

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

EXPLORING PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE
AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY
THROUGH THE LENS OF MEDIA

by
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Dedicated to Shireen Abu Akleh and Ghassan Kanafani and all the martyrs of Palestine and those who have resisted and continue to resist on the frontlines in the struggle for Palestinian liberation from the river to the sea.

Dedicated to those who have struggled for liberation all across the Global South from and continue to do so to this day.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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The present study aims to tackle two central questions and those are the representations of Palestinian resistance in the media sphere in a specific period from the early 1960s to the early 80s. In other words, the thesis strives to analyze the question of how media can act as a weapon of resistance alongside armed struggle in a public media sphere whereby imperialism, Zionism and capitalism are hegemonic. Another question, the study examines is how media can build anti-imperialist solidarity and form bridges with sister liberation struggles. These research questions are significant as we are witnessing in our present day the role social media plays in documenting Palestinian resistance and mobilizing masses to support it under the slogan of anti-imperialist solidarity. With regards to the methodology, a qualitative approach is followed whereby a sample of Palestinian revolutionary posters and magazines are used and subject to textual and visual analysis. Data analyzed relies on the themes and socio-political contexts from which the posters emerged alongside the language and symbols present. The findings show us that posters played a colossal role in mobilizing masses to join the Palestinian revolution and built bridges with anti-imperialist liberation struggles across the Global South. In conclusion, we can use this research to fill gaps in existing literature, understand tools that shape media ideologies and use new media forms to represent Palestinian resistance and build solidarity networks.

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ABBREVIATIONS

PFLP – Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

DFLP – Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine

PLO – Palestinian Liberation Organization

ANM – Arab Nationalist Movement

OSPAAL – Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America

JRA – Japanese Red Army

PPAA – Palestine Poster Project Archives

UN – United Nations

UNRWA – United Nations Relief Works Agency

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The indigenous population of Palestine has been at the forefront of resistance against colonialism, the Palestinian resistance has been active against British colonialism and later Zionist settler colonialism for more than 100 years. Throughout these years, we witnessed the evolution of Palestinian resistance from the days of the 1936 Great Palestinian revolt to the resistance during 1948-1967, and the Palestinian revolution during 1970s-1980s and later both Intifadas to our present day. Resistance in Palestine has been a continuous endeavor in the face of colonialism and imperial agents, it has taken many forms and has evolved both in the material form and in its media portrayals and the mediums through which resistance was channeled evolved significantly. This paper will grapple with the question of the evolution of Palestinian resistance through the lens of media. The dissertation aims to dissect representations of resistance in the media sphere over the years tackling portrayals of Palestinian resistance in posters and primarily in the 60s-70s period, and how these mediums were central hubs from which Palestinian resistance channeled their messages to the masses.

When we look at the 60s – 70s we must take into account sociopolitical landmark events that have shaped the Palestinian and Arab struggle for liberation. Hence, in other words this thesis will take into account the events that have occurred prior to the 1967 “Naksa” and Post-1967 such as the Battle of Karameh, Black September and eventually the Palestinian revolution in Beirut that have collectively shaped cultural productions including revolutionary posters and magazines.

How did media historically play a role in supplementing Palestinian resistance?

Palestinian resistance literature under Occupation (1948-1968) by Ghassan Kanafani tackles the significance of cultural production of resistance and equates its significance to that of armed struggle claiming “political and cultural struggle complement one another and complement the fertile land from which armed resistance is birthed and ensures its continuity”. (Kanafani, 1968)

Cultural production includes poetry, film, literature, magazines and posters that were adjacent to armed struggle. We must dissect resistance literature and media further and delve deeper into its ideological aims and its reproduction and evolution in order to have a clearer understanding of how can one amplify resistance through the use of media and understand the supplementary role it plays. The only way we will be able to reach a robust conclusion is via a thorough analysis of the language, imagery, color and messages embedded in said media.

What must be taken into account is that Palestinians in Occupied Palestine have been subject to colonial erasure relative to their Arab identities and cultures, and forced to learn Hebrew - a language revived by the Zionist colonizer. The aim of the Zionist Occupation state was to Judaize and completely subject the population to Zionist influence and uproot Palestinians, “we have to completely detach the Arabs from their culture and subject them to ours” – said by a notable Zionist intellectual. The Palestinian Arab is therefore resisting a cultural hegemony purported by Zionist Settler Colonialism in order to guard language, culture and tradition and land from colonialism. (Kanafani, 1966)

Another central question, the thesis aims to grapple with is that of Palestine and anti-imperialist solidarity and the paper will reiterate the idea that Palestinian liberation is tied to the liberation of other indigenous populations resisting the same forces of

imperialism and Zionism. This central question of anti-imperialist Palestinian solidarity will be explored through the dissection of media which were used as a means to mobilize masses in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle for Liberation and build solidarity with sister liberation struggles. Revolutionary Poster Archives of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Palestinian Liberation Organization and Manifestos will be used in communion with other forms of media that were used such as *Al-Hadaf Magazine* led by revolutionary resistance leader and writer Ghassan Kanafani.

The liberation struggles that will be focused on are Palestinian liberation and its links to Afro-Asian liberation movements as a whole including Arab liberation movements alongside Vietnamese, Japanese, Cuban and Nicaraguan liberation movements.

How did the archives speak to one another and were part of a bigger anti imperialist revolution taking place at a global scale?

This question is essential to provide us with a more complete understanding of the political scene and cultural scene present in the day and how posters and magazines were pivotal in mobilizing masses for a global anti-imperialist revolution.

In other words, my thesis argument revolves around answering the question of how media can be used as a weapon and a means of resistance and revolution in a public sphere whereby the dominant media narratives are those ascribing to imperialism, zionism, and capitalism. I argue and explain how revolutionary posters and magazines reproduce the notion of Palestine as an internationalist cause transcending borders built by regimes of oppression and uniting peoples across the global south fighting for liberation.

Why is it important to study this topic now?

The urgency of research on the matter is demonstrated by the events we are witnessing today in Palestine and daily-armed struggle and multiple forms of resistance against Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine.

This research is also conducted as we mark 75 years of the “Nakba”, 75 years of continued ethnic cleansing of the Palestinian people and ongoing atrocities committed by Zionists against the indigenous Palestinians. It is important to take into account while the Nakba is ongoing we are also witnessing a heightened wave of normalization by regimes with the Zionist entity and attempts to erase the Palestinian struggle for liberation from the media sphere through censoring content silencing Palestinian voices and destroying archives.

The use of media to birth solidarity networks committed to the Palestinian cause in our present day is an area one must dissect, as social media is being used to amplify messages of Palestinian resistance and build bridges with sister liberation struggles. In other words, what I mean to say that revolutionary posters and magazines were the means used to mobilize masses in the battle for the liberation of Palestine and to build alliances with international revolutionary movements in the past and emerged from specific socio-political contexts.

Hence, it is important for us to delve deeper and analyze these media forms in order to produce media that channels Palestinian resistance, builds anti-imperialist solidarity in our present day and that is equivalent to the revolutionary power of past media.

Can we apply Kanafani’s theories on resistance literature to understand how posters and revolutionary magazines were used to channel resistance?

The research focuses on this question in order to draw upon the correlation between armed struggle and cultural production as a complementary means to one another and

how those two pillars intersect with anti-imperialist solidarity. In better words, for instance how does a poster relay a message of inciting masses to take up armed struggle and revolt. With regards to anti imperialist solidarity, how is it reproduced through posters and magazines and how do language, slogans and designs amplify that on imprinted posters and magazine covers and articles.

Kanafani's existing theories on resistance literature partially answer this question in their assessment of resistance poetry and literary works and I analyze those in order to build blocks from which I can apply those theories to explain the ideological power of posters and revolutionary magazines in amplifying resistance. The following literature review explores Kanafani's theories and their applications among other theories on colonialism, media ideology and previous analysis of Palestinian revolutionary posters and magazines among other media.

