLO's determination to control the

narrative—to "re-produce" the culture of Palestinian nationalism:

> The existence of a network of connections is not a natural given, or even a social
> given, constituted once and for all by an initial act of institution…. It is the
> product of an endless effort at institution, of which institution rites – often
> wrongly described as rites of passage – mark the essential moments and which is
> necessary in order to produce and *reproduce* lasting, useful relationships that can
> secure material or symbolic profits (italics added).[102]

Many of the earliest posters published by the PLO and Fatah are marked by an unadorned

simplicity: black-and-white graphics on newsprint; the absence of logos; Arabic only text; and

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[98] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/historical-figures-and-themes/battle-of-al-karameh
[99] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/exhibits-catalogs/first-fatah-series
[100] Hosni Radwan worked for several decades in the poster design section of the Unified Information Office of the PLO and was responsible for the development of a sizable Fatah/PLO archives of posters. However, in 1994 during the PLO's move from Tunis to Palestine, this entire archives was lost. (Email correspondence with Hosni Radwan , February 18, 2010).
[101] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/vocabulary-of-struggle-offset-version
[102] Bourdieu, Pierre. "The Forms of Capital." In John G. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York: Greenwood, 1986). Accessed December 1, 2011. http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/bourdieu-forms-capital.htm

very marginal production standards (see for example "Anti-Armor Hunters,"[103] "Al Karameh—the Symbol,"[104] and "Graveyard for Invaders"[105]). Most of the imagery depicts military combat scenes whose primary purpose seems to have been the glorification of the emerging Palestinian revolutionary movement.

Some early posters[106] from the Palestinian Wellspring housed in the Archives are untrimmed, with two different posters printed on a single sheet of paper; this indicates that the posters more than likely were printed on a rudimentary newspaper press, to be cut and trimmed as a separate action rather than being printed on a more sophisticated sheet-fed poster press. The only identifying text on these early posters is the term "Palestinian National Liberation Movement" (Fatah) in Arabic. No artists' signatures or dates are visible. Given that they were printed on the most ephemeral of paper stocks, newsprint, and that they were meant to be wheat-pasted on public walls, very few examples of these early works have surfaced.

The Special Collection[107] of the posters featured in Radwan's book offers an opportunity to view the evolution of the Palestinian-published poster from the primitive black-and-white posters just discussed, to the first multi-color images, "Israel=Aggression"[108] and "Al Nasser."[109] The colors come from what printers call "builds" or "screens" wherein two solid base colors are either mixed or diluted. This is a completely different process from full-color printing that makes use of four inks—magenta, cyan, yellow and black. The first true full-color poster that is

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[103] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/anti-armor-hunters
[104] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/al-karameh-the-symbol
[105] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/graveyard-for-invaders
[106] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/fateh-everywhere-press-sheet
[107] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/exhibits-and-catalogs/the-palestinian-poster-1992. Note that there are 280 graphics featured in Radwan's book. The vast majority are posters, with a few examples of very early Palestinian-published book covers and advertisements. As this was written [December 1, 2011], only 136 of the graphics from the book are featured in the Special Collection, due to the extremely poor quality of the black-and-white images.)
[108] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/israel-aggression
[109] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/al-nasser

reproduced in Radwan's book is "105 Nations Stand With Us,"[110] circa 1974. From this date on, Palestinian-published posters are routinely printed in full color, carry logos and artists' signatures, and frequently carry captions printed in multiple languages.

All the various factions of the PLO, for example, Fatah,[111] the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP),[112] the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP),[113] and the Palestine Popular Struggle Front (PPSF),[114] actively engaged in poster publishing. The PLO Unified Information Office[115] printed its own line of posters and provided design and technical support to Fatah and other revolutionary organizations as well. In the years after Al Karameh many Palestinian artists became involved in the design, publication, and dissemination of posters glorifying Palestinian revolutionary values and military esprit. Frequently they became identified with specific organizations such as the classically trained Ismail Shammout[116] with Fatah, Tawfiq Abdel Al[117] with the DFLP, and Ghassan Kanafani[118] and Emad Abdel Wahhab[119] with the PFLP. However, there was (and still is) much crossover, with artists doing posters for a variety of organizations.

By the late 1970's and 1980's the Palestinian nationalist Wellspring had evolved, in terms of the symbols used (the olive tree,[120] the kaffiyeh,[121] the key,[122] the orange,[123] the map of

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[110] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/105-nations-stand-with-us
[111] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/browse/special-collections/11
[112] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/content/democratic-front-liberation-palestine-dflp-0
[113] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/political-cultural-social-publishers/popular-front-for-the-liberation-of-palestin
[114] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/content/palestinian-popular-struggle-front-ppsf-0
[115] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/content/plo-unified-information
[116] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/ismail-shammout
[117] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/tawfiq-abdel-al
[118] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/ghassan-kanafani
[119] http://palestineposterproject.org/artist/emad-abdel-wahhab
[120] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/iconography/olives/trees/branches
[121] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/iconography/kaffiyeh
[122] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/iconography/key
[123] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/iconography/orangecitrus

Palestine,[124] and a host of others), the issues addressed, and the languages employed. It evolved from a raw, gritty expression of militant resistance and *sumud* (Arabic: steadfastness) to embrace a more refined and poetic aesthetic that had a broader appeal. Posters by painters such as Sliman Mansour[125] and illustrators such as Helmi Eltouni[126] began to appear, marking not so much a shift in the Palestinian intention to win hearts and minds, but rather an awareness that more painterly, more diverse, and more appealing imagery could extend the audience. The 1979 "Hiya"[127] by Eltouni was phenomenally popular in the U.S. and sold thousands of copies in the Arabic version. "Salma"[128] by Mansour was equally popular; the two posters were often purchased in bulk by high school and university history departments. Ironically, "Hiya" was dropped from the catalog of one of the main U.S. distributors, Syracuse Cultural Workers,[129] because regular supplies could not be accessed from the publisher in Egypt. A similar problem emerged regarding "Salma," art-directed by myself and published by Roots in 1988. Its initial publication run of several thousand copies sold out in a matter of weeks. Inexplicably, "Salma" was never republished.

During the late 1970's and early 1980's, portfolios began to appear by artists such as the Palestinian artist Abdel Rahman Al Muzain.[130] Muzain's works often capture small folkloric elements of Palestinian life such as embroidery or jewelry in exquisite, almost documentary detail. Many of Muzain's posters feature a woman as the central graphic. These posters were issued as fully titled and translated portfolios, possibly with the intention that they could serve as

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[124] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/historical-figures-and-themes/mapsmapping
[125] http://palestineposterproject.org/artist/sliman-mansour-0
[126] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/special-collection/helmi-eltouni
[127] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/hiya
[128] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/salma
[129] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/syracuse-cultural-workers-catalog
[130] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/artists-and-collectives/abdel-rahman-al-muzain

self-contained exhibits. Simultaneously, the works of women such as [Mona Saudi](131) and [Jumana Al Husseini](132) added yet another dimension to the Palestinian Wellspring, which was exhibiting both an enormous appetite for new works and a seemingly endless capacity to accommodate non-traditional media. For example, sculpture made an appearance via both two dimensional representations, as in Saudi's "[Land Day 1977](133)," and via images of the sculptures themselves, as in the works of [Abdul Hay Musallam](134).

The Palestinian Wellspring became encyclopedic in terms of the forms of media represented—[abstract painting](135), [calligraphy](136), [naïve folkloric](137), [surrealism](138), [maquette](139), [collage](140), [photography](141), [portraiture](142), and a host of styles, schools, and approaches. More and more posters appeared that could work perfectly well as public space art and simultaneously also claim to be private space artworks suitable for framing and placement in homes and offices. This softening of the imagery deployed by Palestinian political agencies vastly expanded the terrain in which the Palestinian nationalist poster could operate and it introduced a more subtle telling of the story of modern Palestine.

Ironically, Israeli efforts to suppress expression are part of what forged this immense creativity, with Palestinian artists employing symbols, terminologies, indigenous materials, and deliberately ambiguous palettes to create posters that evoked resistance but which appeared to Israelis as apolitical. For most of the past forty years, *Israeli Military Order 101 of 27 August*

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[131] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/mona-saudi
[132] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/jumana-al-husseini
[133] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/land-day-1977
[134] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/abdul-hay-musallam
[135] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/arti-et-amicitiae
[136] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/the-sun-will-also-rise
[137] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/palestinian-folklore-3
[138] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/fatah-for-palestine
[139] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/martyr-day-ppsf
[140] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/between-dream-and-reality
[141] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/palestinian-heritage-al-majdal
[142] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/leader-of-the-plo

1967, Order Concerning Prohibition of Incitement and Hostile Propaganda—a vestige of the

British Mandate-era Emergency Laws—was enforced in the Occupied Territories. Article 6 of

the Order proscribes Palestinians from printing or distributing posters:

> 6. It is forbidden to print or publicize in the region any publication of notice, poster, photo, pamphlet or other document containing material having a political significance, unless a license is previously obtained from the military commander of the place in which it is intended to execute the printing or publication.[143]

One incident in 1984, involving a censored exhibit of paintings and posters by the late

Palestinian artist Fathi Ghabin,[144] captures the complex tensions that result from the Occupation.

Ghabin was charged with producing "inciteful materials" for painting a picture of his nephew,

who had been shot by the Israeli military, that incorporated the Palestinian national colors of red,

white, black, and green. He was convicted by a military court and imprisoned. In a *Washington*

Post article, an Israeli military official explained the graphic's content this way:

> …it had a theme with a whole story about the Israeli occupation…the use of the colors is to incite for revenge…the Western mind won't understand a lot of this but inside the paintings there are symbols, it's like a puzzle. They [the Palestinians] understand it.[145]

Another trend that emerged in the 1970's–1980's was the inclusion of international artists.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) routinely published posters featuring

the artwork of Swiss artist Marc Rudin.[146] A 1978 exhibition coordinated by the Plastic Arts

Section of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), "International Art in Solidarity With

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[143] Israeli Defense Forces (signed by Uzi Narkis). "Order No. 101: Order Regarding Prohibition of Incitement and Hateful Propaganda Actions." August 27, 1967. Translated by B'Tselem.

[144] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/fathy-ghabin

[145] Walsh, Edward. "Israelis, Palestinians Struggle in Symbols." *Washington Post*, May 28, 1984, E1. http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/struggle-in-symbols-washington-post. According to the *Post*, Israeli military authorities in Gaza confiscated eight paintings and posters and that the Israelis could not locate them. No record of the image quoted above has been found to date.

[146] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/artists-and-collectives/marc-rudin

Palestine,"[147] featured 194 works by international artists from 28 countries. Included in the roster are some of the great names in graphic art and sculpture of the period including Eduardo Chillida, Joan Miró, and Roberto Matta.[148] In the exhibition catalog, Mona Saudi stated that "all the works in this exhibition are gifts from the artists to the Palestine Liberation Organization," and she expressed the PLO's intention to work with an international committee of artists to create a "Museum of Solidarity With Palestine" where the art works would be permanently housed.[149] A preface titled "Art for the solidarity for Palestine" [sic] features statements from a number of participating artists and cultural associations explaining their motivations for participating in the exhibit. Matta, explaining the motivation behind his exhibit piece, a poster entitled "Auschwitz-Palestine,"[150] wrote: "So, in this exhibition one must see the Palestinian people and the kind of life they are living: the world *refuses to see them*—just as for a long time the world was blind to Auschwitz" [italics added].[151]

The core elements of the Palestinian nationalist credo—"armed struggle," "national unity," and "an independent state"—are echoed either at the overt or subliminal levels in all Palestinian posters produced during the 1970's and 1980's, and this continues into the present. However, so many more Palestinian organizations publish posters today, and so much more content is engaged, that one has to remind oneself that a poster announcing a performance of a Palestinian puppet festival[152] is intrinsically political. What has changed over time are the modes of expression, not the underlying intent. The strain of Palestinian poster art that has emerged since

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[147] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/art-for-palestine
[148] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/roberto-antonio-sebastian-matta
[149] "Art in Solidarity with Palestine" exhibition catalog (Plastic Arts Section, PLO, Beirut 1978). The exhibition posters disappeared after the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon.
[150] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/auschwitz-palestine
[151] "Art in Solidarity with Palestine" exhibition catalog (Plastic Arts Section, Palestine Liberation Organization, Beirut 1978).
[152] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/exhibits-and-catalogs/palestine-puppet-festival

the early 1990's—products of the "digital revolution," such as those by [Zan Studio](#)[153]—

embraces its Wellspring's historically insurrectionary tone while simultaneously broadening the

concept of struggle. These posters insinuate themselves into new global media markets and

demographics to an extent undreamed of by the Palestinian revolutionary institutions that

published the first black-and-white posters.

The Arab/Muslim Wellspring

 This Wellspring currently contains Palestine posters from 13 Arab countries

and four Muslim countries: Iran, Turkey, Indonesia, and Malaysia (majority

Muslim). It is small (330 posters), relative to the three other Wellsprings.[154]

Locating early Palestine posters from Arab/Muslim sources has

proven very challenging. The Website hosts one pre-1948 Arab/Muslim

poster (a 1935 [Egyptian Airlines poster](#)),[155] and just four from the era 1948–1968: a circa-1948

Egyptian poster that is [anti-Zionist](#) without reference to Palestine;[156] two more Egyptian circa-

1948 solidarity posters, "[A Million Flags for Palestine](#)" and "[Fighting…Surrender](#),"[157] and a

1964 solidarity poster created by [an organization of Muslim students in France](#).[158]

Nonetheless there are several reasons to assume a tradition of Palestine poster production

in Egypt and other Arab/Muslim countries prior to and during the period 1948-1968. First, pre-

1968 there is a wealth of Palestine-related cultural products from Arab/Muslim sources: films,

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[153] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/artists-and-collectives/zan-studio
[154] The poster depicted here is "The Street Is Ours" by Maya Chami (Lebanon, 2009).
   http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/the-street-is-ours
[155] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/misr-airwork
[156] [http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/in-your-personal-conversations-be-sure-not-to-speak-about-military-issues](#)
[157] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/fightingsurrender
[158] http://palestineposterproject.org/poster/vive-la-lutte-revolutionnaire-de-peuple-palestinien

books, plays, poetry, newspaper articles, songs, and stamps.[159] Second, the outpouring of post-1967 posters from the Arab/Muslim Wellspring suggests that this is the continuation of an existing tradition. The dearth of early posters may be attributable to the fact that they were not formally archived and are buried within labyrinthine bureaucracies or, as ephemera, have disappeared.

The majority of posters in this Wellspring are from Iran, due to the fact that it hosts a recurring poster contest, the "International Biennial of Posters in the Islamic World" (the title of this program has since gone through several name changes), which regularly features a Palestine-themed category. The Website contains 104 posters from the biennials of 2002,[160] 2007,[161] and 2009.[162] Owing to the Internet, the contest attracts more participants each year; the level of graphic sophistication is very high for a significant percentage of the submissions featured in the biennial catalog.[163]

[Since Iran's poster biennial is open to non-Iranians, its entire oeuvre does not fall into the Arab/Muslim Wellspring. For example, Palestinian artist Hani Sharaf has twice won the prize for the Palestine theme, in 2007 with "Beyond the Mayhem"[164] and in 2009 with "A Tribute to Intifada."[165] These posters are categorized as Palestinian nationalist; this demonstrates the fluid boundaries between Wellsprings.]

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[159] Nader Khairiddine Abuljebain. *Palestinian History in Postage Stamps* (Beirut, London: Institute for Palestine Studies in collaboration with the Welfare Association Edition, 2001).

[160] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/exhibits-and-catalogs/second-visual-art-experimental-festival-iran-2002

[161] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/exhibits-and-catalogs/second-international-biennial-of-posters-in-the-islamic-wor

[162] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/content/third-international-biennial-of-posters-of-the-islamic-world-tehran-2009

[163] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/youth-art-cover

[164] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/behold-the-mayhem

[165] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/a-tribute-to-intifada

The Drupal data management platform upon which the Website is built allows for a variety

of ways to browse through the expanding content. In addition to browsing by Wellspring

(discussed in the previous chapter), visitors also can browse by: Special Collections,

Iconography, Artist, Country, and See All Posters. A new Auto-Fill function was recently

inaugurated that permits artists to categorize their own works and provide context. Other

browsing categories (e.g., Poster Contest) will be added as time and funds permit.

Special Collections

A time-honored practice of museum curation and library science is to create Special Collections,

each holding one or more items that segregate out unique categories of items for closer and

easier study. The Website currently houses more than 600 Special Collections,[166] listed in

alphabetical order within five categories: artists (who have 4 or more posters) and collectives;

exhibits and catalogs; historical figures and themes; political-cultural-social publishers; and

museums, libraries, private collections, universities and archives. The Special Collections format

is ideal for use at the Website because it is not only infinitely expandable, but also allows for the

organization of the genre's contents into discrete research, archival, and display categories. It

also accommodates newly-emerged or unique categories of posters.

For example, the Website now features three private collections of Palestine posters: the

Steven Wachlin Collection,[167] with 280 posters online and approximately another 50 to be added;

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[166] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collections/categories
[167] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/content/from-the-collection-of-steven-wachlin-the-netherlands

the [Sami Hallac Collection](link),[168] with 23 posters online and 11 more to be added, and; the [John Percy Collection](link)[169] with 29 posters online and an undetermined number to be added. Each of these collectors built their holdings individually over the past 30-plus years. The Website is the only place the public can view the Wachlin and Hallac collections; the Percy Collection is also online elsewhere. Without the efforts of these collectors, and their willingness to share the posters via the Website while retaining ownership of the original hard-copy works, it is unlikely these works would ever have come to light. Thanks to the ubiquity of the digital camera, people can keep their original Palestine posters and still share them via the Website simply by taking handheld shots of their posters. As more private collections are discovered, a significant percentage of the Palestine poster oeuvre may be reconstituted digitally.

The [Sightings](link)[170] Special Collection houses photographs of Palestine posters that people have taken and sent in by email. As of this writing, the Sightings gallery holds more than 300 photographs of posters pasted up on walls or in offices or homes around the world. Most of these would never have been available for inclusion in the genre but for the advent of the digital camera and especially the smart phone camera feature.

Special Collections by their very nature constitute thematic exhibits. If one wanted to host a traditional gallery exhibit of the posters of a particular artist, publisher, theme, or event, the Special Collections page would be the logical place to begin research. There the posters are already translated and organized by date of publication, theme, source, artist, and language. A poster's physical location (if known) is posted as are its dimensions and exhibition history (if known) as well as any relevant press, books, or catalogs in which it may have appeared. Special

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[168] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/museums-libraries-private-collections-universities-and-archives/sami-hallac-colle

[169] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/museums-libraries-private-collections-universities-and-archives/john-percy-collec

[170] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/browse/special-collections/21

Collections have already been accessed as virtual exhibits: the PLO Mission in Washington, DC, projected onto a large screen the entire Land Day collection[171] at a Land Day celebration in 2010, and Columbia University's Center for Palestine Studies (CPS), hosts on its Website homepage a scrolling exhibit of 100 Palestine posters[172] drawn from several Special Collections.

Artists have been particularly keen on the Special Collection feature because it creates a permanent archives for their posters, one they can add to continually and refer to in their work. The very first Special Collection was created to house the posters of Zan Studio,[173] an artists' collective located in Ramallah. Because Zan Studio had kept digital files of all the posters it has created (and continues to create), completing its Special Collection was a simple matter of resizing the images and adding the technical information. Zan Studio's clients—a wide range of cultural, social, and political organizations in the West Bank and abroad—have reported that they were both surprised and delighted to see their posters, many for past events, featured at the Website along with links to their own web sites.[174]

The Zan Studio experience reveals the following:

- Many, if not all, Palestine posters being produced today begin their lives as digital images; many artist and designers have archived their files and have, in fact, complete or nearly complete electronic records of their poster work.

- All the data needed to complete a page at the Website is available via the design agency.

- All parties involved—designers, publishers, sponsors, and printers—see inclusion at the Website as a positive side benefit of publishing.

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[171] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/historical-figures-and-themes/land-day
[172] http://www.columbia.edu/cu/palestine/
[173] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/browse/special-collections/5
[174] Email communications with Amer Shomali, 2009.

- Acquisition of printed copies by the Archives is almost always possible and best accomplished as close to the release date as possible.

- Once a Special Collection is established, the artists and publishers spontaneously submit new works (several artists, such as Mohammed Amous,[175] now submit new works even before they have been printed).

- Artists and publishers have begun to use the Website to announce upcoming events by submitting their posters well in advance of the launch date of an event (the Al Kamandjati Association[176] has done this several times).

The Special Collections feature also plays a key role in reconstructing past exhibits, such as the 1979 show, "Palestine: A Homeland Denied,"[177] perhaps the most widely known exhibit of Palestine posters ever mounted. It has now been completely reconstructed at the Website using posters, the exhibit catalog, several magazine articles, and contributions of JPEGs from artists and collectors. "Down With the Occupation,"[178] a 1987 exhibit featuring the works of more than sixty Israeli and Palestinian artists, is also completely presented.

A number of lost, cancelled, censored, or confiscated exhibits of Palestine posters are being re-assembled at the Website, including the so-called "Lost Polish Exhibit,"[179] which was discovered in a basement in Ramallah by the artists of Zan Studio and digitally scanned for preservation. Several other exhibits are in the process of reconstruction from both posters and

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[175] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/mohammed-amous
[176] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/political-cultural-social-publishers/al-kamandjati-association
[177] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/browse/special-collections/26
[178] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/browse/special-collections/24
[179] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/exhibits-catalogs/the-lost-polish-exhibit

catalogs, including the 1978 "Art for Palestine"[180] exhibit and the 1988 "Faithful Witnesses"[181]

exhibit.

The Special Collections feature also allows for the presentation of Palestine posters that are

posted at current websites but not easily accessible, well organized, or well presented. The

Website re-produces these posters in one place, such as those of the Library of Congress[182] and

the Library of Congress Yanker Collection,[183] the International Institute of Social History,[184] the

Yale University Library's Middle East Collection,[185] and several others. Teachers, researchers,

and interested individuals can see almost all Palestine posters now online simply by visiting the

Website.

The Website fully credits the host organizations and features links to the original exhibit or

website, and publishers have embraced it. The staff of the Yale University Library responded to

my inquiry requesting permission to create a Special Collection for the Palestine posters on view

at the university's website by saying that they considered such a reformatting a "service

enhancement" that is likely to generate more traffic to their other poster collections as well.[186]

Iconography

The Iconography[187] function organizes the posters according to their symbolic content. This

facilitates interpretation of content by visual anthropologists, ethnographers, art historians, and

students. It also is helpful to visitors wishing to find a poster previously viewed but whose title or

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[180] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/art-for-palestine

[181] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/browse/special-collections/55

[182] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/universities-research-institutions-libraries/library-of-congress

[183] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/museums-libraries-private-collections-universities-and-archives/library-of-cong-0

[184] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/museums-libraries-private-collections-universities-and-archives/international-ins

[185] httphttp://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collections/categories

[186] Personal email correspondence with Ann Okerson, January 10, 2011 (Yale); Al Rafeeq Hazem August 20, 2009 (BADIL); Alaa' Maa'ytah, May 17, 2010 (Yabous Productions).

[187] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/browse/iconography

URL is unknown. Such persons need only recall a graphic element—such as a tree,[188]

kaffiyeh,[189] kova tembel hat,[190] or clenched fist[191]—to review a much smaller sample of posters

and find the particular one they seek.

The Iconography function demonstrates as well the shifting ownership of icons and symbols

over time. For example, the image of the bulldozer[192] in early Zionist posters is mostly a positive

one. Bulldozers are shown clearing fields,[193] pulling wagons full of fruit[194] or happy

workers,[195] or tooling along among bucolic scenes of harmony and plenty.[196] Scroll further in

time, and those early depictions are replaced by Palestinian and internationally published posters

depicting the bulldozer as a menacing[197] and destructive[198] weapon of the Israeli military.

The image of the tree[199] is another icon in contention; the way Palestinians and Zionists

depict them opens a window into the struggle over the visual, physical, and metaphorical

landscape of Palestine. Chapter 5 includes two essays, submitted as part of my studies, which

decode this symbol.

Another feature of the Iconography section is that it presents a record of the number of times

a symbol is used; from this one can get a sense of its importance to artists and political

movements. The hand or fist [200] appears in just under 1,000 posters, (almost one-sixth of all

posters); weapons[201] in almost 900; the dove[202] in more than 300; women appear in almost

[188] http://palestineposterproject.org/browse/iconography/65
[189] http://palestineposterproject.org/category/iconography/kaffiyeh
[190] http://palestineposterproject.org/category/iconography/kova-tembel-hat
[191] palestineposterproject.org/category/iconography/clenched-fist/hand/arm/fingers
[192] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/iconography/bulldozer/tractor/earthmoving-equipment
[193] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/this-land-is-ours
[194] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/hakibbutz-the-kibbutz-0
[195] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/in-the-kibbutz
[196] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/towards-galilee
[197] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/apartheid-is-real-1
[198] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/gaza-strip-0
[199] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/browse/iconography/65
[200] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/iconography/clenched-fist/hand/arm/fingers
[201] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/iconography/weapons/bombs/armaments/guns

1,200.[203] By breaking these elements out, one can begin to see just how important symbolism is to both Palestinians and Israelis as well as how icons appear, are reused, or fade. For example, the 1990 photographic image, "What the Tree Knew," of a Palestinian peasant woman hugging an olive tree to prevent Israeli soldiers from cutting it down, has been "remixed" a number of times such as in the 2010 linoleum print, "However Beaten Down She Stands Up."[204] Other icons, such as the once popular Zionist kova tembel hat,[205] have more or less disappeared and it appears now only occasionally for nostalgic purposes.

Artists

The Website feature that organizes posters according to the artists[206] who created them is popular with the artists themselves, because it can serve as their own chronologically ordered portfolio and permanent comprehensive archive. Deceased artists whose oeuvres are known are also now recognized in galleries at the Website. More than 1,300 artists are now featured.

Each artist's gallery can contain related items such as the original painting on which a poster is based, book covers, catalogs, and other graphic products. The various categories into which a poster has been recorded are listed at the top of its page; this creates a historical record of an artist's participation in exhibits and exchanges as well as of the posters' use in demonstrations and any remixes.[207] For each poster the artist is invited to provide an "Artist's Statement," e.g., about the process of conceptualization and design and their personal interpretation of content. Each poster is also linked to websites that the artists provide such as their personal website or those of museums, galleries, or exhibits containing their work.

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[202] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/iconography/dove
[203] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/browse/iconography/69
[204] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/however-beaten-down-she-stands-back-up
[205] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/iconography/kova-tembel-hat
[206] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/browse/artist
[207] For example, the poster, "If the Tree Knew," discussed above, is categorized 13 ways.

See All Posters

The [See All Poster](#)[208] category presents a chronological listing of posters in reverse order by which they were added to the site, going back to the first poster uploaded March 8, 2007. For the returning visitor, a browse through this category is the quickest way to identify posters new to the site since the previous visit. Teachers plumbing the site for visuals to accompany course content have found this feature particularly useful.[209]

Auto-Fill

A new "auto-fill" function, installed in December 2011, is anticipated to have several significant effects: it will generate new browsable categories; increase the number of artists submitting works; increase the number of artists' statements that are featured; and increase the number of links that are forged with works already on the site. The logic and intent of this new feature is to allow the artists the widest compass possible for contextualizing their work while imposing the minimum number of restrictions (most of the latter will be related to format, not content).

The auto-fill function is anticipated to greatly reduce the bottleneck[210] created by having only one person (me) process new posters to the Website. This involves two time-consuming steps: photoshopping the images and entering data fields (title, artist's name and nationality, publisher information, translations, links, date of publication, special collections, language[s], iconography, provenance, duplicates, hard copy location, and hard copy number). Added to this is the obligation to make artist- or publisher-requested corrections and additions. Even a single entry may involve several hours of work spread out over days or weeks. The auto-fill process allows artists and publishers to fill in all the data fields themselves, thereby both taking control

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[208] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/list_posters?page=199
[209] Email communication with Shira Robinson, February 6, 2011.
[210] The current backlog of hard-copy and digital posters numbers in the thousands.

of the data that appears at their pages as well as reducing the almost inevitable errors that occur with, for example, Arabic-to-English transliteration of names.

A library science "best practice" is that every entry have a "unique identifier" so that visitors can refer back to it easily. The auto-fill form prompts for a title and will stall progress until one is provided. This process encourages—indeed, requires—artists and/or publishers to provide specific titles for their posters, which are then used as the URL for that poster's page. Several other fields will also prompt for completion, such as translation to English of the posters' captions. Basic data, such as name and nationality, can be permanently fixed so that returning artists do not have to refill the entire form every time they submit a poster. Once a submission is filled in and sent, I have only to review it prior to uploading.

Many artists currently featured at the Website have developed a sense of ownership towards it. Many write in to offer corrections and elaborations, information on how to contact other artists, leads on posters, and sightings. It would be a very positive development if the new opportunities for artists to express themselves and take control of their information via this new form increases that trend since it is often the case that only artists know of the whereabouts of other artists or posters.

Poster Contests

Several Palestinian organizations sponsor annual poster contests on a number of themes, open to artists regardless of nationality, including the Badil Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights (BADIL),[211] Yabous Productions/the Jerusalem Center,[212] the Ramallah

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[211] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/exhibits-and-catalogs/badil-2007-poster-contest-entries
[212] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/content/yabous-productions

Center for Human Rights Studies.[213] These and others have Special Collections, which display

many or all of the posters submitted in a given year. A number of Zionist/Israeli poster

exhibits/contests are on record as well. As early as 1943, the Association of Jewish Artists in

Palestine[214] was hosting exhibits of its members' work.

Processing posters from these events has been a monumental task and it is not feasible to

consider doing it again and again, especially as the number of participating artists is burgeoning.

The new auto-fill function described above will allow poster contest sponsors to use the Website

as their own online organizing space. Each submitting artist can fill in the form, attach their

JPEG(s), and be finished with the submission process. Contest sponsors can choose to have the

submissions embargoed until some approved date, at which time that Special Collection can "go

live" and display all the submissions in the order in which they were submitted. It may be

possible to use this feature to allow for public judging of the submissions or at least public

comment.

For past poster contests for which I have not had the capacity to fully process all the

submissions, I have employed the museum science practice called "visible storage." This means

making the images available on the Website for public viewing, although the accompanying

poster data may be minimal or nil. Over time the data can be filled in, ideally by the artists

themselves using the auto-fill function. A Special Collection to house visible storage for the

2010 BADIL contest[215] has already been created.

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[213] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/special-collection/ramallah-center-for-human-rights-studies/tasamuh

[214] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/association-of-jewish-commercial-artists-in-palestine-exhibit

[215] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/exhibits-and-catalogs/visible-storage-badil

PART 2: ANALYSIS DERIVED FROM THE WEBSITE
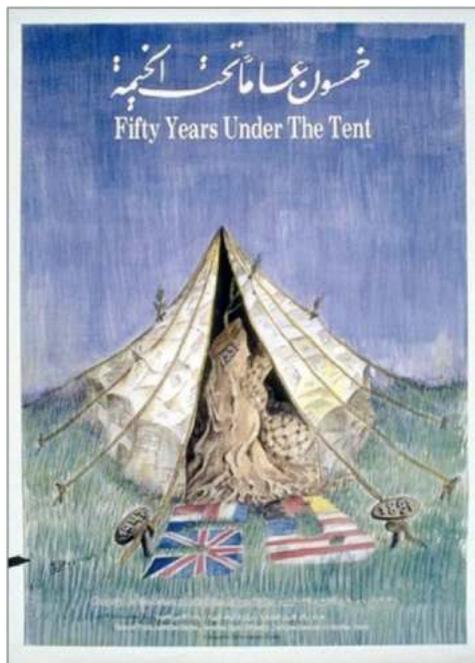
In "Fifty Years Under the Tent,"[216] the central visual element is the stump of an olive tree

situated within a ragged, extensively patched khayma (Arabic: tent). This poster was printed in

1997 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the 1947 UN Partition Plan for Palestine as well as the

disappearance of historic Palestine the following year as a result of the United Nations' formal

recognition of Israel as a state, an event the Palestinians call "Al Nakba"[217] (Arabic: the

catastrophe).

The number 50—the number of years "under the tent"—is marked out on the grass in front of

the tent in the form of a tattered welcome mat made up of the flags of the four countries the

Palestinians hold particularly responsible for their diaspora: France for its virulent anti-Semitism

epitomized by the Dreyfus Affair (1895-1906); The UK for the Balfour Declaration (1917), and

the British Mandate (1918-1948); Germany for perpetrating the Holocaust, a genocide against

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[216] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/fifty-years-under-the-tent
[217] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/historical-figures-and-themes/al-nakba

the Jewish people which drove many of its survivors to flee to Palestine as refugees; and the US for its uncritical military, economic and political support of Zionism, and by extension, Israel.