Firstly, Kanafani's research work on Palestinian Resistance literature pinpoints the tie between resistance literature in its early stages and armed resistance to Israeli Occupation to other liberation struggles in the Arab World and the global scale at large claiming that "Palestinian resistance waged a battle taking both social political contexts into account and placing the Palestinian armed liberation struggle in an Arab and global liberation lens." Moreover, all the literature makes sure to have a significant level of class consciousness placing the worker and the peasant at the forefront of Palestinian liberation and calling for a revolt against the bourgeoisie and feudalists who are both class traitors and agents of colonialism. (Kanafani, 1968)

The literature that Kanafani focuses on engages with the idea of taking up armed struggle against Zionist settler colonialism, the prison liberation struggle, class liberation and draws links with Algerian liberation alongside other African liberation

struggles ensuring that liberation is one and the enemy is one: Zionism, imperialism and capitalism. There is also a correlation between Palestinian resistance poetry he chooses to study and the Vietnamese struggle for liberation and the Cuban revolution. With regards to linking the Palestinian cause to Arab liberation, Kanafani examines poetry written about the 1967 Israeli Aggression on Arab countries and the collective grief Arab populations experience. Similar to these poems, Ghassan examines literary pieces and poetry written by Palestinian revolutionary writers painting the 1952 Egyptian revolution and the nationalization of Suez Canal alongside the Iraqi revolution against colonialism as a means closer to the liberation of Palestine. The poems written in the 1960s period prior to 1967 loss look at Palestine through a Pan Arab lens and define it as the prominent cause of liberation for all Arabs.

Resistance poetry from 1936-1967 period are defined by a number of themes, those are love, satire, defiance and challenge. When we talk about love in terms of resistance poetry, the love one has for their homeland seems to take prominence and it is intertwined with one's love for another. When it comes to satire, we witness satire to make light and ridicule the oppressor. Finally when it comes to defiance and challenge, resistance poetry is there to uplift the armed struggle of Palestinian resistance fighters and incite the masses to revolt. The poetry is only a reflection of the daily reality Palestinians experience in their struggle against the Zionist and capitalist enemy and their attachment to their Arab identity. Usually, the poems travelled across through the word of mouth before rising to publication.

(Kanafani, 1974)

In the period of 1920-1936, the prominent resistance poets were Ibrahim Tuqan, Abu Salma and Abd al Rahim Mahmoud. Tuqan's most famous poem "Mawtini" became the

Palestinian national anthem and later the Iraqi national anthem. The words portray the position of the Palestinian people in their resistance to British colonialism in the Great Palestinian revolt and how the pen and the sword meaning the armed struggle alongside the cultural revolution are the road to Palestinian liberation contrary to the peace dialogues local agents of colonialism conduct, “no talking nor quarrelling”. Honor is tied to serving the cause of liberation and taking pride in the Palestinian nation’s flag and nation as a whole and fighting for its victory against the British enemy. Poetry of the 1936 revolt was robust in its stance against Arab regimes and colonialism and linking Palestinian liberation to the liberation of Arabs from their reactionary regimes. (Kanafani, 1974)

We enter a new era of cultural production and hence witness a significant shift from the use of resistance poetry as the sole form of resistance literature against Zionist settler colonialism with posters becoming a dominant form of representing Palestinian resistance and a means of disseminating the struggle to a global political stage and building anti-imperialist solidarity. (Nabulsi, 2014)

The Palestine Project Archives website houses posters according to a specific criteria:

- Any poster with “Palestine” in any language from any source or time period
- Any poster created or published by any artist or agency claiming Palestinian participation
- Any poster published in Historic Palestine or “Israel”
- Any poster published by any source which relates directly to social, cultural, political, military or economic history of Palestine

They are organized by titles and topics and include a detailed account containing information on publishers and artists.

The posters include propaganda posters of Palestinian resistance groups, posters created by Arab and International artists in solidarity with Palestinian liberation, posters created commemorating massacres and historical events as well as posters of Palestinian sites and cities. This rich digitized resource is a means of cultural resistance in the midst of Zionist erasure of Palestinian history. In the thesis, I aim to use examples from the revived posters to highlight the union of anti-imperialist struggles and examine the question of resistance through a media form. There is an already significant gap in literature and it is the fact that these posters are not examined enough and nor are the socio-political contexts from which they emerged studied and dissected. Firstly, the earliest research on Palestinian poster archives were done by Shafiq Radwan in his book “The Palestinian Poster”; Radwan claims that Palestinian posters were produced pre-1948 denouncing the British Occupation of Palestine. Radwan pinpoints the “real birth” of the Palestinian poster as occurring five years after the 1967 June War. This is a false notion as it denounces the Palestinian and Arab posters that were made pre-1967 war; which promote the idea of Palestinian resistance and Arab unity in resistance for the Palestinian cause. (Radwan, 1992) There are many posters that were popular in that era especially posters featuring words and slogans by Abdel Nasser in addition to posters by militant organizations like Fatah and the Arab armies calling for people to volunteer and fight in the war against Israel. During this time, we witness a wave of international solidarity cultural productions that current literature does not shed light on and I aim to include my thesis. For example after the 1967 Aggression, we witnessed the distribution of posters by Soviet and Afro-Asian movements condemning the aggression and expressing revolutionary solidarity. As well as that, Radwan’s book does not take into account the Battle of Karameh that paved the way for a wave of cultural production

from Palestinian, Jordanian and Arab Artists honoring the losses and victories of the battle. A dissertation on Palestine Poster Archives published by Daniel Walsh in 2011 to investigate the use of the Palestine poster archives as a student driven pedagogical resource and the emergence of political Zionism through the use of posters. Contrary to what I am to investigate, Walsh significantly focuses on Zionist posters produced in 1897-1948 in order to purport Theodor Hertzl's ideology (the founder of Zionism) and how those posters were used to promote Zionist settler colonial trips to Palestine. (Walsh, 2011)

The Jewish National Fund is noted to have used commercial propaganda such as posters to reach the goals of the desired Zionist Settler colony in Palestine. After finishing his analysis of Zionist posters, Walsh examines Palestinian poster Archives and categorizes them focusing on four "wellsprings": International Wellspring: Posters produced by international artists, Zionist Wellspring: Posters produced to appeal to Zionist colonial movement, Palestinian nationalist wellspring: posters published by Palestinian organizations and agencies and finally an Arab/Muslim wellspring: Posters published by Arab/Muslim Artists or agencies. With regards to the Palestinian nationalist wellspring, the collection includes posters produced by the PLO, PFLP, DFLP, General Union of Palestinian Students and United Nations. Walsh claims posters produced in that wellspring emerged out of chaotic conditions of revolution and refugeehood and pinpoints their objectives as "to inspire volunteers for military service" and "heroicize military action against Israel" which I was quite taken aback by whilst hearing the author and he does not iterate his clear support for armed struggle often using the word "conflict" too. Walsh attributes the posters to specific occasions that marked the Palestinian struggle's history such as Land Day, International Day of Solidarity with the

Palestinian people, Women's day and others, alongside this the posters use known national symbols of Palestine including Keffiyeh, Jaffa's Oranges, the Key of Return, the Map of Palestine and the Olive Tree. (Walsh, 2011)

The posters were rooted in calling for Sumud and militant resistance against the Zionist occupier; in turn the Zionists prohibited posters and cracked down on Palestinian artists producing revolutionary posters under the guise of "harmful propaganda". Walsh does not expand upon how posters can be a means of resistance supplementary to armed struggle in his dissertation. Does Walsh tackle the question of anti-imperialist solidarity in his dissertation? With regards to this question, we see Walsh touch upon the fact that many Palestinian published posters were produced in solidarity with liberation movements in the region including the Popular front for the Liberation of Oman, Lebanese National movement, Polisario Front (Western Sahara), Iranian Revolution, The Sandinista Liberation Front of Nicaragua, Revolutionary Cuba, Turkish masses and The Soviet Union. However, Walsh does not delve deeper into analyzing those said posters nor analyzing the question of anti imperialist solidarity instead briefly touching upon the work of international artists within the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine specifically Marc Rudin and the works of international artists in the Palestine Liberation organization without a thorough analysis of the content or taking into account the class, gender, sociopolitical aspects and ideology behind them which I aim to do in my thesis. In his section on the Arab/Muslim Wellspring, Walsh claims that the Palestine Poster Project Archives website hosts Palestine posters from across the Arab region and four Muslim-Majority countries: Iran, Malaysia, Turkey and Indonesia. The posters are said to be the smallest (in number) in the collection on the Palestine Poster Project Archives contrary to the large number of posters actually produced by

Arab/Muslim artists and organizations. Moreover, the significant cultural production pre and during and post 1967 War that marked “cultural resistance” is unfortunately ignored generating a colossal gap in literature. This small collection contains the “A million flags for Palestine” poster by the Egyptian Communist Party and other posters by the Organization of Muslim Students in France and a large number of posters produced during the Iranian Revolution and post-revolution in solidarity with Palestine. (Walsh, 2011)

Further in the dissertation, Walsh performs a critical analysis of two posters one named “Fifty Years under the Tent” (1997) by the campaign for the defense of Palestinian refugee rights and a Zionist poster “And we will set down roots here”. With regards to the poster “Fifty Years Under the Tent” by Adnan Al Zubaidy, we witness a clear element of opposition to imperialism as the poster paints France, United Kingdom, United States and Germany as responsible for the Nakba. As per Walsh’s analysis, the countries are chosen for the reasons as follows: United Kingdom for its role in colonizing Palestine and the Balfour Declaration, United States for it being the prominent supporter of Israel financially and politically, Germany for perpetrating The Holocaust and France for its support for Israel. The date of the poster publication is in line with UN’s partition plan of Palestine and is a revolutionary statement against UN’s complicity in the Nakba; there are symbols in the poster that Walsh points out confirming that by analyzing the presence of UN and USAID sacks in the poster. (Walsh, 2011)

There are emblems of resistance that exist in the poster including the Olive tree and Keffiyeh used to demonstrate Palestinian Sumud and the sole role that Palestinian

refugees play in liberation. What I did not feel as though necessary was placing the Palestinian poster and the Zionist poster in comparison with one another as it was not comprehensible to see a poster purporting a colonial ideology to be placed analogous to one purporting a liberation ideology. This is not an idea I aim to replicate in my thesis. Walsh explained his comparisons to point out the poor counterrevolutionary isolationist ideology of political Zionism and the revolutionary multicultural ideology of Palestinian posters.

On another note, Jaafar Alloul tends to replicate the same idea of comparing Palestinian and Zionist posters, critically analyzing Zionist posters as a settler colonial visual matrix and Palestinian posters as a means of resistance to this matrix. Alloul focuses on the use of the term “Palestine” in early Zionist posters to promote settler colonialism contradicting the famous Zionist claim of Palestine not existing or being a land without people. (Alloul, 2016)

The “Visit Palestine” a poster produced by the Zionist movement is used in his study, this poster was used to promote settler colonialism and highlighted historical landmarks in Palestine. Palestine was advertised to a Zionist audience via the use of orientalist tropes in this poster among others instigating Zionists to come occupy Palestine and fertilize its land and reproduce and rediscover, it was a means of bringing Jewish settler labor. This colonial trope is resisted as the poster is adapted by Palestinian artists in order to replicate a notion of Sumud. Another notion Alloul focuses on is resistance as tradition examining a known PFLP Poster produced on International Women’s Day; the poster focuses on the gender and land aspect referring to fertility and virginity in a Palestinian context. Palestine is referred to as the mother resisting the colonial notion

Zionists have of fertilizing “raping” the virgin land of Palestine. Maternity in the poster equates a vision of Palestinian liberation and the use of a gun alongside the figurine of a Palestinian mother in traditional clothing and her baby insinuates that armed struggle is the sole path to Palestinian liberation. (Alloul, 2016)

Briefly, Charles Tripp touches upon the use of political posters by the Palestinian organizations in Lebanon in order to raise consciousness, signal the objectives of resistance and how they will be achieved. He deems the posters specifically in the case of the PFLP as “very much part of the rationale” of the existence of the political organization reiterating the notion of “I exist therefore I exist”. This statement demonstrates the significance of the use of posters in the means of resistance complementary to armed struggle. (Tripp, 2012) Plus, Tripp talks about the posters paving the path for international solidarity and briefly states how posters evolved into a means of memorializing martyrs and promote Islamic resistance factions specifically Hamas. Tripp’s statements are void of critical analysis nor the use of solid evidence like posters or previous literature done on resistance posters to support his claims hence it does not really add to my thesis’s claims.

Moving on, a more extensive analysis is conducted by Zeina Maasri’s research on the Palestinian revolution and the print-scapes of solidarity. Maasri draws upon how the events of the 1967 war were a catalyst for cultural production by Arab artists. She makes a clear reference to renowned Palestinian artist Kamal Boullata’s works whom examines Palestinian visual arts through the use of theory by Frantz Fanon. (Fanon, 1968)

Boullata claims Palestinian visual arts have undergone the three stages in the development of Third Worldist National cultures posed by Fanon:

- First Stage: Total assimilation of borrowed Western studio art
- Second stage: anxiety over quests for cultural identity
- Third Stage: stage of combat

“For Palestinian art to reach the new Arab man, who the revolution is working to reconstitute, it cannot call for reform; it has to strive for new forms. Liberationist art today is a staging ground in the long struggle for the artist of the people to liberate art.”
(Kamal Boullata, 1970)

Boullata paints the relationship between the artist and their role in liberating the people and supplementing the revolution reiterating the significance of resistance through visual art in the Palestinian context. Boullata’s work categorized Palestinian artists in Beirut into two categories and those are ones that emerged from refugee camps and others that are part of Beirut’s intellectual and cosmopolitan elite. This obviously understates the fact that artists were revolutionaries that emerged from the socio-political conditions they were in and Beirut acted as the landmark for Arab revolutionaries and had a significant role in the Palestinian liberation struggle. (Maasri, 2020)

Maasri reiterates this and claims that printed forms and their role in articulating trans-local radical politics of solidarity has not been studied before. As a result, she embarks on an investigation to research revolutionary substance and transnational solidarity among posters and magazines. Beirut is deemed a node in revolutionary anti

imperialism for housing Palestinian and Arab armed revolutionary organizations including the PFLP, PLO and Arab Nationalist Movement and being at the spearhead of the struggle against Israel post-1967. These changes and the rise of Palestinian revolutionary organization occurs in time with the rise of third world anti imperialist politics and revolutionary successes from Cuba to Algeria to Vietnam. This necessitates relationships and alliances to be formed between those movements, Maasri claims that the PLO models its liberation struggle based on the Algerian liberation struggle whilst Marxist-Leninist groups PFLP and DFLP model their liberation struggle on the experiences of revolutionaries in China and Vietnam adopting Maoist guerilla tactics. (Maasri, 2020)

The alliances were translated in combat and the use of publications from papers to magazines to posters to books and also revolutionary cinema. Maasri refers to this period as a period of “global revolutionary clamor” that was both politically and aesthetically powerful. She claims Palestinians are now at the forefront of the Arab struggle and Third World liberation struggles with Beirut now becoming an “Arab Hanoi”. The revolution becomes a recurrent theme in Lebanon and from 1969 onwards, the Lebanese-Palestinian solidarity is materialized in everyday experiences. “Arab Hanoi” is the lens Maasri chooses to examine printed media with a significant focus on *Al-Hadaf* magazine the PFLP militant periodical founded by revolutionary leader Ghassan Kanafani. Kanafani translates his theories of resistance literature into practice through *Al Hadaf* by making it complementary to armed struggle and places the Palestinian struggle at a global stage against imperialism. It is said to have empowered the Arab public readers reaching various audiences in refugee camps, guerilla bases, cafés in Beirut. (Maasri, 2020)

In her analysis, Maasri labels *Al-Hadaf* as a magazine that crucially foregrounded art as a mode of revolutionary struggle and altered the visuality of Arabic militant periodicals supplementing her argument with front covers and pages published in *Al-Hadaf* under Kanafani's editorial vision. She states that after the assassination of Ghassan Kanafani by Mossad, the militant aesthetic and political framework of *Al-Hadaf* transforms completely. Maasri does not further explain this nor analyzes the changes that *Al-Hadaf* magazine undertook after Kanafani's assassination and this is a gap in literature one must cover. Moreover, she fails to do a textual analysis of the language that was present in the pages and cover pages of *Al-Hadaf* and actually pinpoint what was it in those pages and designs that mobilized masses and made *Al-Hadaf* a spearhead against Zionism and Imperialism.