The cloth patches that make up the body of the tent are remnants of wheat and flour sacks from the UN and the US's Agency for International Development (AID). The AID sacks have a printed text in Arabic that reads: "A gift from the American people. Not for resale or commercial use." Inside the tent is the stump of a still-living olive tree. This tree stump represents the Palestinian people. Three shoots can be seen piercing the tent, each representing a generation of Palestinians who have endured dispossession, refugeehood and exile yet remained committed to the goal of *Al Awda* (Arabic: return). In Palestinian political terms this limitless commitment to the land of Palestine is called *Sumud* (Arabic: steadfastness). Sumud is a heroic expression of Palestinian political will and this poster was published with the intent of heroicizing those Palestinians who have been the backbone of the Palestinian revolutionary movement: the refugees.

Part of the stump's root system has morphed into the pattern of the Palestinian kaffiyeh (a black and white cotton headdress) exemplifying the fusion of the tree's determination to persevere, even in its truncated, vulnerable state, with pan-Palestinian political culture. The inclusion of the kaffiyeh, an article of dress worn by men and increasingly, women, from across the Palestinian political spectrum affirms the olive tree's iconic role for Palestinians irrespective of their personal political affiliation. The uppermost portion of the tree, representing the geographic aspect of historic Palestine though cut down, regenerates itself via the shoots. In this way the tree's natural tenacity to survive and renew itself, even in its foreshortened state and even in the harshest of circumstances, is seized upon by the Palestinians as being emblematic of their revolutionary commitment and survivability.

Perhaps the most significant, if utterly obscure, element of this poster is the brass plaque holding the date "1897." This is critical knowledge because it is the only direct reference in the poster to Zionism. As such, it is the only clue that might inform an uninitiated viewer as to the authentic origins of the conflict. The year 1897 was the year in which Theodor Herzl mobilized the scattered and fractious elements of the Jewish diaspora and successfully launched the processes that led to the emergence of Israel in 1948. For Palestinians, this date is not included as a reminder; every Palestinian man, woman or child knows what that date means and does not need to be reminded. Rather, its inclusion is an indictment: it is public refutation of Zionism's assertion of ownership of the land based on ancient history. This poster fixes the origination of Zionism's territorial claim to a much more recent date and reiterates the Palestinian assertion that the anti-Semitism that gave rise to Zionism, and later the Holocaust, was not a product of Arab, Islamic, or Palestinian culture but rather arose in Europe.

By claiming the olive tree as an iconic representation of their national revolutionary spirit, the Palestinians identify with its rootedness, as opposed to the Zionist's identification with the pine tree's ease of transplantation (a metaphor for immigration and settler colonialism). It is the deep and tenacious root system of the olive tree that explains its legendary longevity and ability to withstand drought and disease which make it the pre-eminent symbol of Palestinian political will. In Palestinian political iconography, as exemplified by this poster, the land itself is seen as a living organism, one that is seeing to the tree's continued fertility. There are no people depicted in the poster because the tree itself represents the people.

This poster reminds the viewer of a fact poorly understood by most Americans: that with its vote to recognize Israel as a state in May of 1948, the UN simultaneously closed the revolutionary moment of one nationalist movement—political Zionism—and opened that of

another—Palestinian nationalism. One people came in from an unjust and immoral exile…and another was cast out into one.

זה היום נטע ונשתל
ונכה פה שרש
עוד שנה ועוד שנה
והנה פה חרש!

טו - בשבט

In "[And We Will Set Down Roots Here](http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/and-we-will-set-down-roots-here),"[218] we see two groups of Jewish children celebrating the joys of nature while planting saplings in Israel. The children in the foreground are busy with the various tasks involved in transplantation and afforestation: the boy on the left uses a shovel to break soil as the girl on the left places a sapling in a freshly-dug hole. The seated girl tamps down the soil around a just-planted sapling while the boy on the right carries a potted sapling towards the area being worked. In this way, the major technical steps in afforestation are simplified and depicted both graphically and logically. The children in the background join hands and dance happily around a young tree in full bloom. Off in the distance are the low white buildings of the *kibbutz* (Hebrew: collective farm) where all these children live.

The kibbutz, although not a major visual element in the poster, is the central feature of the activities depicted. From it emanate all the restorative accomplishments claimed by the kibbutz's

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[218] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/and-we-will-set-down-roots-here

residents: the barren mountains in the far distance show the signs of earlier reforestation efforts as patches of green forest; from the upper left hand corner a rich green line of pine trees extends out towards the middle of the poster; the grassy field is sharply delineated between two contrasting areas: the lush, verdant side closest to the kibbutz denoting the work of earlier generations of Zionist pioneers and the other an as-yet-untilled, hardscrabble soil which the children are working to revitalize. The subtext of this delineation is that the soil, which clearly has the potential to be rich and productive, was barren and neglected prior to the arrival of the Zionists. This is a narrative poster and nothing in it is there by chance or as mere graphic embellishment; every visual element supports a narrative assertion. This poster reflects, in both visual and iconic forms, the two core activities of the Jewish National Fund: afforestation and reclamation. It also reinforces, in a creatively graphic way, the controversial Zionist recruitment slogan, promoted by author and playwright Israel Zangwill at the turn of the twentieth century that claimed Palestine was "a land without a people for a people without a land."

The choice of activities depicted reinforces a pivotal concept at the heart of the Zionist pioneer mentality: that of personal selflessness, group solidarity and working together "collectively" to accomplish stated goals. These children are not engaged in spontaneous or "parallel" play: rather, they are united in a highly-structured activity, the object of which is to get the greenhouse-raised saplings into the ground to advance the process of rejuvenating the parched soil depicted in the poster. There is no direct mention or reference to the history of the land they are working and living on. But for the Hebrew text, this scene could be set in California, Spain or almost any western locale.

This poster was printed with the intent of strengthening one of Labor Zionism's central ideological claims: that the land belongs to those who work it. It is the sapling's potential to

rejuvenate the soil, thereby bringing it back to life, that explains the tree's value as a symbol for Zionism. The subtext of this poster states that as these saplings grow into the soil so will the children who planted them grow into a new identity, one inseparable from the land. Moreover, just as the land is returning to its rightful state of fertility and productivity, so the Jewish people, by the act of afforestation, will blossom into their authentic identities as workers of the land.

The goal of the poster and poem is to glorify the principles of Zionism, the land of Israel and those who nurture its productivity. By establishing a new national holiday dedicated to the tree, Tu Bishvat, Zionism asserts its ownership of the land and the symbol of the tree.

Translation of the lyrics in the poster:

> On this day we will plant and plant trees
>
> And we will set down roots here
>
> Another year and another year
>
> And here is a grove!
>
> Lyrics: Y. Shinberg (Israel)

A new series of insights emerge if the Palestine genre is re-aggregated into only two wellsprings: political Zionism and Palestinian nationalism. In this arrangement, the Zionist wellspring includes only those Zionist posters published prior to May 1948; on that date, political Zionism achieved its primary political objective, statehood, which effectively terminated its revolutionary era. In this new arrangement also, the Palestinian wellspring subsumes both the Arab/Muslim and International wellsprings and includes posters published from 1948 to the present.

This re-aggregation allows for the study of the poster output of the Zionist and Palestinian nationalist movements in their revolutionary periods, basically creating an apples-to-apples comparison. This restructuring suggests not that there are two separate histories at work, but rather that there are two versions in play. The version told by political Zionism is selective and not re-produced outside of the Zionist sphere. The version told by the re-aggregated Palestinian wellspring is unabridged, and benefits from being reproduced multi-culturally. In other words, only one voice tells the story of political Zionism, while many voices tell the story of Palestinian nationalism.

Posters from the Zionist Revolutionary Period (pre-1948)

In the pre-1948 political Zionist wellspring, all posters emanate from Zionist political institutions. No example of any individually published or international "solidarity" posters in support of Zionism has surfaced. Moreover, Zionist-published posters refer to and "re-produce"

that history in only one voice: that of political, Herzlian Zionism. Political Zionism's approach to poster content was tightly controlled, purposeful, and repetitive. There was little experimentation in terms of content; this may have been a reflection of the need to address pressing institutional goals such as achieving monthly emigration quotas, increasing monetary contributions, or providing timely print materials for specific/scheduled events.

Furthermore, only professional artists provided the images—I have discovered no examples of amateur/non-professionally derived poster art in the Zionist wellspring of this period. Most posters were the products of paid professional commissions and executed only by accomplished Zionist-oriented graphic artists and studios of the day.[219] Many of these artists organized and formed the Association of Jewish Commercial Artists In Palestine, which held exhibits,[220] printed its own price lists,[221] and outlined poster contest rules.[222] Politics entered the equation in the sense that only Zionist artists were eligible to apply for poster design commissions and some artists did develop long-term relationships with certain agencies. For example, Otte Wallish did many posters for the Jewish National Fund and the Shamir brothers, Gabriel and Maxim, did quite a few posters for the General Federation of Workers in Eretz Israel (Histadrut). However, relative to the actual production of graphic products, paid work was the norm. Finally, critical iconography related to Zionism's core narrative was unfailingly incorporated and re-produced consistently over time, as evidenced, for example, by posters depicting the heroic pioneer and development of the land.[223] A number of posters in this wellspring urge Jewish immigrants to shed their emotional attachments to their native tongues and instead use Hebrew exclusively

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[219] Email correspondence with Yoram Shamir (May 29, 2011).
[220] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/palestine-commercial-art-in-peace-and-wartime
[221] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/regulated-minimal-prices
[222] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/contest-regulations-association-of-jewish-commercial-artists-in-palestine
[223] http://palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/historical-figures-and-themes/workerstoolsunionsconstructionequipmenticons

(e.g., "Hebrew,"[224] and "Not Seventy but One Language)." This dedication to ideological conformity explains why the vast majority of Zionist posters from this period are printed using Hebrew-only captions. While this practice likely did result in the acceleration of Hebrew's inculcation as the official language of the Zionist movement (and later Israel), it also resulted in the wellspring's inscrutability outside of Hebrew-speaking communities. [There are several examples of Zionist published posters featuring Arabic script from the pre-1948 period; however, these are addressed to indigenous Palestinians in Palestine and concern either Zionist efforts to garner votes in Zionist party elections (e.g., "Towards A Secure Future With the Arab Lists")[225] or to warn Palestinians to carry their ration cards (e.g.,"Don't Leave Your Rationing Coupon Behind").[226]]

This conformity to message changes dramatically and immediately after independence owing to, among other factors, the airing of intra-Zionist political antagonisms that would have been considered counter-revolutionary had they emerged earlier. These repressed perspectives found expression in, for example, Israeli electioneering posters. A robust, no-holds-barred tradition of invective, mutual character assassination, and caricature took root beginning in the very first Israeli elections in 1949, immediately after independence (see the posters of the Herut Party,[227] MAKI (Israeli Communist Party),[228] and the Mapai Party[229]).

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[224] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/hebrew
[225] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/towards-a-secure-future-with-the-arab-lists-the-alliance-with-mapai
[226] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/don039t-leave-your-rationing-coupon-behind
[227] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/special-collection/herut-party
[228] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/maki-israeli-communist-party
[229] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/mapai-party-israel

Posters from the Palestinian Nationalist Period (1967 to the present)

Palestinian nationalist solidarity posters emanate from a host of sources and employ several

score of languages, including Euskara (Basque) (e.g., "Apartheid and Ethnic Cleansing"),[230]

Welsh (e.g., "Only Half the Story"),[231] Chinese (e.g., "Victory for the Palestinians"),[232] Japanese

(e.g., "No Hiroshima"),[233] Vietnamese (e.g., "A Victory for the Palestinian People),[234] and

Hebrew (e.g., "The Olive Harvest").[235] This rampant polyglotism almost surely results in a

higher level of comprehensibility across cultures and a correspondingly higher level of co-

identification between message and recipients. Moreover, because Palestinian political agencies

have not controlled the production of international solidarity posters,[236] the textual and symbolic

mix that has resulted can only be described as kaleidoscopic. For example, the Danish artist

Thomas Kruse[237] designed a narrative storyboard poster, "Recognize the PLO,"[238] using

traditional Danish fonts, stylization, and woodblock printing methods to tell the history of the

emergence of the Palestine revolution. The poster terminates in a caption calling for the

recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, a common

demand of the PLO and solidarity organizations from the 1970's until the 1992 Oslo Peace

Accords when the PLO was accorded this status. "Recognize the PLO" was a product of

individual inspiration and interpretation, yet it resulted in a poster no less effective for direct

political applications than if it had been designed according to rigid, ideologically driven

formulas.

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[230] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/apartheid-and-ethnic-cleansing
[231] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/only-half-the-story
[232] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/victory-for-the-palestinians
[233] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/no-hiroshima
[234] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/a-victory-for-the-palestinian-people
[235] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/the-olive-harvest
[236] See discussion on the inclusion of international artists in "The Palestinian Wellspring" section of Chapter 3.
[237] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/thomas-kruse
[238] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/recognize-the-plo

In summary, during its (ongoing) revolutionary period, the Palestinian approach to poster art has been: often experimental (possibly as a reflection of tactical necessity rather than any cultural strategy); uniformly accommodating relative to artistic expression (international artists were welcomed as much for their expressions of solidarity and perhaps celebrity status as much as for the art they contributed); and generally artist-driven.

Public versus Private Realms

Reiner Schurmann defines "public realm" as:

> [T]hat system of mutual recognitions, ritual performances, shared acknowledgements, and institutional arrangements within which, and by means of which, a society of men and women self-consciously recognize their collective existence and set themselves to make and carry out collective decisions.[239]

This notion of "public realm" suggests an explanation for why people thousands of miles away from Palestine design, print, and distribute Palestine posters. The Sri Lankan Eelam Revolutionary Students Organization (EROS)[240] sees the specifics of its own revolutionary struggle—against colonization, land appropriation, usurpation, and exile—mirrored in Palestine. It fuses Palestinian and Sri Lankan identities to produce what Bourdieu refers to as "social capital," that is, "lasting, useful relationships that can secure material or symbolic profits."[241] In much the same way that in the years 1936–1939 the Spanish Republican cause attracted the support of the International Brigades in the fight against Franco and the Spanish Nationalists,[242] so too has the Palestinian national liberation movement attracted activists to its ranks. This

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[239] Reiner Schurmann. *The Public Realm: Essays on Discursive Types in Political Philosophy*. (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989), 143.

[240] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/victory-to-palestine-victory-to-eelam

[241] Bourdieu, 87.

[242] The Spanish Civil War produced what is likely the first "internationalist" school of poster art, now preserved at the Library of Congress: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/search/?st=grid&co=spcw

especially includes artists who—from countries as disparate as Cuba,[243] Brazil,[244] and Tanzania[245]—have cross-fertilized their own creativity and national iconographies with those of contemporary Palestine—borrowing, fusing, and remixing and in the process creating perhaps the first truly global political iconography.

The sense of "collective existence" is bi-directional. Over the years many Palestinian-published posters have been created in solidarity with groups and movements beyond the region of Palestine including the Polisario Front (Western Sahara),[246] the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO),[247] the Lebanese National Movement (LNM),[248] the Iranian revolution,[249] the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua,[250] revolutionary Cuba,[251] the Turkish masses,[252] and the people of the Soviet Union.[253]

By comparison, political Zionism's concept of realm has been more inward-looking than public, more particular in terms of who can participate in and benefit from its revolution, and more backwards-looking in terms of its objective—the "negation of the Diaspora."[254]

The posters of Zionism's formative years did help accomplish the four main goals of the Basel Program, mentioned above in the discussion of the Zionist/Israeli Wellspring. They also were important in establishing the tone and competencies that mark contemporary professional Israeli graphic design. What they did not do was resonate globally. They did not give birth to an International Wellspring of posters in solidarity with Zionism, nor did they establish any

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[243] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/solidaridad-solidarite-solidarity
[244] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/stand-with-the-boycott
[245] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/one-struggle
[246] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/political-cultural-social-publishers/polisario
[247] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/content/popular-front-for-the-liberation-of-oman-pflo
[248] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/viva-la-union
[249] http:// www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/the-revolutionaries-of-palestine-salute-the-revolutionaries-of-iran
[250] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/un-simbolo-de-la-luche-en-comun
[251] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/cuba-palestine
[252] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/victory-for-the-turkish-masses
[253] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/glory-to-the-soviet-people
[254] Zeev Sternhell (David Maisel, translator). *The Founding Myths of Israel: Nationalism, Socialism, and the Making of the Jewish State.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 328.

"meaningful" linkages (in Bourdieu's sense) with other revolutionary movements. Perhaps political Zionism—an ideology dependent upon successfully urging Jewish people to flee or emigrate from the countries where they were living—did not start out believing it was possible, or even necessary, to establish links beyond Jewish communities? According to Bar-Gal, the "main premises" of the Jewish National Fund's "propaganda instruments" such as the Blue Box[255] campaigns, Tu Bishvat[256] tree-plantings, and Shavuot holiday celebrations,[257] were:

> The desire to innovate. The need to establish permanent traditions. The desire to be a recognized presence everywhere. The desire to win the approval of all Jews.[258]

Most JNF posters exhort Jewish people, either via text, illustration, or both, to *do* something: pay your shekel;[259] buy a home in a Jewish town or a Zionist settlement; [260] learn Hebrew;[261] make aliyah (Hebrew: lit., to ascend; fig,. to emigrate to Israel);[262] become a member of a kibbutz;[263] or participate in the Maccabi Games.[264] The execution of these actions was practically and ideologically restricted to the objective of creating Jewish ties to Israel. This analysis applies equally to the posters of the Histadrut (General Federation of Workers in Eretz Israel),[265] the World Zionist Organization,[266] Keren Hayesod,[267] Hashomer Hatza'ir[268] and other Zionist organizations and political parties.

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[255] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/special-collection/blue-box
[256] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/tu-bishvat-0
[257] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/holiday-of-shavuot
[258] Bar Gal, 57.
[259] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/a-tenth-of-a-shekel-per-head
[260] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/the-airy-garden-city-of-tel-litwinsky
[261] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/the-hebrew-alphabet
[262] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/your-gates-shall-open-continuously
[263] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/youth-settlement-in-palestine
[264] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/maccabi-support-the-building-of-maccabi-village-on-jnf-land
[265] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/histadrut-general-federation-of-workers-in-eretz-israel
[266] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/world-zionist-organization
[267] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/keren-hayesod
[268] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/hashomer-hatzair

The "JNF Corner"[269] is an example of how new and deeply emotional rituals inculcated Zionist values into Jewish immigrants to Israel, and to the maximum degree possible, Jewish people everywhere:

> Pictures [posters] of Herzl and Bialik, set permanently at the centre of the Corner; these are our cherished people, like the nation's ministers, who have to be constantly made part of the kindergarten's life. Likewise the pictures of Ussishkin, as head of the Jewish National Fund, as the children knew him when he was alive… In the JNF Corner the box is hung. This is the object closest to the child's understanding and it plays a real role in the fulfillment of the child's practical obligations. On festivals and Sabbath Eve the box receives a place of honour and it is beautifully decorated. In the Corner one should place plants, saplings, budding plants—in villages but especially in towns, as a hint of the connection between the JNF, the land, and the workers of the land. On festival days the [Israeli] flag should be hung in the Corner… Before festivals and other important events connected with the JNF all should assemble at the Corner.[270]

There was little or nothing in the efforts to construct a matrix of Zionist-oriented cultural practices that could be meaningfully re-produced by people who were not Jewish. The fact that the vast majority of the early Zionist posters were printed in Hebrew only (or in languages with significant populations of Jewish speakers [e.g., Rumanian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Yiddish]) lends further credence to this exclusionary interpretation.

It is true that in the period 1948–1967, Israel enjoyed the admiration of the Western world, as expressed in the popularity of films such as "Exodus"[271] and "Cast a Giant Shadow."[272] This early cultural capital contributed to a long-lasting stream of material support from the U.S. government (e.g., military equipment and financial aid). But Israel's international cultural capital was unsustainable following its invasion and occupation of the West Bank and Gaza:

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[269] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/the-jnf-corner
[270] Mrs. Weismann-Dizengoff, quoted at the conference of the Association of Kindergarten Teachers (Tel Aviv, 1944). Cited in Bar-Gal, 109.
[271] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/exodus
[272] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/cast-a-giant-shadow

> Whereas the conquests of 1949 were an essential condition for the founding of Israel, the attempt to retain the conquests of 1967 had a strong flavor of imperial expansion.[273]

The Zionist ideology that reinforced a bright line between Jewish people and all other peoples, and the moral sea change that occurred when Israel moved from underdog to an occupation force, are two possible explanations for the absence of posters from any outside source that re-produces the Zionist telling of its history. The wellsprings tell us as much by what is in them as by what is absent.

New Accessibility to the Early Zionist Posters

A comparative study of the posters of political Zionism and Palestinian nationalism, such as that demonstrated in the above discussion, would have been extremely difficult for a graduate student such as myself to accomplish, prior to the advent of the Internet. Although the poster art of the early years of Zionism constitutes a stunningly sophisticated graphic oeuvre and nearly encyclopedic historical record of the formative years of the Zionist enterprise, nothing approaching a comprehensive retrospective of them has ever been organized. The posters of early Zionism have been culled selectively for some limited-focus exhibits, such as "Blue and White In Color: Visual Images of Zionism 1897 – 1947"[274] and for limited-distribution books such as "Art in the Service of Ideology: Hashomer Hatzair Political Posters 1937-1967."[275] However, access to the full corpus of these works has been limited primarily to scholars

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[273] Sternhell, 336.

[274] This exhibit included all manner of printed materials including about 14 posters. http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/blue-and-white-in-color-visual-images-of-zionism-1897-1947-cover

[275] This book focuses on only one Zionist institution, Hashomer Hatzair. http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/art-in-the-service-of-ideology

researching the holdings of the Central Zionist Archives[276] in Jerusalem or other major

repositories, most of which are located in Israel.

With the advent of the Internet, this has begun to change. Over the past five or six years, vast

numbers of these posters have begun to appear online, rivaling in quantity the collections of early

Zionists posters held institutionally. Major online sources of early Zionist posters include Ebay,

Google Images, and Flickr and auction houses such as Swann Gallery,[277] Christie's,[278]

Kedem,[279] and Sotheby's,[280] as well as commercial poster sales sites such as Chisholm-

Larsson,[281] Farkash Gallery,[282] and the Israeli Poster Center.[283]

Early Zionist posters also are emerging through "legacy" sites such as the one dedicated to

the memory of the award-winning Israeli poster designer Uriel Abraham.[284] Such sites place the

curatorial role in the hands of colleagues, family members, and friends and provide deeply

nuanced data and context.

With all this new exposure for the poster art of early Zionism,[285] it seems reasonable to ask

why this has not happened sooner or why the major Zionist institutions and Israeli arts agencies

have not played a more proactive role in promoting this aspect of Zionist heritage? An

explanation may lie in what Yael Zerubavel calls the "dynamics of remembering":

> The commemorative density thus ranges from [a] periods or events that are
> central to the group's memory and are commemorated in great detail and
> elaboration to [b] ones that remain unmarked in the master commemorative

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[276] http://www.zionistarchives.org.il/ZA/pMainE.aspx
[277] http://www.swanngalleries.com/
[278] http://www.christies.com/about/
[279] http://www.kedem-auctions.com/en/home
[280] http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/list.html
[281] http://www.chisholm-poster.com/about.html
[282] http://www.farkash-gallery.com/
[283] http://www.israeliposters.co.il/
[284] http://www.danielabraham.net/tree/abraham/uriel/designer.asp
[285] As evidence of the size of the new digital universe of early Zionist posters, consider that there 2,000 Zionist/Israeli posters at the Website. Almost 100 percent of those are digital files accessed online.

narrative. Such periods or events that collective memory suppresses become subjects of collective amnesia. Thus, the construction of the master commemorative narrative exposes the dynamics of remembering and forgetting that underlie the construction of any commemorative narrative: by focusing attention on certain aspects of the past, it necessarily covers up others that are deemed irrelevant or disruptive to the flow of the narrative and ideological message.[286]

"Collective amnesia," which may explain Zionism's previous disinterest in its early posters, may not be sustainable in the post-digital era. In fact, electronic availability of Zionist posters may mark a forced shift in Zionism's "master commemorative narrative." By failing to mine its own graphic legacy, contemporary Zionism has relinquished its previous near-hegemonic control of the telling of its formative narrative. One possible result of the new availability of these original source materials may be the emergence of new historiographies of Zionism, ones that undo any "collective memory suppression."

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[286] Yael Zerubavel. Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition.(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 8.

Palestinian Posters in the Digital Age

Digitization, the ability to take and manipulate images and to store and distribute them electronically, has had two noteworthy effects on contemporary Palestinian poster publishing. First, it has exponentially expanded the number of creative nodes for the production of posters. Second, it has dramatically expanded the topics, iconography, and range of political perspectives found in them.

Prior to the maturation of the Internet in the early 1990's, poster publishing was restricted to those who could underwrite the significant recurring costs involved in design, mass printing, and distribution. Thus most titles were institutionally published and disseminated from a single geographic point.[287]

Digitization has made it possible for posters created in an artist's studio to be simultaneously published, either electronically or on paper, in multiple places around the globe. It makes possible the sharing of Palestine posters that, in all likelihood, would never have been seen outside the immediate orbit of the originating source. For example, in the days before digitalization, the limited edition silkscreen series by the artists Sam Kerson and Katah, "Gaza—Punishing the Innocent,"[288] would likely not have been seen by anyone outside Quebec, where it was produced. By contrast, a poster designed by Jordanian artist Nidal el Khairy[289] was used in 2011 Israel Apartheid Week actions all over the world.

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[287] The exception to this rule involves independent artists and collectives who owned or controlled the means of production and who could print short runs for local distribution. This includes instances in which an artist produced a single poster for submission to a contest or exhibit.

[288] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/exhibits-catalogs/gaza-punishing-the-innocent

[289] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/a-homeland-and-dignity

Digitization also has drawn into the poster-making world talent from a variety of disciplines—not just graphic design but also painting, caricature, illustration, silkscreen printing, and computer-generated imagery (CGI). Digital editing/desktop publishing has led to a flourishing practice of digital "remixing"—taking older posters and reworking them to tell a new, different or diametrical story. The Israel Apartheid Week poster just mentioned was remixed by [both anti-Zionist and Zionist artists][290] almost as soon as it was published. The [Special Collection for Remix/Visit Palestine][291] is another example of how vigorously remixing is practiced.

This digital fluidity dovetails with the long-standing Palestinian nationalist attitude of openness to and among artists. Of the thousands of Palestinian-published posters featured at the Website, there is not a single copyright mark visible.[292]

Digitization also has facilitated the growth of Palestinian poster contests. As mentioned previously, [Badil],[293] [Yabous Productions],[294] and the [Ramallah Center for Human Rights Studies],[295] all sponsor annual, themed poster contests. Each draws hundreds of entrants; this can be credited in no small part to the fact that contest information is disseminated electronically and both poster creation and entry submission have gone digital.

Another important effect of digitization is the dramatic expansion of topics, iconography, and range of political perspectives found in Palestinian posters. There are posters at the Website

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[290] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/israel-apartheid-week-palestinian-hypocrisy-week

[291] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/exhibits-and-catalogs/remixvisit-palestine. See the discussion of "Visit Palestine in the section below, "The Role of Irony in Contemporary Zionist Poster Art."

[292] Some artists, especially those who make their living selling copies of their posters such as Sam Kerson and Katah, retain copyright to the original materials, but the digital files are unencumbered and are available within "fair use" applications online to anyone at no charge.)

[293] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/special-collection/badil-2007-poster-contest-entries

[294] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/special-collection/yabous-productions

[295] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/special-collection/ramallah-center-for-human-rights-studies/tasamuh

published by the <u>Palestinian Circus School</u>,[296] the <u>Palestinian Puppet Festival</u>,[297] and even the <u>Ramallah Beekeepers Cooperative</u>.[298] An unbroken commitment to historical Palestinian nationalist aspirations runs clean through these new works, yet much more that is parochial in nature now finds expression. A great deal of cultural knowledge that was absent from the posters before digitization now augments the established, but limiting, iconography of armed struggle. This expansion hints at the democratization of a previously privileged process. Rochelle Davis comments on a similar process relative to Palestinian village books:

> Perhaps the appearance of the village books in the 1980's, and their detailed construction of village history, can be read as part of the struggle over political authority. Once governed by village elites and land owners, villagers became refugees who were used and empowered by various political movements and leaders. In the 1990's the PLO anchored itself in the West Bank and Gaza and abandoned the Palestinians in the diaspora and Israel. In light of this political absence the village books signify a shift by Palestinians to new ways of producing Palestinian-ness, and the authority of individuals to represent who Palestinians are today.[299]

This democratization in defining "Palestinian-ness" via posters is coming about because of concurrent developments—the Internet, digital printing, mass access to desktop publishing, and the maturation of new cadres of artistic talent, the pervasiveness of the new social media—plus the ongoing occupation and the absence of any political force capable of controlling it or preventing its emergence. As a result, the values and interests of what would otherwise be marginal Palestinian organizations and their artistic collaborators now dominate the Palestinian wellspring. Now small voices can be heard.

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[296] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/the-palestinian-circus-school
[297] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/special-collection/palestine-puppet-festival
[298] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/honey-from-your-homeland
[299] Rochelle A. Davis. *Palestinian Village Histories: Geographies of the Displaced*. (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 58.

One sign of how the political dynamic between the old-line political factions and the emerging Palestinian artists plays out has been revealed in exchanges with artists in Ramallah. Because they must make a living, these artists cannot afford to refuse work from the large political and corporate institutions that regularly commission posters and with whom they may have significant political disagreements. One tactic they have developed is to design the posters so that all the logos of the sponsoring organizations are arranged along the very bottom edge of the posters. Once printed, the clients receive the posters bearing all the logos. Then the artists have the printers trim off the bottom several inches of a "run-on" tranche (extra posters added to the number paid for by the original client, which are paid for by the artists themselves). This results in a completely different edition of the same poster, one that features all the graphic content of the original poster but without the promotional elements. This is the version they give to their friends. In essence, these poster artists have developed an economic survival strategy that allows them to work for, yet disassociate themselves clandestinely from, the existing political, social, and economic institutions that have the means to mass-print posters.

Contemporary Israeli Posters

The contemporary Israeli poster scene is a cosmos unto itself.[300] The book Plakate Aus Israel[301] captures part of this complex and rich visual arts tradition by presenting the works produced by Israeli designers over a 35-year span (1950-1985). Though most of these posters were produced as commissions for corporations, theatres, museums, sports events, or government agencies, the

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[301] *Plakate Aus Israel.* (Berlin: Kunstbibliothek, 1985).

book also includes several anti-war and anti-occupation posters (all self-published by artists whose commercial works are featured in the book).

The bulk of the posters depicted in *Plakate Aus Israel* would likely be considered nonpolitical in most other contexts but, within Israel and Palestine, they cannot be viewed today without reference to the ongoing conflict. Three examples support this point:

- A 1960 [poster urges young Israelis to consider continuing education and night school](#);[302] an obvious counterpoint is the frequent Israeli military closings of Palestinian schools and universities.

- A 1968 [El Al tourism poster](#)[303] promoting travel to Africa features a giraffe standing in for the letter "L;" *[zarrafeh](#)*[304] (Arabic: giraffe), is the Palestinian slang term for the long-necked Israeli military excavator used to demolish Palestinian homes.

- A 1984 [poster promotes a Bruce Springsteen concert in Israel](#);[305] Springsteen participated in the cultural boycott of apartheid South Africa, and his rumored show in Israel in summer 2012, whether fact or false, draws attention to the Palestinian Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI).

As these few references demonstrate, contemporary Israeli poster art, perhaps uniquely in the history of art or propaganda, summons forth the counter-narrative.