Later, she fixates her analysis on the agency of visual artists and how their cultural revolution and representation of resistance via the use of magazines, stamps and posters are part and parcel of mass mobilization for the struggle. The correlation between Cuba and Palestine becomes more salient as we learn that in Cuba the poster was an internationalist revolutionary political device in the context of global anti imperialism and Palestine a replica of that. She quotes Ezzeddine Kalak, a PLO spokesperson who claims "Through posters the Palestinian cause enters the homes of masses and resides in their eyes". The trope that Maasri chooses to examine is that of the Fida'i (Palestinian freedom fighter) and her analysis is rooted in dissecting that from a class perspective. The figurine of the Fida'i (Freedom fighter) in posters transcends borders and becomes the bearer to what Maasri refers to as "liberationist armed struggles" across the global south. The drawing of the Fida'i' is a means of reclamation of space and dignity following the heinous 1967 defeat, the use of the Fida'i' in a mix of peasant and militant

clothing in posters is a means of drawing upon the role of the peasant in the liberation of land. (Maasri, 2020)

Though, Maasri does not delve into it to, it is also a means of portraying how the bourgeoisie do not have a role in the Palestinian liberation struggle since class liberation is at the forefront of fighting against Zionist settler colonialism. How is the figurine of the Fidai used to promote internationalist anti imperialist solidarity?

For example, Ismail Shammout uses the Fidai figure in a poster for the Palestine Liberation Organization accompanied with a slogan “Long live international solidarity against Imperialism and Zionism”. This poster’s nature challenges orientalist tropes of viewing the Palestinians as docile and hence grants the Palestinians agency over their struggle. Shammout again is a pillar in producing art that builds anti imperialist solidarity networks evidencing that by producing a poster portraying Palestinian-Vietnamese solidarity labeled “Vietnam-Palestine: a victory”. This poster features a rifle being passed from a Vietnamese guerilla fighter to a Palestinian guerilla fighter portraying the intertwining of the victory of the Vietnamese revolution and the potential victory of the Palestinian revolution.

On another note, Maasri then delves into the examination of national cultural Palestinian symbols and the use of Palestinian poetry inscribed into posters in order to advocate the struggle for nationhood. This is done in order to completely debunk Zionist myths of claiming Palestine is a land without people. She focuses on the use of Palestinian landmarks like the Dome of the Rock signifying its centrality in the

Palestinian struggle for liberation from the Zionist colonizer and the attempts of the colonizer to “Judaize” Jerusalem. (Maasri, 2020)

The scholar critically analyzes a poster by Burhan Karkutli that centers Jerusalem in the call for liberation using both Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem alongside other Jerusalemite landmarks in resistance to the colonial hegemony. This poster contains a slogan “Jerusalem is ours. Victory is Ours.” taken from Fairuz’s song “Zahrat al Madae’n” that speaks the story of Jerusalem being a land for Muslims and Christians and they will fight to return the glory of Jerusalem.

Contrary to previous literature, my thesis follows a more extensive analysis of various posters rather than a select few and avoids placing revolutionary posters in parallel to colonial ones it rather takes on a mission of focusing on the poster as a weapon of resistance in its own right. I also focus on themes of class liberation and feminist liberation in the selected posters and pages of Al-Hadaf magazine analyzed in my dissertation. Furthermore, with regards to the question of Palestine as an internationalist cause I answer it by looking at a broad scope of sister liberation struggles rather than focusing on one or two examples alike the previous research. Finally, pages of Al-Hadaf magazine are analyzed accordingly shedding light on how Al-Hadaf played the role of spearhead in the face of World Imperialism and Zionism. In summary, what I am offering is new as I collectively analyze links between Palestinian liberation, Arab liberation, African liberation and Asian Liberation and I explain the use of a revolutionary poster or magazine as a forms of resistance supplementary to armed struggle by dissecting language, text, color and themes within each poster. Finally, I examine the posters and revolutionary magazines at hand and explain how they abide by Kanafani’s theories of cultural resistance.

A. Methodology

The dissertation embarks on using qualitative analysis as a means of answering the central thesis questions and those are: how are revolutionary posters and magazines a means of resistance in the context of Palestine supplementary to armed struggle and the other question of how are posters and magazines a means of building anti-imperialist solidarity. With regards to the qualitative analysis, I used the AUB Library Archives to gather revolutionary posters and gain access to pages from *Al-Hadaf* magazine as well as that I used other prominent resources including the Palestine Project Archives website and the PFLP Website that contained the PFLP Bulletin magazine and *Al Hadaf* magazine archives. To narrow down my search, I chose the 60s to 80s period as the target of my thesis research. This period also was the foundational period for many Palestinian resistance factions and liberation struggles across the global south and there was a peak global anti imperialist revolution. Following this, the search was narrowed down further whereby I chose posters relevant to specific events that were occurring for instance the 1967 aggression, Battle of Karameh, Black September, The Palestinian revolution etc. Concerning posters that emerged out of a specific socio-political event, I would narrow down my selection to one or two posters per topic. My selection would depend on the poster's relevancy and adherence to the thesis questions, the strength of poster in its effect on myself as a viewer and the themes expressed in said poster. Moving on, my analysis of selected posters takes into account the socio-political context they emerged from, the organization/artist that produced the poster and their ideology respectively as well as the location whereby they were published. The analysis delves into both the textual and visual form collating the two in order to answer the thesis aims clearly. I collectively analyze slogans, titles, hidden messages, symbols,

color, pictures and themes in the poster in order to ensure a solid analysis. The reason I chose this method to analyze the posters and pages of *Al-Hadaf* is the fact that posters do not follow uniform patterns and each poster has its own autonomy and therefore require a meticulous analysis. In total, there were 40 figures analyzed of those four were pages from revolutionary magazines including *Al-Hadaf* and *PFLP bulletin* while the remaining 36 figures were revolutionary posters that emerged from various contexts and were produced by a range of artists and organizations including the PLO, PFLP and OSPAAAL among others. With regards to the limitations of this analysis, firstly it relies on my own interpretation of the posters and magazines and this could pose an obstacle as other viewers and audiences might interpret the selected posters and magazines differently. Secondly, the number of figures analyzed is not large and hence we might not be able to draw up conclusions that can be applied to future research literature on revolutionary posters.