Contemporary professional Israeli graphic design evinces a mastery of communication theory and practice, and it holds its own with any other modern national school. The maturation of Israel's consumer economy has diversified the content of its poster tradition from one themed

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[302] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/the-school-for-working-youth
[303] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/el-al-africa
[304] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/visit-palestine-zaraffeh
[305] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/bruce-springsteen-in-concert-in-israel

almost entirely around [industry](#),[306] [defense](#),[307] *aliya* (Hebrew: ascending),[308] to one that is more

topically diverse and subtle. The 1967 war marked a sea change in the design, content and

sources of contemporary Israeli posters:

> After 1967, the conservative atmosphere, maintained by social and economic policies dictated by the need to integrate and absorb hundreds of thousands of immigrants, began to open up. As old policies lost relevance, social, cultural and political ideas of Western liberalism percolated through Israeli society. A growing awareness of the civil rights movement and anti-Vietnam protesting taking place in the United States at the time fueled the desire among the new generation of Israelis to cultivate a dissenting voice and engage in grassroots political activism. Within the design community, this activist engagement found inspiration in the global popularity of posters as vehicles to challenge authority and spread ideas during social and political struggles. Vardimon recalls that, as early as 1969, "I felt that we should be dealing with the real problem of what is happening to us and our society...[it was] the year after recovering from two years of winning the Six-Day War and there [were still] casualties on the borders every day; people started realizing that victory has its costs. From my own political views, dealing with occupied territories should be dealt with meaningfully." Vardimon was not the only designer who saw the need to address the political, economic, and socio-cultural consequences that arose as a result of the military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.[309]

To get a true sense of the poster's role in contemporary Israeli culture, however, one must

leaven the formal output of the Israeli graphic arts professionals with the grittier and more street-

savvy works found, for example, in, *It's All Lies*.[310] This book details the poster art and graphics

published on a wide range of social activist themes including gay rights, anti-war efforts, anti-

Zionism and opposition to the occupation as well as a host of other counter-cultural movements

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[306] http://palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/historical-figures-and-themes/workerstoolsunionsconstructionequipmenticons
[307] http://palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/historical-figures-and-themes/militarypersonnelinsigniauniformequipment
[308] http://palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/historical-figures-and-themes/aliyaemigrationimmigrationtransfercolonizationinter
[309] Kezwer, Baraket. *Peace, Politics and Post Zionism: Contemporary Left-Wing Graphic Design in Israel*. (New York: Parsons The New School for Design, 2011),18-19.
[310] Massey, David. *It's All Lies; Leaflets, Underground Press and Posters: The Fusion of Resistance and Creativity in Israel* (Hebrew). (Tel Aviv: ha-Soknut le-kedum tarbut bikoretit ̲etsma'it, 2002).

in Israel. Many of these posters, for example, "Israel Is a Military Camp"[311] are openly hostile to core Zionist principles. Others, such as "No To U.S. Intervention In El Salvador–Stop the Israeli Weapon Transports,"[312] confirm the presence of a feisty, outspoken Israeli street press that, to use Bourdieu's term, culturally reproduces dissent via posters on a broad range of national and international issues.[313]

A number of accomplished Israeli graphic artists, such as Sany (Ido) Arazi, [314] Ilan Molcho,[315] and David Tartakover,[316] have created posters in solidarity with Palestinian civil and human rights movements and/or in opposition to Israeli political figures and the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. In so doing they have created yet another genre-extending category of modern Palestine posters, one that plays a larger role in the public discourse than its small numbers might suggest. This is due to the fact that anti-Zionist posters created by Jewish Israelis carry far greater weight than if the same or similar poster were published by artists of any other nationality. An Israeli-artist-produced poster denouncing, for example, Zionist settlements in the West Bank,[317] the Israeli invasion of Lebanon,[318] the policies of Benjamin Netanyahu, [319] or national military service,[320] is essentially a voice from within Zionism that cannot be suppressed, as might posters from any other source.[321] The

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[311] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/israel-is-a-military-camp
[312] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/no-to-us-intervention-in-el-salvador-stop-the-israeli-weapon-transports
[313] The almost utopian free-speech environment within which Jewish Israeli artists and activists work, however, does not extend to Palestinian artists or agencies. See the discussion of Israeli Military Order 101 in the "Palestinian Nationalist Wellspring" section of Chapter 3.
[314] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/ido-sany-arazi
[315] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/ilan-molcho
[316] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/david-tartakover
[317] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/evacuate-the-settlers-from-hebron
[318] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/get-out-of-lebanon-now
[319] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/we-will-never-forget-we-will-never-forgive
[320] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/israel-is-a-military-camp
[321] For evidence that this suppression does occur, see the Special Collection, Cancelled/Censored/Compromised/Criticized Exhibits/Posters/Cultural Events.

outspokenness of these artists confirms that Jewish Israelis can publicly and repeatedly assert

anti-Zionist positions (that would be considered at best "anti-Israel" in the American context)

without eliciting charges of "incitement." The Israeli political hierarchy cannot outlaw these

posters without damaging Israel's claim to being a democracy and drawing more attention to the

posters, the artists, and their political agendas. It also cannot credibly accuse these artists of

being driven by anti-Semitic motives since all are Jewish and Israeli and many are IDF veterans.

The posters subvert the conflation of anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism by demonstrating,

empirically, that one may indeed be simultaneously anti-Zionist and/or against Israeli policy and

not anti-Semitic.[322]

In 2005 two art schools in Israel sponsored a [class project](#)[323] that produced quite a few

posters articulating disenchantment with Israel and Zionism:

> The collective trauma of 9,000 Israelis losing their houses in the 2005 Gaza
> disengagement brought the concept of home to the forefront of many Israelis'
> minds. In 2005, students from WIZO Academy of Arts and Design as well as
> Holon Institute of Technology participated in the Home International Poster
> Project, an international design program with a mission to ―[promote] dialogue
> through design by linking design students from schools all over the world to
> address the universal theme of 'Home.' Participating students created a poster that
> explored Israel as their home; the posters were overwhelmingly negative and
> expressed a deep sense of despair and discomfort with the home in which they
> grew up. The powerful posters, which were displayed in the Czech Embassy in
> Tel Aviv along with posters created by Czech and Slovakian students, attracted
> little attention outside of a small circle of teachers and students.[324]

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http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/exhibits-and-
catalogs/cancelledcensoredcompromisedcriticized-exhibitsposterscultu

[322] For an extended discussion of this topic, see Dan Walsh, "Antonym/Synonym: A Broken Language, a Crippled Debate, and the Role of Art in Democracy," 2003.

[323] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/home-international-poster-project

[324] Kewzer, 89–90.

The poster art of the Israeli left employs very different symbols and language, compared with that of indigenous Palestinians, for describing life under Zionism. One tells the story from the perspective of a dissident; the other from the point of view of the insurgent. One seeks reform, the other revolution. The political posters produced by the Israel left backlight some of the internal contradictions that mark the Zionist discourse and in doing so challenge its hegemony over the narrative and lend credence, intentionally or not, to the anti-Zionist perspectives found in Palestinian-published posters.

This class of Israeli posters is also problematic for political Zionism/Israel advocacy in the U.S. Their overtly anti-Zionist/anti-Occupation messages are repeated in the posters and campaigns of American anti-Occupation organizations such as Jewish Voices for Peace,[325] the U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation,[326] and the California Department of Corrections (a group that "corrects" via unauthorized alterations Israel advocacy posters in the San Francisco area).[327] Efforts to suppress[328] these American posters highlight the disparities in the quality of free speech on Palestine in the U.S. as compared with Israel. One recent example of the free-speech tensions is the experience of a Jewish Voices for Peace (JVP) activist in Los Angeles who had threatening posters[329] left at her home. The posters accused her of "treason and incitement against Jews" in reference to her anti-Occupation work in the U.S. The JVP press release referenced the process of "cultural diffusion" by saying: "The 'wanted poster' is a translation in English idiom of the villainy unleashed by the violence-prone settler movement in Israel and now, their supporters in the United States."

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[325] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/special-collection/jewish-voices-for-peace
[326] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/special-collection/us-campaign-to-end-the-israeli-occupation
[327] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/special-collection/california-department-of-corrections
[328] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/exhibits-and-catalogs/cancelledcensoredcompromisedcriticized-exhibitsposterscultu
[329] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/wanted-for-treason-and-incitement-against-jews

The nettlesome (to Zionism) quality of posters published by artists such as Arazi, Molcho, and Tartakover lies in the fact that these artists take full advantage of free speech rights available to them as Jewish Israelis and in so doing demonstrate that these rights are not universally available in Israel or in the U.S. By publicly demonstrating that in Israel these rights are reserved for the Jewish majority, they confirm Israel's status as an ethno-religious construct and highlight the privileging process at work within Israeli society. These posters also denote the presence of a cadre of politically active artists who are openly hostile to any assumption of artistic self-censorship in the interest of state doctrine.

These posters also demonstrate the power of the poster, and artists, to alter the discourse at will. The boisterous, in-your-face political dynamics of Israeli-published anti-Zionist posters are helping to legitimize similar discourse in America, and are (re)creating a space free of the insinuation of anti-Semitic "incitement." This newly minted outspokenness can be seen in the very public and very persistent postering carried out by groups such as Jewish Voices for Peace, discussed above, as well as Israeli Apartheid Week[330] and JustSeeds Cooperative.[331]

Another fascinating subgenre of contemporary Israeli posters has begun to receive attention only recently: "pashkevilim."[332] This category of posters is made up almost entirely of broadsides—posters with no graphics—which originate exclusively from ultra-Orthodox Jewish neighborhoods and organizations. Religious arcana and personalities are frequently, but not always, the subject of pashkevilim and they are considered scandalous owing to their outspokenness and anonymity. Pashkevilim have addressed a wide range of issues from the Balfour Declaration[333] to a series of raids by the Israeli government in Jerusalem in 1971 that the

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[330] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/special-collection/israeli-apartheid-week
[331] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/content/just-seeds-artists039-cooperative
[332] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pashkevilim
[333] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/the-historic-day-of-the-balfour-declaration-for-our-nation

pashkevil publisher labeled "the Zionist Crystal Night"[334] in reference to the infamous Nazi "Kristalnacht" raids on Jewish homes and synagogues in 1938. (It should be noted that many Jewish ultra-Orthodox are anti-Zionist and do not recognize the state of Israel.) The pashkevilim are remarkable for the complete absence of language restraint. Pashkevilim publishers attack any individual or institution at will and the language used is anything but civil. Recently a trove of these posters was donated to Israel's National Museum, and a catalog of the first exhibit of pashkevilim was published in 2005. The exhibit catalog from the Eretz Israel Museum aptly uses the word "polemic" to describe them.

Collectively the work of contemporary Israeli poster artists hints at what a robust civic discourse on the Palestinian-Zionist conflict in the United States might look and sound like were Israeli free speech norms institutionalized there. They countermand the efforts of Congressionally-oriented Israel advocacy groups, collectively called the "Israel Lobby," which:

> in addition to influencing government policy directly … strives to shape public perceptions about Israel and the Middle East. It does not want an open debate on issues involving Israel, because an open debate might cause Americans to question the level of support that they currently provide. Accordingly, pro-Israel organizations work hard to influence the media, think tanks, and academia, because these institutions are critical in shaping popular opinion.[335]

These posters challenge the cant upon which American reticence to publicly Israel and express opposition to Zionism is based. After all, if it is permissible for Israelis to routinely and publicly abjure from Zionist doctrine, why can't that same outspokenness be practiced elsewhere? If such dissent is *not* anti-Semitic incitement in the Israeli context, why is it also *not* anti-Semitic in the American context? These posters raise troubling questions for Israel

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[334] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/zionist-crystal-night
[335] Mearsheimer and Walt, 2006, p. 20.

advocacy and reveal its vulnerability to subaltern expressions, a potentially unhinging dynamic remarked upon by Voltaire:

> What harm can a book do that costs a hundred crowns? Twenty volume folios will never make a revolution. It is the little portable volumes of thirty sous that are to be feared…[336]

Ironically, the contemporary Palestine-related poster art of Israeli anti-Zionists, when integrated into the American discourse, mimics both the trajectory and impact of 18th century revolutionary pamphleteer movements in Europe and the U.S. It would appear that the Palestine poster, a modern equivalent of Voltaire's "little portable volumes," is feared for the same reasons: they may reflect a closer and more accurate view of popular attitudes towards Israel and Zionism than the Israel Lobby is comfortable having discussed publicly.

The Role of Irony in Contemporary Zionist Poster Art

David Tartakover's now-famous 1995 reprinting[337] of Franz Krausz's classic 1936 poster, "Visit Palestine"[338] provides a glimpse into the power of the "little portable volume" that is the poster: the same poster can act to advance Zionism's mythos at one historical moment and subvert it at another. Reprinted with permission by Tartakover as an homage to Krausz, "Visit Palestine" was immediately seized by Palestinians as their own. The poster represents an exquisite debunking of Golda Meir's much-repeated Zionist fiction that there never was a Palestinian people or a place called Palestine.[339]

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[336] Hall, Evelyn Beatrice. *The Life of Voltaire*. (Ann Arbor, M: University of Michigan Library,1910), 421.
[337] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/category/special-collection/remix/visit-palestine
[338] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/visit-palestine-original
[339] Wikiquote. "Golda Meir." Accessed December 1, 2011. http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Golda_Meir

"Visit Palestine" provides an intriguing glimpse into Zionist exploitation of Arab stereotypes and Palestinian iconography: by effacement (e.g., "Come See Eretz Israel"[340]); for commercial purposes (e.g., the smiling, happy "natives" in "A Perfect Bite"[341]); as graphic embellishment (e.g., "Come to Palestine"[342]); for military ends (e.g., as armed and threatening "natives" in "Before the Attack"[343]); for political ends (e.g., the "Demographic Bomb"[344]); and sometimes through ridicule or humor (e.g., He Has Agreed with Kennedy to Return Them[345]). Collectively these posters articulate an almost intoxicatingly perfect manifestation of the Orientalist mindset as well as of "othering" psychology.[346]

Tartakover himself has stated that he was well aware of the Zionist exploitation of the Palestinian landscape; however, he was surprised by the Palestinians' appropriation of "Visit Palestine." Bulk orders began arriving from addresses in the West Bank,[347] and in the years since 1995, several Palestinian-initiated bootleg editions of "Visit Palestine"[348] have emerged. These reprints can now be purchased at tourist shops all over Israel and the West Bank. "Visit Palestine" was published in 1935 by a Zionist agency that appropriated the landscape of Palestine to actively promote the myth that it was empty of indigenous Palestinians. Sixty years later, "Visit Palestine" has been appropriated by indigenous Palestinians who actively distribute reprints throughout that landscape to demonstrate the emptiness of Zionism's myths. This episode demonstrates how the mere reprinting of one early Zionist poster can do damage to Zionism's carefully constructed modern narrative. It hints at the ramifications that may result as

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[340] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/tourism-in-palestine-come-see-eretz-israel
[341] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/a-perfect-bite
[342] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/come-to-palestine-0
[343] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/before-the-attack
[344] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/before-the-demographics-poison-us-evacuation-compensation-for-the-palestinians
[345] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/he-has-agreed-with-kennedy-to-return-them
[346] Said, 1979.
[347] Email communications with David Tartakover (August 16, 2009).
[348] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/special-collection/exhibits-and-catalogs/remixvisit-palestine

more and more early Zionist posters come to light and are comprehended through the lens of contemporary scholarship.

CHAPTER 8—
CONCLUSIONS

Edward Said commented on the difficulty Americans face when trying to have a normal conversation about the Palestinian-Zionist conflict:

> One aspect of the electronic, postmodern world is that there has been a re-enforcement of the stereotypes by which the Orient is viewed. Television, the films, and all the media's resources have forced information into more and more standardized molds.... Three things have contributed to making even the simplest perceptions of the Arabs and Islam into a highly politicized, almost raucous matter: one, the history of popular anti-Arab and anti-Islamic prejudice in the West.... two, the struggle between the Arabs and Israeli Zionism, and its effects upon American Jews as well as upon both the liberal culture and the population at large; three, the almost total absence of *any cultural position* making it possible either to identify with or dispassionately discuss the Arabs or Islam. (italics added)[349]

The Website of the Palestine Poster Project Archives initiates a new "cultural position" which facilitates American participation in the discussion. It presents all perspectives related to the conflict from 1897 to the present, thus putting the full arc of the story in focus. It serves as a virtual public square, in which thousands of posters, each with its own page and data, invite the visitor to *also* participate—to view and study the symbols, slogans, colors, languages, and ideas presented—and to arrive at his or her own interpretation.

The historian and social critic Christopher Lasch said:

> What democracy requires is public debate, and not information. Of course, it needs information, too, but the kind of information it needs can be generated only by vigorous popular debate. We do not know what we need to know until we ask the right questions, and we can identify the right questions only by subjecting our own ideas about the world to the test of public controversy. Information, usually seen as the precondition of debate, is better understood as its by-product. When we get into arguments that focus and fully engage our attention, we become avid

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[349] Edward Said. *Orientalism.* (New York: Random House, 1978), 27.

> seekers of relevant information. Otherwise we take in information passively -- if we take it in at all.[350]

Much of what is unique about the Website, in addition to the posters themselves, is a direct result of its empirical focus, its transparent and plain-language captioning, and its non-privileging format. These crucial principles combined to demonstrate that it is possible to discuss the conflict without violating the norms of civil discourse.

The Palestine poster has played a key role in narrating, recording, and making public the history of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict. The Website documents empirically that a robust, long-running, and nuanced debate about the conflict has been an everyday feature of life for many years in many places—though not in the United States. For audiences in America, where it has often been difficult to discuss the conflict without fear of the charge of "anti-Semitism," "anti-Zionism" or their conflation, the Website introduces not only the particulars of the wider debate but also serves as a template for participation.