B. How do we theorize the power of political posters and magazines?

With regards to the political poster, we must dissect it from multiple dimensions. Firstly, there is an analogy that claims that political posters emerge as a means of political propaganda, with the term “propaganda” used in a negative connotation. When those political posters are labeled as propaganda they are denied the socio-political agency and the class struggles they emerged from. In the context of this thesis, Palestinian posters were used in order to mobilize masses for the struggle for liberation and generate anti imperialist solidarity and defy state apparatus and the colonizer’s surveillance. Every poster connoted a message and had specific ideological aims moulded in class struggles and preserving cultural and Palestinian national identity. In Gramsci’s theory of “cultural hegemony”, Gramsci defines cultural hegemony as the

domination of the ruling classes' ideology over the beliefs and perceptions of society. Cultural hegemony enables exploitation under capitalism and is a proponent of reproducing fascist and imperialist structures via media and other social institutions. According to Gramsci, we are in a constant war of position whereby a dominant bourgeoisie ideology is a salient and we must revolt against it and liberate ourselves from its capitalist shackles and cultural hegemony. (Gramsci, 1971)

From a Gramsci lens, we can view revolutionary posters by Palestinian organizations and revolutionary magazines like *Al Hadaf* and the Black Panther Party as a means of revolting against a salient cultural hegemony. The cultural hegemony they are collectively revolting against is one that is capitalist, imperialist and Zionist and is reproduced by powerful structures from global media to other ideological state apparatus like religious institutions and schools and universities. It is a violent ideology whereby the state punishes anyone who dares to defy it, it furthers the exploitation of the masses. The job of the revolutionary posters and magazines is defined as being a voice of the "Wretched of the Earth" and try to diminish the means by which workers are exploited under shackles of oppression by the colonial and imperialist systems and the capital network that enables them. With regards to Fanon's theories outlined in "The Wretched of Earth", we can link them to the sole subject of the revolutionary posters and magazines as they outline how decolonization is a violent phenomenon and become voices of armed struggle outlining resistance operations against Zionist settler colonialism. Fanon focuses on how colonized individuals resist in order to guard their national culture against the colonial erasure and colonial tropes i.e. accusing Arabs of Barbarism. The native is immersed into Western culture due to the power of colonial domination but then liberates himself from this domination after feeling alienated. After

this period, the native starts reproducing revolutionary literature and is immersed within his national identity. “You substantiate the existence of your culture in the fight you wage against the forces of occupation” and this is further examined in the text when Fanon looks at how natives engage armed struggle within their works of poetry, art and literature. The national culture becomes at the heart of the struggle for freedom, the colonized intellectual actively strives for a future for his people and instills hope and a calls to revolutionary struggle. We can interpret Palestinian revolutionary posters as falling under these conditions as we see artists engage Palestinian national symbols that Zionists attempt to erase as well as call for masses to take up arms for the liberation of Palestine and in some cases which we will discuss in this thesis going beyond the borders of Palestine and opting for global anti-imperialist revolution. We see a link between Fanon and Kanafani’s theories of resistance literature as they both view literature as a means of supplementing an armed struggle to liberate nations from colonialism. Both theories are replicated in the revolutionary posters and magazines (*Al Hadaf and Black Panther Party*) that I aim to examine further in this thesis. To be able to produce a thorough analysis of the posters at hand we must dissect the manifestos of the organizations that were responsible for the production of the posters and note points of agreement and contradictions in ideology and language. For instance, the Palestinian Liberation Organization opts a Palestinian nationalist lens and the goal is through revolutionary armed struggle and the establishment of a Palestinian state is the end goal. The PLO at the time was the sole representative of an overwhelming majority of Palestinian masses and was able to draw upon links with other revolutionary struggles in Algeria and Vietnam and even the Black Panthers party that this thesis focuses on and becoming a means of bridging solidarity networks globally. With regards to the

PFLP, we witness an adherence to Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary values focusing on how workers are the vanguard of the Palestinian revolution and taking a solid stance against Zionist Settler Colonialism, imperialism, capitalism, feudalism, Arab reactionary regimes as well as Palestinian bourgeoisie. The manifestos in relation to the posters will be touched upon further. The role of Ghassan Kanafani as a revolutionary intellectual and resistance fighter will be examined through his works in *Al Hadaf* magazine as an editor-in-chief and the posters he has spearheaded alongside the operations he planned and further how does Kanafani build anti-imperialist solidarity through media.

In conclusion, whilst I laid out the underpinnings of this thesis dissertation I recognize that it will be a significant contribution to academic literature that is certainly lacking on Palestinian posters and magazines. It is also a means of examining cultural resistance and anti imperialist solidarity and adopt from past experiences to replicate the spirit of anti-imperialist resistance within the Palestinian liberation struggle and solidarity networks. Furthermore, we can dissect ideological aims of the posters and magazines to collectively understand the theories of Kanafani, Gramsci and Fanon and how we can apply them in our cultural war of position in our present day in a world laden with imperialist and capitalist media that only serves the Zionist settler colonial project further. As well as that, it is important that we produce revolutionary media alike that of 60s-70s to mobilize revolutionary masses to fight for the cause and play an active role in liberation. We must delve deeper and analyze these media forms in order to understand how for instance social media sphere has been a powerful tool in channeling Palestinian resistance and building solidarity and how we can use it to our benefit.

In the coming chapters, there will be an extensive analysis of revolutionary Palestinian posters in their early beginnings from the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the foundation of other revolutionary organizations such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The second chapter assesses posters produced in an atmosphere where Pan-Arabism was the dominant ideology in the political scene shaping up to the 1967 Zionist aggression known as Naksa. Following the Naksa, there is an increase in cultural productions adhering to the range of socio-political events that have marked the Palestinian struggle for liberation late 60s – early 70s period such as but not limited to Black September, Plane Hijackings, Tal El Zaatar Massacre and others. In the chapter, the lens through which the posters are examined highlight the various questions the thesis aims to dissect firstly the role of posters and magazines as a means of Palestinian resistance and a complement to armed struggle alongside being a bridge to anti-imperialist solidarity. The themes of gender and class are highlighted as certain posters are assessed in the role they play in highlighting feminist and class liberation. In the succeeding chapter, there is a more explicit focus on the concept of anti-imperialist solidarity reproduced in posters as mediums. This solidarity is expressed transcending borders and the thesis focuses on links between Palestinian and Arab liberation, African Liberation and Asian liberation built via posters in the 70s-80s period. Throughout both chapters, there are attempts to apply Kanafani's theories as a means of reasoning behind the cultural productions produced including revolutionary posters or articles in *Al-Hadaf*. Kanafani's theories that are examined include the theory of cultural productions being part and parcel of the armed struggle for liberation i.e. being a means of mobilization for forces to join the Palestinian revolution and the global anti-imperialist revolution.

CHAPTER II

ANALYSING PALESTINIAN REVOLUTIONARY POSTERS

A. The Palestinian Poster 1960 – 1967

Contrary to Shafiq Radwan's claim whereby he pointed that the birth of the Palestinian poster was five years after the 1967 Israeli Aggression "Naksa", I examine early posters produced in 1960-1967 prior to the 1967 Arab-Israeli War by prominent artists and revolutionary organizations PLO and DFLP in their beginnings. Firstly we see the emergence of a select number of posters in 1965 by the Palestine Liberation Organization as a means of establishing its manifesto and engraining its revolutionary mission. The PLO was officially formed in 1964 adopting a Secular Palestinian Nationalist ideology strongly striving for Arab Unity and Palestinian statehood. The early logo of the "Palestinian Liberation Organization" contained its title and a map and flag of Palestine with three slogans imprinted "Liberation", "National unity" and "National Mobilization" alongside a visual of a flame symbolizing the flame of the revolution that will achieve all of those three pillars and ultimately a liberated Palestinian state.

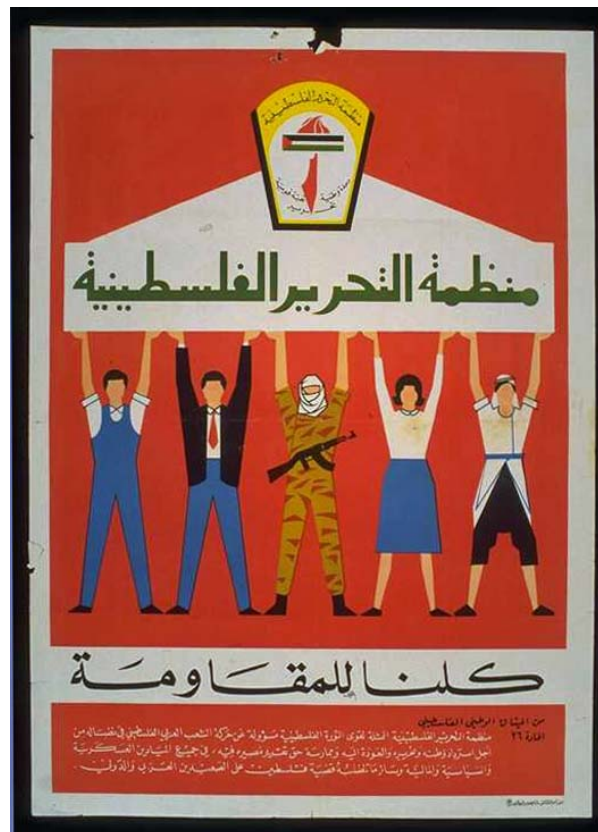


Figure 1. All for the Resistance Palestine Liberation Organization (1965).

In 1965, Ismail Shammout produces the first PLO poster titled “All for the Resistance” and it is published in Egypt. This poster includes five figurines with two women and three men and they are from various social classes: the proletariat, the middle-class man and woman, the resistance fighter (Fidai’) and the peasant. The five are used to represent idea of national unity and the transcendence of the constructs of class and gender, they collectively hold up the pillar with the logo and name of the Palestine Liberation Organization. An important note is the fact that the Fidai lies at the center as the Fidai is the pivot behind the armed struggle for liberation. Under the five figurines lies a slogan “We are all for the resistance” to demonstrate the union of the Palestinian masses in the revolution and armed resistance for the liberation of Palestine. At the end of the poster lies a small passage in Arabic that translates to “The Palestinian Liberation Organization, representative of Palestinian revolutionary forces is

responsible for the Palestinian Arab people’s struggle to retrieve and liberate their homeland and return to it and exercise the right to self-determination in all military, political and financial aspects and whatever may be required by Palestinian cause on inter-Arab and international levels.” The interpretation of this passage is quite self-explanatory as we witness the PLO taking a central position in becoming a representative of Palestinian revolutionary masses in the struggle for liberation.



Figure 2. “1948-1965” Palestine Liberation Organization.

The second poster produced is one by Jamil Shammout titled “1948-1965” signifying the transition between the 1948 Nakba catastrophe to the establishment of the PLO in 1965 where Palestinians now take part in organized revolutionary armed struggle for the liberation of the Palestinian homeland. In this poster, we see masses of Palestinian refugees exiled in the Nakba cross a gate with the PLO logo and eventually transform

into resistance fighters carrying rifles (vanguards of the revolution) to liberate Palestine and cross barbed wire to symbolize revolutionary victory. The red color is used in the poster to represent dawn timing and to reiterate the notion “with every upcoming dawn there will be a revolution until victory”. We must recognize that the context this poster emerges from is years after the only posters used to represent the Palestinian people’s struggle were produced by the UN / UNRWA whereby Palestinians were stripped of political agency over their struggle and seen as docile, only requiring aid and relief efforts.



Figure 3. “For Palestine” Palestine Liberation Organization (1965).

Finally the final poster titled “For Palestine” by Ismail Shammout for the PLO can be interpreted as a means of resistance to the settler colonial visual productions used by Jewish national fund among other Zionist organizations that produce posters to

convince Zionists around the globe to donate to the settler colonial entity of “Israel”. The poster contains a box labeled as the Palestinian National Fund with hand figurines dropping coins into the fund. Alongside that are illustrations of Palestinian resistance fighters combatting the enemy in a battlefield. Under those illustrations lies a colossal slogan “For Palestine”, these collectively demonstrate to the viewer the active role he/she they play in supplementing armed resistance for Palestinian liberation should they make a donation to the Palestinian National fund. Hence, this poster is a means of mass mobilization for the Palestinian revolution. Collectively, the three posters (Fig 1-3) supplement national unity and mobilize masses and formulate a culture of resistance and supplement material armed struggle. Hence, the posters align with the question the thesis strives to answer where posters are sites of resistance in the struggle for liberation and boost armed struggle on the ground, confirming Kanafani’s notion of cultural resistance being in union with armed struggle.

We must take into account the posters were emerging whereby we witnessed Pan-Arabism as the salient ideology across the Arab region and we had seen the success of Gamal Abdel Nasser in the nationalization of Egypt’s Suez Canal and in facilitating the unity of Arab armies of Egypt, Jordan, Syria and the PLO revolutionary forces to fight against the Israeli Occupation. 1967 becomes a pivotal point in the struggle for Arab and Palestinian Liberation and the emergence of anti imperialist alliances beyond the geographical borders of the Arab region. These alliances are reflected in cultural productions during that timing. One of those alliances is that of OSPAAL based in Cuba with the Palestinian and Arab resistance movements. OSPAAL (Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America) is established in Cuba due to Cuba being a spearhead against colonialism and imperialism following the

success of the Cuban revolution. This organization is formed following a tri-continental conference that births alliances in January 1966 between the Cuban revolutionary state and third world liberation movements including the PLO. The 1967 June War is seen as a barricade to Third World liberation and anti-imperialism in the Middle East. Cuban revolutionary movements dedicate themselves materially and culturally to playing a role in the struggle for the liberation of Palestine. This is reproduced in OSPAAL productions in their posters for Palestine and the Arab world and notably the chair of OSPAAL claims they were lured by the revolutionary consciousness and determination of the Arab people in the quest for liberation. (Thomson, 2021)

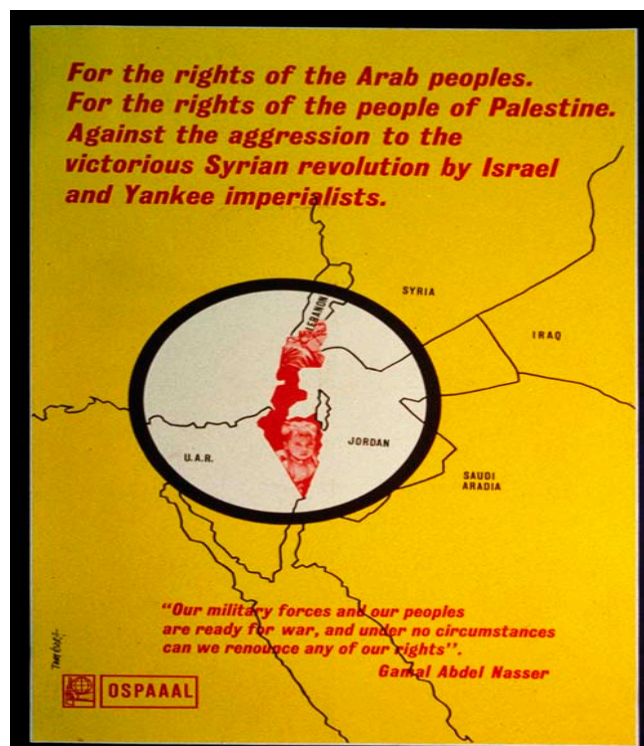


Figure 4. Israel and Yankee Imperialists OSPAAL (1967).

This poster titled “Israel and Yankee Imperialists” produced by Tony Evora for OSPAAL and published in 1967 voices the correlation between Palestinian Liberation,

Arab Liberation and anti-imperialist solidarity. The settler colonial entity's alliance with the imperialist power is drawn upon. The circle in the poster links Palestine, United Arab Republic (Syria and Egypt), Lebanon and Jordan to demonstrate to us the significance of the role each nation plays in the struggle for Palestinian Liberation and hence their mutual involvement in the 1967 war against "Israel" alongside Palestinian revolutionaries. There is an emphasis on how the Palestinian cause is the center for the liberation of all Arab peoples. This is reiterated by the slogan in the posters "For the rights of the Arab peoples" "For the rights of the people of Palestine". The following line "Against the aggression to the victorious Syrian revolution by Israel and Yankee imperialists" could be alluding to the unity of Syria and Egypt as a "victorious Syrian revolution" in the face of imperialism and Israel. The quote by Gamal Abdel Nasser is used to highlight the role he played as a Pan-Arab leader that centralizes the Palestinian struggle for liberation during his realm and that is what led him to unite the Arab armies in the face of Israel.