This research began as an effort to address the needs of American high school students for a more complete and authentic curriculum on the history of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict. It can claim to have done that and also to have introduced the Israeli and Palestinian "street" to the American high school. By listening in on the debates as carried out by Palestinians and Israelis via contemporary posters, a much more complex and interesting history emerges and so does a model of discourse that Americans can emulate. I conclude that the Website represents a range of new options for Americans to comprehend and engage as equals in the national and international debates on the subject of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict.

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[350] Christopher Lasch. "Journalism, Publicity, and the Lost Art of Argument." Media Studies Journal, Winter 1995 Vol. 9 No 1, 81.

APPENDICES

Archives—A collection organized systematically to facilitate the use, comprehension and identification of its contents.

Ephemera—Works-on-paper usually printed on cheap stock for immediate use as commercial advertising or political announcements. Generally pasted up outdoors on walls and fences, these works usually only survive by accident or the focused dedication of collectors.

JPEG—a universally recognized format for sending and storing/sending electronic images.

Palestine poster—The definition of a Palestine poster that I crafted to guide my work, and which is posted at the Website, is:

1) Any poster with the word "Palestine" in it, in any language, from any source or time period;

2) Any poster created or published by any artist or agency claiming Palestinian nationality or Palestinian participation;

3) Any poster published in the geographical territory of historic Palestine, at any point in history, including contemporary Israel;

4) Any poster published by any source which relates directly to the social, cultural, political, military or economic history of Palestine; and/or

5) Any poster related to Zionism or anti-Zionism in any language, from any source, published after August 31, 1897.

Palestine Posters (vs. "Palestinian" Posters)—"Palestine" denotes a historical geographic location, while "Palestinian" denotes a national, ethnic and political identity specific to the indigenous inhabitants of historic Palestine, irrespective of religious affiliation. Thus

"Palestinian" posters are the product of only one Wellspring: the Palestinian Nationalist. All four Wellsprings—International, Zionist/Israeli, Palestinian, and Arab/Muslim—have produced "Palestine" posters. That is to say, their respective Wellsprings contain posters that fit one or more of the criteria listed in my working definition of "Palestine poster" (see definition above). This distinction is critical because it allows for the integrated study of what had previously been artificially isolated bodies of work.

Palestine Poster Project (PPP)—This is an earlier effort out of which the Palestine Poster Project Archives evolved. It was a salvage anthropology project funded by a grant from the Ruth Mott Foundation (1999) with the single goal of photographing and digitally conserving all the Palestine posters I had acquired up to that time: approximately 2,000 original works-on-paper.

Palestine Poster Project Archives—This term covers two separate and distinct products:

1) The Archives—the hard-copy collection of printed, original posters, and

2) The Website—the digital versions of those printed posters and others that have been discovered or contributed and which are now online.

Both formats interact and support each other in various ways; however, the Website is growing at a much more rapid pace than the Archives, owing to the ease, speed, and economy with which digital images can be delivered compared to the cumbersome and often expensive process of packaging and shipping works-on-paper.

Poster—At its most essential, a political poster is a petition: it asks for the viewer's time and usually their sympathies as well. Posters come from almost everywhere and discuss almost everything. Much like other art genres such as film, music, writing, or painting, there are classic, timeless posters as well as ones that are obsolete and forgettable almost from the time

they are created. Usually printed on paper for pasting up outdoors, the vast majority of paper

posters do not survive long. The emergence of low cost, user-friendly digital imagery

software is re-defining the poster, formerly categorized as ephemera. Those designed today,

as well as scanned versions of older posters, now may have indefinite lifetimes.

Zionism—Many streams of Zionism have emerged over the past 100 years; for example,

cultural Zionism, Labor Zionism, Revisionist Zionism, and neo-Zionism. However, the only

form of Zionism under discussion in this thesis is political Zionism, specifically the ideology

championed by Theodor Herzl which dates from August 31, 1897.

Teaching the Formative History of Political Zionism
(1897-1947) through Poster Art:

A New Curriculum Model For the American High School

www.theartofdissent.com

Lesson Plan One: **Theodor Herzl, the Founding Father of Political Zionism and Modern Israel**

Zionist Organization Jubilee 1897-1947

Caption: "The Jews Who Will It Will Have Their State."

Artist: Zeev Raban

Country: Mandate Palestine

Date: 1947

Publisher: The World Zionist Organization

Source: The Library of Congress

Herzl in Basel, Switzerland

Artist: Research-in-progress

Date: 1897

The Year of Zionism — 100 Years Since the First Zionist Congress — 1897-1997

Artist: Dudu Harel

Country: Israel

Date: 1997

Publisher: The Israeli Office of Education Culture & Sport and the World Zionist Organization

Israel

Artist: Iris Dishon

Country: Israel

Date: 1988

Lesson Plan One: Theodor Herzl, the Father of Political Zionism and Modern Israel

"I consider the Jewish question [anti-Semitism] neither a social nor a religious one, even though it sometimes takes these and other forms.
It is a national question" [i.e., a question of creating a new nation]

"Were I to sum up the Basel Congress in one word——which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly——it would be this:
at Basel I have founded the Jewish state".

Source: *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl* - Edited by Rafael Patai (1960)

Focus Statement

The focus of this lesson plan is Theodor Herzl's personal belief that post-Emancipation Jewish efforts at cultural assimilation were destined to fail as a method for addressing anti-Jewish discrimination and violence. He believed that antisemitism stemmed from the fact that everywhere in Europe Jewish people, no matter how creative, accomplished or loyal, were treated as outsiders. According to his opinion, only by creating a state where Jewish people predominated politically and demographically could they ever be safe. His word carried enormous weight among Jewish intellectuals, artists, political activists, religious leaders and others. The idea of a Jewish "return" to Palestine was not new, however, Herzl was the first to ever make it seem *possible*.

Civic Competence Objective

Students will debate, either for or against, Herzl's claim that Jewish people could never live in safety and equality anywhere except in an exclusively Jewish state.

NOTE: This classroom experience will likely be the first time most students will speak publicly on the subject of Zionism.

National Council for the Social Studies — Curriculum Guideline/Thematic Strand:

VII: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of how people create and change structures of power, authority, and governance.

Teaching the Formative History of Political Zionism (1897-1947) through Poster Art:
A New Curriculum Model For the American High School

Lesson Plan Two: **Anti-Semitism, Then and There…Here and Now**

The Press in the USA Is 97% in Jewish Hands

Artist: Research-in-progress

Country: Nazi-occupied Yugoslavia

Date: 1941

Publisher: The Anti-Masonic Exhibition
Source: The Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, University of Minnesota

Merriam-Webster's "First Sense"
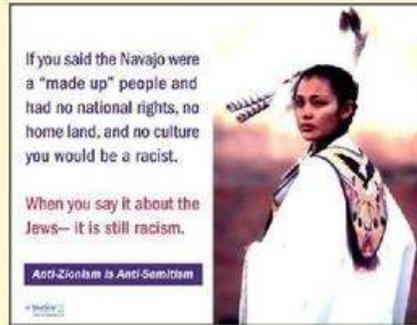
Anti-Zionism Is Anti-Semitism

Artist: Research-in-progress

Country: USA

Date: 2004

Publisher: Blue Star PR-The Jewish Ink Tank

Merriam-Webster's "Second Sense"
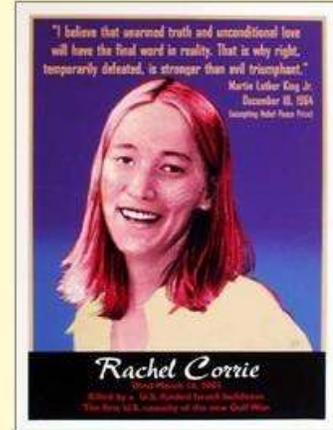
Rachel Corrie

Artist: Jos Sances

Country: USA

Date: 2004

Merriam-Webster's "Third Sense"

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Teaching the Formative History of Political Zionism (1897-1947) through Poster Art:
A New Curriculum Model For the American High School

Defining Anti-Semitism

1. hostility toward Jews as a religious or racial minority group often accompanied by social, political or economic discrimination.

2. opposition to Zionism.

3. sympathy with the opponents of the state of Israel.

Source: *Merriam-Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (unabridged) — Reprinted in 2002

Anti-Semitism is a **persisting latent structure of hostile beliefs** towards Jews as a collective manifested in individuals as attitudes, and in culture as myth, ideology, folklore and imagery, and in actions – social or legal discrimination, political mobilization against the Jews, and collective or state violence – which results in and/or is designed to distance, displace, or destroy Jews as Jews.

Definition submitted by Holocaust researcher Helen Fein.
Source: *Public Expert Forum on the Implementation of the Declaration of the Berlin Anti-Semitism Conference* — November 2004

Any difference, positive or negative, projected onto the world of Judaism.

Definition submitted by the author.

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Teaching the Formative History of Political Zionism (1897-1947) through Poster Art:
A New Curriculum Model For the American High School

Lesson Plan Two: Antisemitism, Then and There... Here and Now

"In Paris, as I have said, I achieved a freer attitude toward anti-Semitism, which I now began to understand historically and to pardon.
**Above all, I recognized the emptiness and futility of trying to 'combat' anti-Semitism.**"

Source: *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl* - Edited by Rafael Patai (1960)

"The definition of anti-Semitism has been the focus of innumerable discussions and studies. While there is
no universally accepted definition, there is a generally clear understanding of what the term encompasses."

Source: US Department of State's *Report on Global Anti-Semitism* — 2005 http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/40258.htm

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Focus Statement

The meaning of the term *antisemitism* has evolved continuously since it was first coined by a German racist, Wilhelm Marr, in 1880. Its meaning is currently problematic in the American lexicon. A basic descriptive definition of the term remains elusive. Even the US Department of State appears to be unsure what the term means. Defining antisemitism is critical to understanding the formative history of Zionism because political Zionism *came into being in response to European antisemitism*. Political Zionism postulates antisemitism as universal, perpetual, ineradicable and ever-expanding. In theory, Zionism's worldview stands as a global indictment. The second and third senses of antisemitism as promoted by Merriam-Webster are accurate and descriptive *within the Zionist lexicon only*. The second sense indicts on the basis of political thought. The third sense indicts on the basis of personal feelings. Merriam-Webster has publicly repudiated its definition of antisemitism yet keeps it in print

unchanged. Fein's newly crafted "latency" definition insinuates an inborn, perhaps genetic, involuntary source for antisemitism. Language rights principles offer an opportunity to move beyond circular, semantic controversies about alleged new strains of antisemitism and the proliferation of new and unsubstantiated definitions. By problematizing Herzl's subjective "futility" regarding efforts to combat antisemitism it may be possible to open a conversation about whether or not political Zionism's stereotype of the "other", which is based on xenophobia, is compatible with progressive American values.

Civic Competence Objective

Students will choose an existing definition of antisemitism, or craft a plain English definition of their own. They will then debate, either for or against, Herzl's claim that antisemitism was "ineradicable" and that fighting it was "futile".

NOTE: This classroom experience will likely be the first time most students will speak publicly on the subject of antisemitism.

National Council for the Social Studies — Curriculum Guideline/Thematic Strand:

IV: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of individual development and identity.

Exploring the Formative History of Political Zionism (1897-1947) through Poster Art:
A Plain Language/Language Rights Curriculum Model

Lesson Plan Three: **Political Zionism, Here and There**
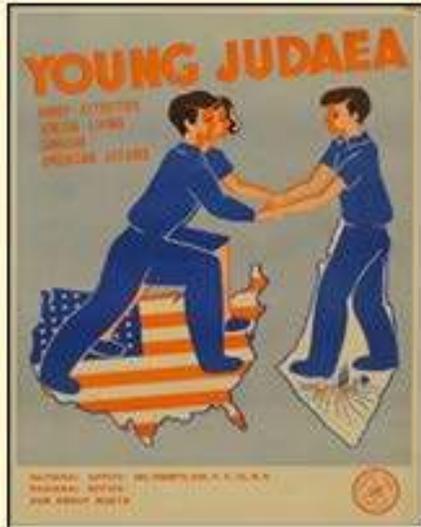
Young Judaea
Artist: Unattributed
Country: USA
Date: circa 1963
Publisher: Young Judaea National Office

Being Jewish Is Not the Same As Being Zionist
Artist: Lisa Kokin
Country: USA
Date: 1978
Publisher: Jewish Alliance Against Zionism

Teaching the Formative History of Political Zionism (1897-1947) through Poster Art:
A New Curriculum Model For the American High School

Lesson Plan Three: Political Zionism, Here and There

"Zionism, a movement (originally) for the re-establishment and (now) the development of a Jewish nation in what is now Israel".

Source: *Illustrated Oxford Dictionary* (1998)

"Zionism is the belief in the existence of a common past and a common future for the Jewish people. Such faith can be accepted or rejected, [however] it can be a matter of rational argument only to a very limited extent."

Source: *The History of Zionism* by Walter Laqueur (2003)

Focus Statement

Definitions and varieties of Zionism abound. This lesson plan is dedicated to the study of *political* Zionism, which is a messianic ideology. Political Zionism claims its own unique lexicon, moral order, symbolic system, mythology and psychology. In this sense, it is exactly like all other modern ideologies, such as republicanism, socialism, communism and capitalism. Political Zionism emerged from Jewish history, however, not all Jewish people are Zionists and not all Zionists are Jewish. One is not born a Zionist: one must consciously *choose* to become a Zionist and adopt its mindset. Today, many fundamentalist Christians embrace political Zionism for religious reasons while many Jewish people actively repudiate it on moral and ethical grounds. The complexities surrounding Zionism are legion and a vast and often-contradictory literature has emerged in the effort to define and explain it. Wikipedia hosts a detailed site dedicated to Zionism that gives some indication of its kaleidoscopic nature. Included there are entries for: Labor Zionism; Cultural Zionism; General (or Liberal) Zionism; Religious Zionism; Christian Zionism; Reform Zionism; Revisionist Zionism; Anti-Zionism and Post-Zionism among a number of others, including "Black" Zionism. This list is by no means exhaustive as it does not include Neo-Zionism, Spiritual Zionism and many others streams. Key to gaining a practical insight into political Zionism is to understand what it is not: political Zionism is not a religion nor is it in any way sacred or beyond criticism, ridicule or outright rejection. One need only consider how routinely it is mocked and lampooned in Israel, by Israelis, to confirm this. Some Zionist intellectuals claim that the long-nurtured Jewish dream of "return" renders Zionism ancient. However, empirical history establishes the birth of political Zionism in August of 1897. Theodor Herzl, an accomplished Jewish journalist and playwright is considered the father of modern Zionism and his opinions are no more sacrosanct than those of other secular historical figures such as George Washington or George W. Bush. Pinpointing exactly which kind of Zionism is under discussion and then establishing a working definition is the most effective way of moving towards a rational understanding of this often bewilderingly dense, and evolving, topic.

Civic Competence Objective

Students will debate the question of whether or not there are differences in the ways Zionism is perceived in the US, in Israel, and in the Arab world.

National Council for the Social Studies — Curriculum Guideline/Thematic Strands:

IV: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of individual development and identity.
V: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of interactions among individuals, groups, and institutions.

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Teaching the Formative History of Political Zionism (1897-1947) through Poster Art:
A New Curriculum Model For the American High School

Lesson Plan Four: **The Balfour Declaration of Sympathy**

A Half Century of Struggle
Artist: Research-in-progress
Country: Italy
Date: 1971
Publisher: General Union of Palestinian Students
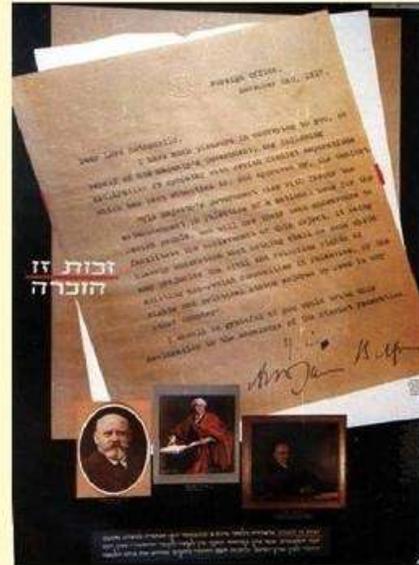
This Right Was Recognized
Artist: Research-in-progress
Country: Israel
Date: circa 1968
Publisher: Jewish National Fund

Teaching the Formative History of Political Zionism (1897-1947) through Poster Art:
A New Curriculum Model For the American High School

Lesson Plan Four: The Balfour Declaration of Sympathy

"With the Balfour Declaration one nation solemnly promised to a second nation the country of a third".

Source: Arthur Koestler, Zionist author and journalist

"No need to worry [that "homeland" had been inserted instead of "state"]. The [Jewish] people will read it as 'Jewish State' anyhow".

Source: *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl* - Edited by Rafael Patai (1960)

Focus Statement

The Balfour Declaration of Sympathy, a one-page letter issued quietly by the British government in 1917 to a private citizen, was a hinge event in the evolution of political Zionism from a quixotic, utopian idea into a formidable engine for the establishment of a Jewish state in historic Palestine. Though steeped in intrigue it is a document of seminal importance for understanding the history of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict and a vast, and controversial, literature has evolved around it. The Balfour Declaration of Sympathy concretized the first aim of the Basel Program, articulated at the First Zionist Congress (1897), that the Jewish state must be "secured under public law". Its appearance twenty years after Herzl first articulated Zionism's dependency on great power benediction demonstrated political Zionism's resolute determination to pursue its goals, however incremental the progress. The Balfour Declaration of Sympathy added critical momentum to the Zionist project by, among other things, opening the doors to mass Jewish immigration, or *aliyah* (Hebrew: literally; to ascend. Figuratively: to be redeemed; to achieve salvation by immigration to Israel) to Palestine. Simultaneously, it was denounced by the indigenous Palestinian people who saw it as a lawless act of imperial fiat to which they would never assent. Zionists exulted in the Balfour Declaration of Sympathy, seeing it as the long-sought grant of legitimacy even though it used a less-than-ideal choice of words in its final form. For Zionists it was a cause for optimism and a green light for unlimited Jewish emigration to Palestine. For the Arab nations and the indigenous Palestinians it was a betrayal by the British government and a call to arms.

Civic Competence Objective

Students will debate the similarities and differences between the Balfour Declaration of Sympathy and the American Declaration of Independence.

National Council for the Social Studies — Curriculum Guideline/Thematic Strands:

II: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of the ways human beings view themselves in and over time.
VII: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of how people create and change structures of power, authority, and governance.

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Lesson Plan Five: **Building Zionism and Being Built By It**

The Week of the Book

Artist: Ben-Haim

Country: Israel

Date: 1954

Publisher: General Union of

Hebrew Workers in Israel

(*Histadrut*)
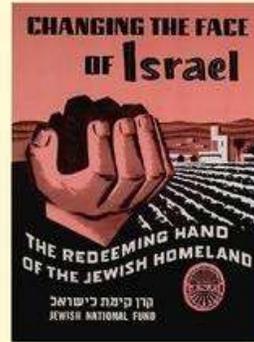
The Redeeming Hand

Artist: Research-in-progress

Country: Israel

Date: circa 1955

Publisher: Jewish National Fund

Immigration and Absorption -
Settlement - Conquest of the
Desert - Development
of the Land

Artist: Vardimon

Country: Mandate Palestine

Date: circa 1935

Publisher: *Keren Hayesod*
(Hebrew: Foundation Fund)
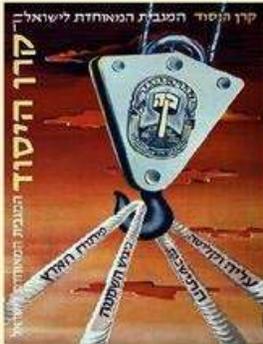
The Nations Will Follow
Your Light

Artist: Franz Kraus

Country: Israel

Date: circa 1951

Publisher: United Jewish Appeal

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Teaching the Formative History of Political Zionism (1897-1947) through Poster Art:
A New Curriculum Model For the American High School

**Lesson Plan Five: Building Zionism and Being Built By It**

"If this generation is too dull to understand it rightly, a future, finer, more advanced generation will arise to comprehend it".

Source: *The Jewish State* by Theodor Herzl (1896)

"At the foundation of Zionism lays the principle that we write our own history ourselves".

Source: Zeev Jabotinsky, early Zionist military leader

Focus Statement

In the late 1890's when the Zionist movement launched its effort to establish a Jewish homeland in historic Palestine it faced innumerable daunting and seemingly insurmountable challenges. Literally everything that the new project needed—land, industry, financing, defense, legitimacy, even permission to begin—were either in short supply, contested or non-existent. Moreover, to animate its vision Zionism needed not merely immigrants but passionately dedicated and idealistic men and women who would commit to the long term dream of realizing a Jewish renaissance. Herzl believed that political Zionism would call forth Jewish individuals who would shape the land and in the process be molded into the ideal Zionist persona: the *chalutz* (Hebrew: pioneer-plural *chalutzim*). Old, untrue and hateful stereotypes of Jewish people would be debunked and replaced with a vibrant, heroic new narrative. Mythically strong, clean-living, enthusiastic-to-learn, hard-working and above all, selfless, the *chalutzim* would form the backbone of the new Zionist, later the Israeli, counter-identity. Zionism assumed that the land and the Jewish settlers would cross-fertilize one another while enriching and ennobling each in the process of mutual redemption resulting in a model society that would be a "light unto the nations". Zionist colonialism, in a tragic replay of the "romantic" colonialism of the American Westward Expansion Movement promoted the deceit that historic Palestine was "empty" and that the indigenous Palestinians could easily be dispersed or quickly co-opted.

Civic Competence Objective

Students will debate the differences, if any, between the ideal Zionist pioneer and the American pioneer ideal.

National Council for the Social Studies — Curriculum Guideline/Thematic Strands:

I: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of culture and cultural diversity.
VIII: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of relationships among science, technology, and society.

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Lesson Plan Six: **"Ascending" to Palestine and Later, to Israel**

We Must Raise the Question: Does Immigration Strengthen Us Or Weaken Us?

Artist: Research-in-progress

Country: Israel
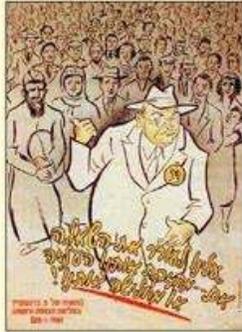
Date: circa 1951

*Don't Just Sit There. Do Your Thing!*

Artist: Aroyo

Date: circa 1965

Publisher: Israel Aliya Center

We Don't Promise You A Rose Garden

Artist: Research-in-progress

Date: circa 1970

Publisher: Research-in-progress
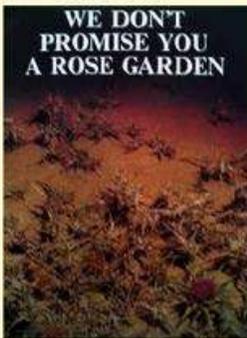
New
Artist: Zvi Levin (Israel)

Country: Israel
Date: 1994

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Lesson Plan Six: "Ascending" to Palestine and Later, to Israel

"The ingathering of the exiles to their ancestral homeland is the *raison d'etre* of the State of Israel".

Source: Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs website

"I must tell you at the very beginning that not only you [Zionist] youth leaders who are assembled here today, but every [Jewish] boy and girl
in the land of Israel has been called to the most difficult task in our history—perhaps in the history of man!
The charge that has been laid upon your generation is—unconditional allegiance, for life and death." David Ben Gurion, Haifa (1944)

Source: *The Zionist Idea* by Arthur Hertzberg (1951)

Focus Statement

Central to the success of the Zionist effort to establish a Jewish state in historic Palestine has been the "ingathering" of Jewish people from wherever they live in the world. This immigration process is called *aliya* (Hebrew: literally; to ascend. Figuratively: to be redeemed; to achieve salvation by immigration to Israel). *Aliya*, based on the so-called "right of return" is considered an exclusively Jewish birthright bestowing Israeli citizenship upon arrival. At various times in its history Israeli society has been wracked by dissent and discord over immigration policy. Some parties in Israel believe Jewish immigration from certain countries or certain socio-economic strata should be discouraged. Others believe that all Jewish individuals and families, no matter how ill-adapted or unprepared for life in Israel should be encouraged to "make *aliya*". Zionist ideology claims that only by emigrating to Israel can Jewish people realize their true destiny. According to political Zionism all Jewish people living outside of Israel are "in exile" which in this case means unredeemed or lost. This essentialization of Jewish identity has often resulted in the unfair stigmatizing of Jewish individuals and communities who chose to remain in and identify with their native lands. Charges of "dual loyalty" have been unfairly leveled against Jewish people by those who unthinkingly, or deliberately, conflate Jewishness with Zionism. At present, less than half the world's estimated Jewish population of about thirteen million souls lives in Israel. In a trend that is alarming to many Zionists as well as the government of Israel a number of progressive Jewish organizations have begun re-interpreing holiday rituals to accommodate a public repudiation of any Jewish "right of return". These Jewish voices claim that only those who have actually been expelled that is to say, the indigenous Palestinians and their offspring, have any moral or just claim to return.

Civic Competence Objective

Students will debate the consequences, either positive or negative, to American culture life of continued Jewish American emigration to Israel.

National Council for the Social Studies — Curriculum Guideline/Thematic Strand:

III: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of people, places, and environments.

Teaching the Formative History of Political Zionism (1897-1947) through Poster Art:
A New Curriculum Model For the American High School

Lesson Plan Seven: **The Mystique of Tal-Hai**
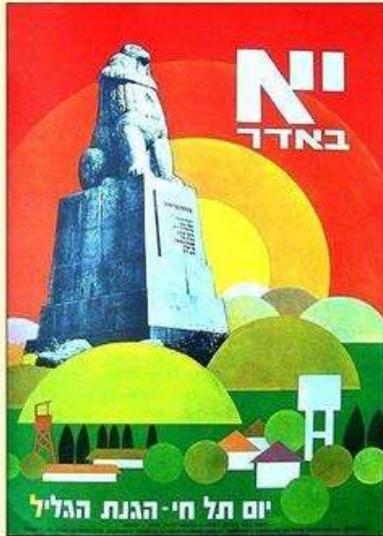
The 11th of Adar (March) — Day of Tel Hai —
Defense of the Galilee
Artist: Research-in-progress
Sculptor: Avraham Melnikoff
Country: Israel
Date: circa 1970
Publisher: Jewish National Fund

Never Mind, It Is Noble to Die For Our Country
Artist: Arie Berliner
Country: Israel
Date: 1994

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Lesson Plan Seven: The Mystique of Tal-Hai

"Ideologies always assume that one idea is sufficient to explain everything... Once it has established its premise, its point of departure, experiences no longer interfere with ideological thinking, nor can it be taught by reality."

Source: *The Origins of Totalitarianism* by Hannah Arendt (1951)

"In its reconstruction of Jewish history, the Zionist commemorative narrative accentuated the perception of a "great divide" between Antiquity and Exile."

Source: *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* by Yael Zerubavel (1997)

Focus Statement

Josef Trumpeldor is considered the most heroic military figure of early Zionist history. Born in Russia, he is considered the embodiment of Zionist courage and the *chalutz* (Hebrew: pioneer) spirit. His death at the outpost of Tal Hai (Arabic and Hebrew: Hill of Life) in the Galilee region of Palestine in March of 1920 led to the emergence of one of Zionism's earliest and most enduring myths. Though the facts of this minor, muddled skirmish remain controversial what is not in dispute is Trumpeldor's courage. He was the most decorated Jewish soldier in the Russian Army his honors including the Cross of St. George. He lost an arm in combat during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) and fought at the Battle of Gallipoli (1915). His readiness to sacrifice all in the pursuit of Zionist objectives are considered emblematic of the modern Israeli military's *esprit de corps*. A monumental statue of the Lion of Judah stands in Tal Hai where Trumpeldor died and is buried. This site is visited by many Israelis and tourists each year. Tal Hai was not a major military engagement or desperately asymmetrical encounter. Rather it was, according to one account, a "misunderstanding" that resulted in the deaths of eight Zionists settlers, including Trumpeldor, and five Palestinian guerrillas. In all likelihood the truth about what took place at Tal Hai will never be known for sure. This conclusion is reasonable considering the difficulty reconstructing specific *contemporary* military actions such as the US Marine Corps operation in the town of Haditha in Iraq in November of 2005. According to US military sources 24 non-combatant Iraqi civilians were massacred in retribution for the killing of a Marine. Relative to this event there are firsthand accounts, living witnesses, aerial video records and multiple immediate post-operation reports yet controversy remains as to what actually happened on the ground. The importance of Tal Hai lies not in what took place there: rather it is that it reveals the synthetic nature of ideology, including Zionist ideology, and the urgent need of all nationalisms to create heroes and sustain myths.

Civic Competence Objective

Students will debate the similarities and differences between the Israeli military's version of the skirmish at Tal Hai (1920) and the US military's accounts of the skirmishes involving Private First Class Jessica Lynch, in Iraq (2003), and Corporal Pat Tillman, in Afghanistan (2004).

National Council for the Social Studies — Curriculum Guideline/Thematic Strand:

X: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of the ideals, principles, and practices of citizenship in a democratic republic.

Lesson Plan Eight: **The Revival of Hebrew**
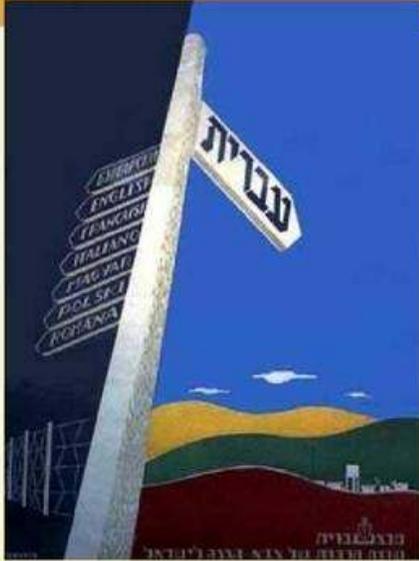
Hebrew
Artist: Research-in-progress
Country: Israel
Date: circa 1950
Publisher: Cultural Service of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF)
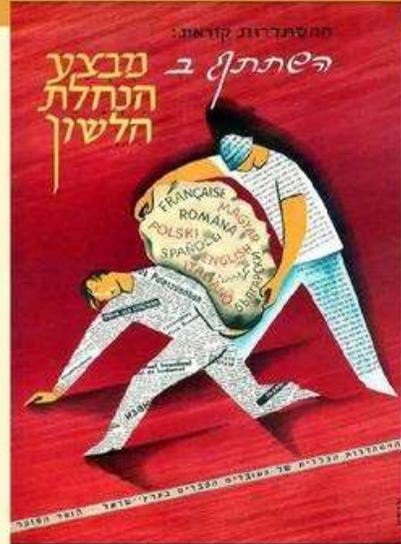
The Histadrut Calls - Join Operation Language Instruction
Artist: Research-in-progress
Country: Israel
Date: circa 1960
Publisher: General Federation of Hebrew Workers (*Histadrut*)

Lesson Plan Eight: The Revival of Hebrew

"...all of a sudden as if lightning flashed before my eyes, my thought flew from the Ford of Shipka in the Balkans to the Fords of the Jordan in the Land of Israel, and I heard a strange voice calling unto me: The revival of Israel and its tongue in the land of our forefathers! This was the dream." Eliezer Ben Yehuda.

Source: *Language In Jewish Society: Towards A New Understanding* by John Myhill (2004)

"Israeli Arabs [i.e., Palestinians] learn Hebrew for pragmatic and instrumental reasons, for work and commerce, and to obtain services from government and private institutions, and for higher education."

Source: *The Languages of Israel: Policy, Ideology and Practice* by Bernard Spolsky and Elana Shohamy (1999)

Focus Statement

The revival of Hebrew which had been, except for liturgical and some literary applications, a dead language for about two millennia was a critical goal of political Zionism. Zionists equated the blossoming of modern spoken Hebrew with the blossoming of a new political identity for the Jewish people. The unifying potential of a Hebrew revival explains Zionism's hostility towards the scores of languages adopted by Jewish people during the *diaspora*, including Yiddish—an authentic Jewish language—in favor of a "mother tongue" that would nurture the spirit of Jewish nationalism and group pride. Ben Yehuda is credited with almost single-handedly reviving Hebrew by, among other accomplishments, writing and publishing the first Hebrew dictionary (1910) and by speaking only Hebrew to his young son who grew up to become the first proficient speaker of modern Hebrew. Today Hebrew is spoken by most but, significantly, not all Israelis as well as a majority of the adult Palestinian population living in Israel. Many of the almost one million recent Russian Jewish immigrants to Israel refuse to learn the language. The Palestinian co-option of Hebrew is so advanced that Palestinian authors have produced major literary works in the language including, among others, *Arabesques* by Anton Shammas and *The Secret Life of Said the Pessoptimist* by Emile Habib who was awarded the Israel Prize for literature in 1992. Hebrew-as-a-second language proficiency is rising among native Arabic-speaking Palestinians in Israel who see it as a tactical resource for ameliorating their status as non-Jewish citizens in a Jewish state. Simultaneously the study of Hebrew in the *diaspora*, including among Jewish Americans who traditionally acquired only a ritual, or symbolic, grasp of the language, is plummeting.