Figure 5. To hell with Zionism (1967).

The second poster titled “To hell with Zionism” produced in Syria by an unknown artist presents a colossal figure of a soldier intersecting with the map of Palestine alongside the Jordanian, Syrian and Lebanese borders. The soldier carrying the rifle and a knife and looking down on a diminished figure of a Zionist demonstrates to us the power of the resistance in crushing Zionists. The position of the soldier’s heart at close proximity to the Palestinian flag is to demonstrate that the soldier is wholeheartedly fighting for the liberation Palestine transcending artificial borders that French and British colonialism drew up through the “Sykes Picot” agreement placed between Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine.

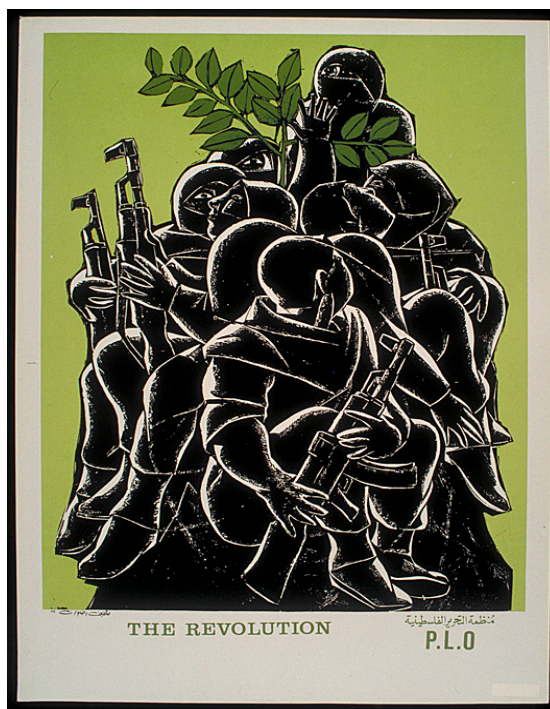


Figure 6. The Revolution (1967) Palestine Liberation Organization Shafiq Radwan.

Palestinian organizations maintained their cultural production through revolutionary posters, this poster titled “The Revolution” by Shafiq Radwan aligns with the PLO’s view of being representative of the masses as Radwan uses an illustration alluding to a large number of Palestinian resistance fighters with rifles carrying olive tree branches. The use of olive tree branches is a means of maintaining Palestinian cultural identity given the colonial erasure by the Zionists of national Palestinian symbols. In addition to that, the positionality of the rifles alongside the olive tree branches demonstrates that armed struggle is the sole path to the liberation of Palestinian land and nothing else. Collectively, the location whereby each poster is produced is important to take into account as we witness sociopolitical shifts in the locations whereby posters were produced. In other words, from 1960 -1967 Syria and Egypt are metropolises from which we witness major Palestinian poster production and dissemination due to the political

climate present in the countries and the association of Palestinian liberation with Pan-Arabism.

B. Post-Naksa 1968-1970 Revolutionary Posters

Following the heinous 1967 defeat known as “Naksa” that led to further Israeli occupation of Jerusalem, West Bank, Gaza, the Syrian Golan, we witness the forced displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians to Jordan and Syria. We also witness the formation of other Palestinian resistance groups such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine led by George Habash adopting revolutionary thought rooted in Marxism-Leninism – Maoism as well as Pan-Arabism and that becomes a spearhead against Zionism and anti imperialism in the region and beyond. PLO and PFLP form Fidayi’ training camps in Jordan. Jordanian and Palestinian blood and rifles are united against the Zionist enemy in the “Battle of Karameh”. On March 21 1968, the Israeli Occupation launches attacks on the PLO bases in Jordan in attempt to destroy the infrastructure of the PLO and eliminate its leaders. Both Palestinian revolutionaries and Jordanians are able to retaliate and resist against the IOF leading to significant losses in its ranks in only 15 hours of battle and achieve “dignity” giving the battle its name “Battle of Karameh”. (Othman, 2018)

Despite the short span of this battle, it was truly a milestone in the Palestinian struggle for liberation and led to cultural productions in the form of posters that have to be analyzed.



Figure 7. Steadfastness and Victory – Al Karameh (1968) PLO Unified Information.

This poster titled “Steadfastness and Victory” – Al Karameh was one of the earliest posters produced following the success of the battle. The poster reiterates the idea that this battle was a means of restoring dignity by using the word “Karameh” numerous times in the poster in various font sizes and finally in bold in a large font size in the middle of the poster. The enlargement and the variation of the word “Karameh” in bold is a means of signifying the impact the battle had in the Palestinian struggle and engrain the struggle as a struggle for dignity. Alongside this word are the two words “Sumoud” and “Intisar” also written in a bold font but rather a red font color this time in order to grab the attention of the viewer and demonstrate the steadfastness and victory of the Palestinian revolutionaries in the Karameh battle. The image of a young “Fidai” soldier carrying a rocket-propelled grenade launcher with an Israeli tank in the background symbolizes the role that youths play in the armed struggle for Palestinian liberation. Moreover, it is worth noting the poster is produced by the PLO and hence a means of mobilizing Palestinian youths to join the organization and be an active part of the battle for Palestinian liberation.



Figure 8. “Enemy’s Doom” (1968) Fatah Movement.

This next poster “Enemy’s Doom” also by the Palestine Liberation Organization was produced in the wake of the Battle of Karameh. The name of the poster challenges the colonial chokehold of the Israeli Occupation, the battle of Karameh is part of the impending doom the Zionists will face in the road to Palestinian liberation.

The figurines of the Fida'i'-fighters carrying a machine gun aimed at the sky mark a vision for a new future that includes steadfast armed resistance against the Zionist enemy. The text in Arabic attached to the poster translates to: “Fatah this is my canon, In my hand hugging my ribs. The enemy’s doom is its prestige. Its anthem is within earshot.” There is a reiteration of the enemy’s impending doom following the victory of the Battle of Karameh and an overarching theme of resistance and endurance.

Both posters (Fig 7-8) play a role in the confirmation of Kanafani's theory of establishing a culture of resistance as they mold viewers within that culture and prompt them to join armed struggle for liberation.

C. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine Establishment and Beginnings in Revolutionary Poster Production

During this period of time, the PFLP slowly rises to prominence extensively training thousands of freedom fighters in camps located in Al Salt – Jordan. In the PFLP manifesto, we find that it focuses on several pillars and from those pillars we can dissect the ideology of PFLP posters produced since the organization's establishment in December 1967 until our present day. Firstly, the organization relies on the concept of scientific revolutionary thought in order to guide revolutionary masses and that engages with the material strategies and conditions on the battlefield. Another pillar is having a holistic understanding of the enemies we are facing in order to have a clear picture of the enemy on the battlefield. The enemies are defined as "Israel" a political, economic and military aggressive expansionist racial structure colonizing Palestine alongside the World Zionist movement from which the settler colonial entity is enabled and funded and has based its political thought. Those two enemies then link up to a larger enemy and that is "World Imperialism"; Imperialism allies itself with "Israel" as they aim to eradicate revolutionary movements in Palestine and the Arab World and colonize our lands, exploit our people and their resources. (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, 1969)

George Habash states that "our real enemy is not Israel and Zionism only, it is American Imperialism who is backing Israel because Israel is a bodyguard for American Imperialist interests". (Habash, 1979)