Civic Competence Objective

Students will debate the wisdom of Zionism's abandonment of Yiddish in favor of Hebrew.

National Council for the Social Studies — Curriculum Guideline/Thematic Strands:

IV: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of individual development and identity.
V: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of interactions among individuals, groups, and institutions.

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Nine: In *Diaspora* Or In Exile?

(Hebrew): *The Shekel Is The Tie That Binds The Diaspora to Israel*
(English): *The Shekel - A Link Between Israel and the Diaspora*
Artist: Lechter Nahor
Country: Israel
Date: circa 1965
Publisher: World Zionist Organization
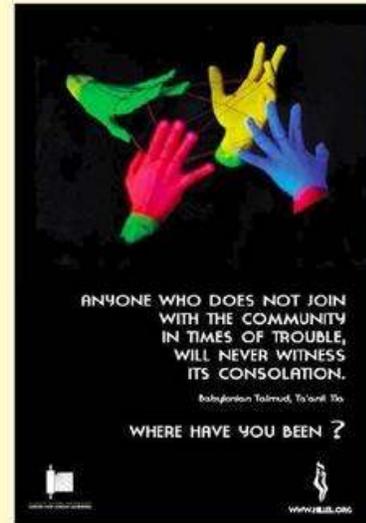
Where Have You Been?
Artist: Research-in-progress
Country: USA
Date: 2004
Publisher: Hillel, the Foundation for Campus Jewish Life

Lesson Plan Nine: In *Diaspora* Or In Exile?

"The Zionist notion that anti-Semitism was ineradicable and that Jewish life in the Diaspora was doomed could not have been more inimical to the world view and daily concerns of American Jews. In fact the American Jewish experience posed great theoretical and practical problems for Zionist ideology and recruitment. On the theoretical level, Jewish life in America seemed to undermine Zionist analyses concerning the inevitability and prevalence of anti-Semitism. For millions of Jews who felt that *their* Promised Land lay somewhere between the Battery and the Bronx, political Zionism was irrelevant at best."

Source: *Irreconcilable Differences? The Waning of the American Jewish Love Affair with Israel* by Steven T. Rosenthal (2003)

Focus Statement

The terms "*diaspora*" and "exile" are closely related however they have important differences in meaning in the Zionist lexicon. *Diaspora* is a Greek word and means "scattering" or "dispersing". It can apply to any community, such as the Irish in America, living outside its native home, either voluntarily by force. Its main reference here is to the Jewish expulsion from the ancient kingdom of Judeae which began in 70 AD as part of the penalty for having unsuccessfully opposed Roman occupation and rule there. For two millennia thereafter Jewish people lived in foreign lands as outsiders. During some of that time and in some places such as Moorish Spain Jewish culture was tolerated. In others such as Nazi Germany it was almost completely annihilated. In the contemporary US it flourishes. Following Herzl's blueprint for establishing a Jewish haven in historic Palestine the Zionists declared into existence the state of Israel in 1948. Since then Israel has promoted itself as an exclusively Jewish state open to any and all Jewish people who do not feel either safe or welcome in the country of their birth. According to the ideological precepts of political Zionism all Jewish people *belong* in Israel and can never fully realize their spiritual or intellectual potential in any other country. The insinuation contained in the term "exile" is that Jewish people who choose to live anywhere but in Israel are, at best, naïve and do not understand either Jewish or world history. Implicit in the appellation "exile", which is pejorative in the American lexicon, is the notion of *pathos* and tragic separation from the purported spiritual center. Many Jewish people including many Jewish Americans disagree vehemently with this sweeping religio-nationalistic claim and refuse to consider themselves anything but proud nationals of the country of their birth. This perspective is considered subversive and counter-revolutionary, at best, within the Zionist context.

Civic Competence Objective

Students will debate the implications for Israel, and Zionism, that the majority of the world's Jewish people choose not to live there.

National Council for the Social Studies — Curriculum Guideline/Thematic Strands:

IV: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of individual development and identity.
 X: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of the ideals, principles, and practices of citizenship in a democratic republic.

Lesson Plan Ten: **The Great Arab Revolt in Palestine Or, the Very First Intifada (1936-1939)**

A Hand for Immigrants
Artist: Research-in-progress
Country: Mandate Palestine
Date: circa 1935
Publisher: The Committee of
Women Workers of the
General Union of Hebrew Workers
(*Histadrut*)

Father of the Path and Return
Artist: Abdel Rahman Al Muzain
Country: Palestine
Date: 1978
Publisher: Occupied Palestine
Magazine

**34th Anniversary of the
Histadrut**
Artist: Research-in-progress
Country: Israel
Date: 1954
Publisher: The General Union of
Hebrew Workers (*Histadrut*)

**Glory to the Workers
on the First of May and
Hail the Armed Fighters**
Artist: Zaid Wahba
Country: Palestine
Date: circa 1969
Publisher: General Union of
Palestinian Workers, Lebanon
Section

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Lesson Plan Ten: The Great Arab Revolt in Palestine Or, the Very First Intifada (1936-1939)

"We must expropriate gently the private property on the state assigned to us. We shall try to spirit the penniless [Palestinian] population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit [Arab] countries, while denying it employment in our country. The [Arab] property owners will come over to our side. Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discretely and circumspectly." Theodor Herzl (1895)

Source: *Righteous Victims* by Benny Morris (2001)

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Focus Statement

From the earliest days of the Zionist movement many cultural Zionists advocated a fraternal and mutually beneficial relationship between the new Jewish immigrants to Palestine and the indigenous Palestinian people. They asserted that this approach was not only possible but indispensible to the realization of Zionism's presumptive spiritual objective: the emergence of a transcendent humanistic social model based on Jewish morality and ethics. Visionary cultural Zionists such as Ahad Ha'am understood that if political Zionism succeeded at the cost of expelling the Palestinians from their ancestral lands even through the quasi-legal method of purchases from absentee landlords eventually, inevitably, conflict would arise. They believed that once this happened Zionism would be transformed from a virtuous and enlightened movement into one the Zionist philosopher Martin Buber said would be obsessed with "cannons, flags and military decorations". Cultural Zionists such as Ha'am, Buber and Albert Einstein believed Zionism would lose its soul if it ever became militarized. Prior to 1917 most Palestinians did not openly resist the new immigrants. After the publication of the Balfour Declaration of Sympathy in 1917 vast waves of Jewish immigrants called *olim* (Hebrew: ascenders) began to arrive in Palestine. The resulting pressures on Zionist organizations such as the *Histadrut* labor union to provide them with jobs, housing and land often at the expense of Palestinians caused conditions to change rapidly, dramatically and for the worse. Zionist campaigns to "buy Hebrew" products and strengthen "Zionist labor" further alienated the indigenous Palestinians and led directly to the emergence of organized and armed resistance.

Civic Competence Objective

Students will debate the comparisons, if any, between the response of the indigenous Palestinian people to colonizing Zionism with the response of the indigenous American peoples to the Westward Expansion Movement.

National Council for the Social Studies — Curriculum Guideline/Thematic Strands:

II: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of the ways human beings view themselves in and over time.
VIII: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of relationships among science, technology, and society.

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Lesson Plan Eleven: **Decoding Symbolic Narratives Or, When Trees Tell Stories**
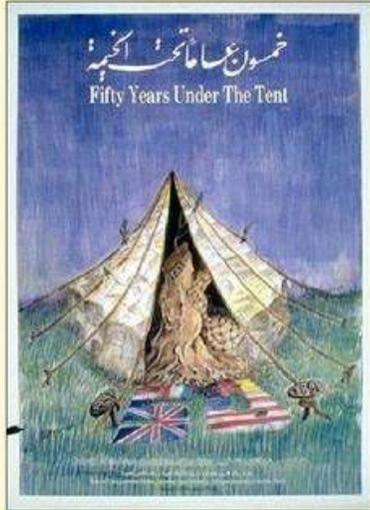
Fifty Years Under the Tent
Artist: Adnan Zubaidy
Country: Palestine
Date: 1997
Publisher: Campaign for the Defense of
Palestinian Refugee Rights

15th of Shvat
(Hebrew: Tu Bishvat, a holiday called "the New Year of the Trees")
Artist: Research-in-progress
Country: Israel
Date: circa 1955
Publisher: Jewish National Fund

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Lesson Plan Eleven: Decoding Symbolic Narratives Or, When Trees Tell Stories

"Three things have contributed to making even the simplest perceptions of the Arabs and Islam into a highly politicized, almost raucous matter:
one, the history of popular anti-Arab and anti-Islamic prejudice in the West....; two, the struggle between the Arabs and Israeli Zionism, and its effects upon
American Jews as well as upon both the liberal culture and the population at large; three, the almost total absence of any cultural position making it possible
either to identify with or dispassionately discuss the Arabs or Islam"

Source: *Orientalism* by Edward Said (1978)

Focus Statement

In the conflict that rages between the political Zionists and the indigenous Palestinians ownership of every single element in the environment—the
water, land, mountains, deserts, forests, flora and wildlife, indeed the entire organic universe—as well as the built environment is contested. This
tension exists because Zionist ideology seeks to impose an exclusively Jewish history on Palestine, one in which the Palestinians play no part. In
much the same way that Zionism's reconstruction of Jewish history deletes the tragic *diaspora* period and instead links the glorious ancient kingdoms
of Saul, David and Solomon *directly* to modern Israel and Zionism—so it attempts to delete the Palestinian presence in Palestine. The conflict
extends even to the realm of symbols, including the symbol of the tree. In the Zionist symbolic narrative pine and cedar trees are valued because of
references in Jewish history, they grow quickly, and can be transplanted as saplings–a metaphor for the concept of *aliya* (Hebrew: literally; to
ascend. Figuratively: to be redeemed; to achieve salvation by immigration to Israel). In the symbolic narrative of the Palestinians an olive tree's
tenacious root system and its ability to regenerate itself even when its trunk is cut down provides the ideal metaphor for the all-important
revolutionary concept of *samood* (Arabic: steadfastness). In these two competing narratives trees heroicize opposite characteristics—rootedness and
transplantibility. In Israeli author A.B.Yehoshua's hauntingly allegorical work *Facing the Forest*, a Palestinian peasant sets fire to a pine forest and the
Israeli watchman allows it to burn. The motivations for their actions are profoundly psychological and metaphorical. To many contemporary
Americans given to "green" living and robust environmentalism the Palestinian's action would be considered wanton and (further) evidence of Arab
backwardness. In fact the forest is set ablaze not because the Palestinian hates nature but rather because it hides the ruins of his, and by extension,
the hundreds of other Palestinian villages destroyed by Israel in its 1948 war of independence, called *al nakba* (Arabic: the catastrophe) by the
Palestinians. Two mutually exclusive symbolic storylines exist in the same land and in the same moment each employing nature to whisper utterly
contradictory world views. One says: "you were never here". The other says: "we will never leave".

Civic Competence Objective

Students will debate, either for or against, the ethics of manipulating nature to advance ideological goals.

National Council for the Social Studies — Curriculum Guideline/Thematic Strands:

V: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of interactions among individuals, groups, and institutions.
VII: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of how people organize for the production, distribution, and
consumption of goods and services.

Teaching the Formative History of Political Zionism (1897-1947) through Poster Art:
A New Curriculum Model For the American High School

Lesson Plan Twelve: **Visit Palestine Or Visit Israel?**
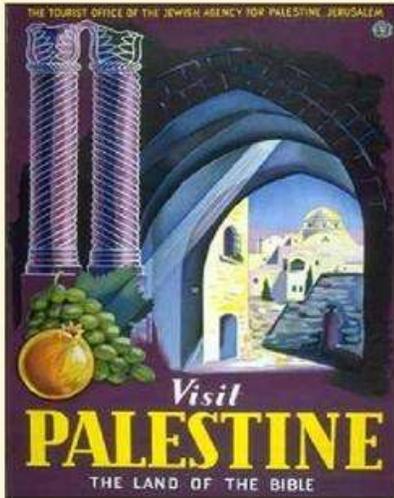
Visit Palestine - The Land of the Bible

Artist: Loeb

Country: Mandate Palestine

Date: prior to 1948

Publisher: The Tourist Office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Jerusalem
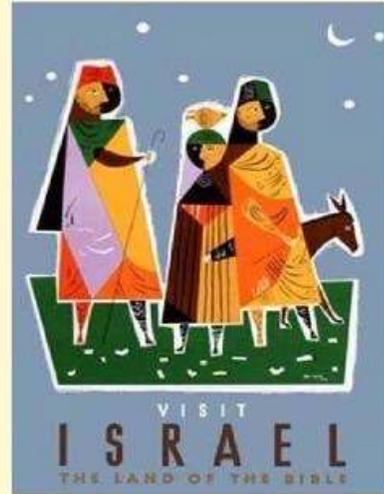
Visit Israel - The Land of the Bible

Artist: Jean David

Country: Israel

Date: after 1948

Publisher: Israel Department of Tourism

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Lesson Plan Twelve: Visit Palestine Or Visit Israel?

"I recall the first time I felt the tragedy of the Palestinians penetrate my Zionist shield. ...I went to inspect the village well of Rana, near Beit Jibrin. I remembered the place fom a [childhood] trip with my father, and the desolation—empty houses still standing, the ghost of a village once bustling with life—stunned me."
Meron Benvenisti, former deputy mayor of Jerusalem

Source: *Sacred Landscape* by Meron Benvenisti (2000)

Focus Statement

On May 14,1948 the British Mandate in Palestine ended with the withdrawal of the last British military units. That same day David Ben Gurion declared the fulfillment of Herzl's dream: the emergence of *Eretz Israel* (Hebrew: the Land of Israel). At that very moment according to the Zionist world view historic Palestine permanently ceased to exist as either a geographical, historical or political unit. The renaming of Palestine was not the product of consultation with the indigenous Palestinians who to this day have never accepted its abolishment. Rather it was the product of Zionism's unilateral determination to impose Hebrew-derived identifiers on every feature of the landscape—rivers, mountains, valleys, towns, lakes and even street names. This wholesale renaming process was meant to allow new Jewish settlers to feel an immediate bond with a place they had never been before. It was also meant to send a message of deep, vast and seemingly irreversible change to the indigenous Palestinians. Understanding this renaming process, called "the Judaization of place-names" by Benvenisti, is important because it reveals Zionism's attitude towards another form of landscape: *language*. To Zionists the abolishment of Palestine was merely a logical first step in the process of creating a place that would project Zionist hegemony, including language hegemony, into every imaginable sphere. Palestine became "Israel"; the West Bank became "Judaea and Samaria"; Palestinians became "Israeli Arabs". Zionism's self-serving attitude towards language has generated innumerable international controversies over terminology right up to the present: wall vs. fence; occupation vs. settlement; expansion vs. natural growth; colonialism vs. historical rights. The myriad international controversies that have orbited Zionism's idiosyncratic use of language are mere distractions: they universally fail to comprehend the Zionist assertion of a right to replace at will normative descriptive language with a prescriptive, ideologically-driven lexicon. The ambiguities that result from this clash of lexicons are barriers to a plain language understanding of Israel-as-vision versus Israel-as-reality.

Civic Competence Objective

Students will debate whether or not the Israel of today is, or is becoming, the state that Herzl envisioned.

National Council for the Social Studies — Curriculum Guideline/Thematic Strands:

III: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of people, places, and environments.
IV: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of individual development and identity.

Googlestats

Googlestats (Google Statistics) is a free service that provides website owners with up-to-the-minute data. PPPA statistics for the period November 9–December 9, 2011, are:

Visits: 6,788

Pageviews: 69,584

Number of pages per visit: 10.25

Bounce rate: 49.57%

Average time on website: 6 minutes 1 second

Percentage of new visits: 70.37%

Visitors: 5,009 visitors

According to the Googlestats, after the United States, Israel provides the most visitors, approximately 640 per month. France, the United Kingdom, Germany, Holland and Italy are also major sources of visitors. According to Adel Iskandar, a professor of social media at Georgetown University and a member of the PPPA Advisory Board, the Website's statistics are noteworthy because the Website does not carry any advertising and it does not advertise itself. All the traffic to the Website is a function of viral marketing–word of mouth and the forwarding of the PPPA web address by users of the Website.

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