The fourth enemy is Arab capitalism that only serves the agendas of reactionary regimes and guarantees their continuity and feeds into the interests of global capitalism hence directly/indirectly sponsoring world imperialism and enabling its interests in the region. On the other hand, the manifesto establishes an account of the allies of the Palestinian revolution and those are the proletariat and peasants as they are the sole driving force behind the revolution in the face of an exploitative colonial capitalist enemy and an exploitative local bourgeoisie. The question of class struggle is rooted in the Palestinian struggle for liberation. The PFLP defines the petit bourgeoisie as playing a role in armed struggle for liberation and a prominent role in the Palestinian revolution however the workers must be in leadership positions driving the revolution. With regards to the nationalist bourgeoisie, the PFLP considers allies to systems of imperialism and oppression and an obstacle for liberation. Another foremost pillar the PFLP manifesto focuses on is the concept of guerilla warfare being the sole path to Palestinian liberation. Finally, another defining feature of the revolutionary manifesto is the fact that it claims “The Palestinian revolution which is fused together with the Arab revolution and in alliance with the World revolution is alone capable of achieving victory.” (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, 1969)

The cultural productions and in our case posters fully abide by the condiments of the revolutionary manifesto. We must analyze the role that revolutionary leader Ghassan Kanafani played in the production of posters that voice Palestinian resistance and the engagement of the question of class liberation, anti imperialist solidarity and also the concept of feminist liberation aligned with Palestinian liberation.



Figure 9. PFLP Kanafani Large (1968) Ghassan Kanafani.

One of Kanafani and the PFLP's earliest posters is this poster titled "PFLP Woman" produced in 1968, this poster demonstrates the pivotal role that Palestinian struggle for liberation. The use of a woman figurine is also a means to demonstrate feminist liberation is tied to liberation from Zionist settler colonialism, the map of Palestine is superimposed into a rifle in order to reiterate that armed struggle is the sole path to Palestinian liberation. The grip of the woman onto the map of Palestine in the shape of a rifle defines the role of active women in armed struggle rebelling against the patriarchal hierarchies where women are made to stay at home while men fight to liberate the nation.



Figure 10. He is a Freedom Fighter (1969)
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine Ghassan Kanafani.

In order to form internationalist alliances and raise awareness and mobilize masses for the Palestinian struggle for Liberation beyond borders, the PFLP starts producing posters in English and French and other languages. For instance, this poster produced in 1969 by Kanafani titled “He is not a terrorist. He is a freedom fighter” alongside an illustration of a Fida’i holding on to a gun was produced in English. We could infer that this poster was produced in an atmosphere whereby orientalism and imperialism were the dominant cultural ideology and whereby Palestinian freedom fighters were deemed terrorists for resisting against the colonizer and not giving up on their right to self determination and liberation contrary to the desire of the colonizer to diminish their struggle. Agency is a pillar behind this poster as Kanafani advocates for the agency of the freedom fighter and the Palestinian as a whole, the Palestinian is not a docile agent and would not give up on any of his/her/their rights.

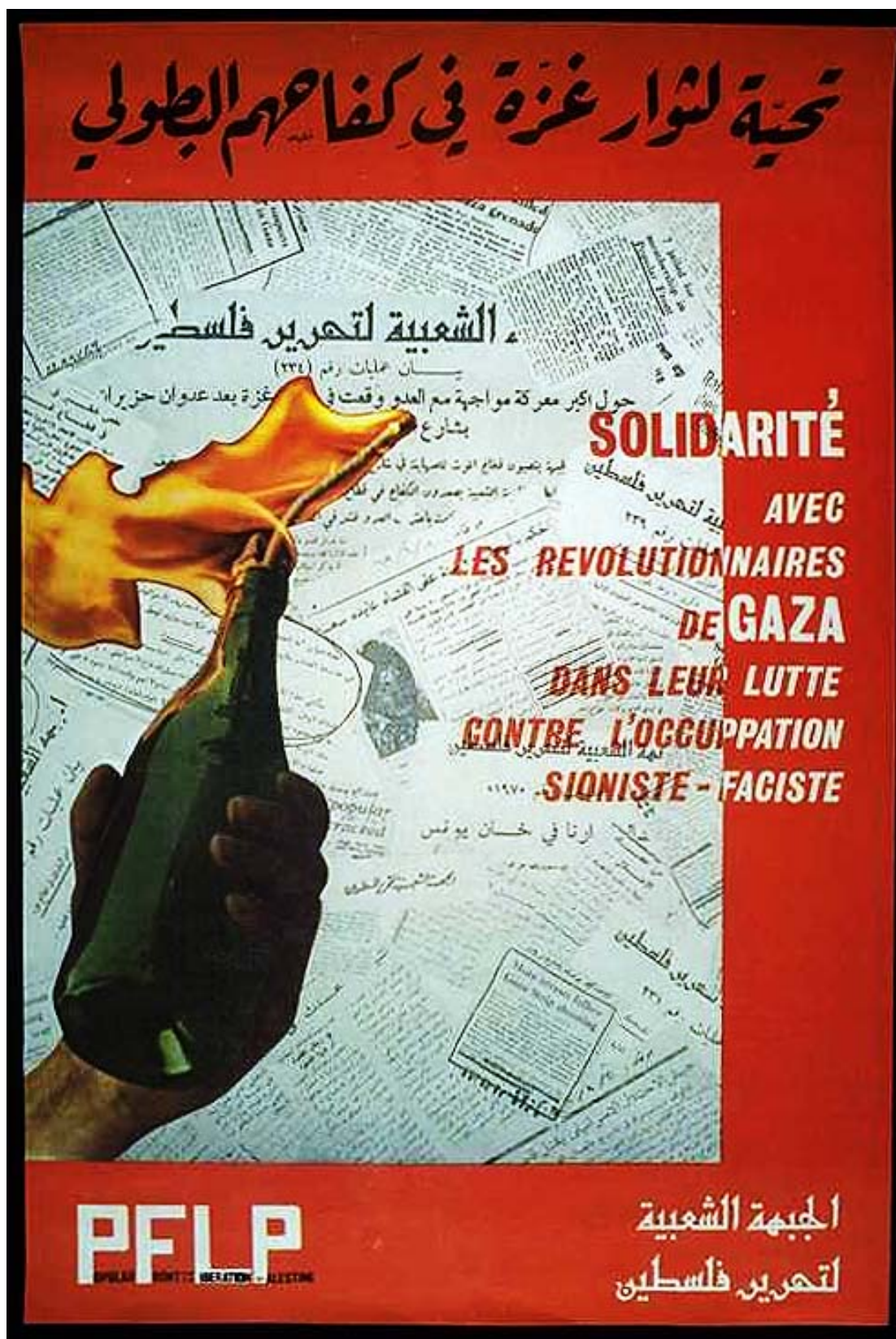


Figure 11. L'Occupation Sioniste-Fasciste (1969) PFLP Ghassan Kanafani.

“Solidarity with the revolutionaries in Gaza in their heroic struggle” by Ghassan Kanafani in 1969 engages with revolutionaries in Gaza in their heroic series of armed resistance operations and strikes in the face of the Zionist enemy. This poster is a means of uniting Palestinian revolutionaries exiled from their homeland with revolutionaries on the ground resisting inside Gaza, the union of the Palestinian people is a threat to the continuity of the Zionist settler colonial entity. A colossal Molotov cocktail is illustrated with an enlarged flame against a background of pages of *Al-Hadaf* magazine talking about resistance operations in Gaza; the flame symbolizes the continuum of the flame of the revolution. The slogan in French is a means of mobilizing masses in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle for liberation by explaining that Gaza revolutionaries are resisting against a Fascist-Zionist occupation.



Figure 12. Support the Steadfastness of Gaza (1970) Ghassan Kanafani.

Another poster produced by Kanafani a year later stresses the significance of the role Gaza plays in the liberation of Palestine as the prominent resistance front against Israeli repression. This is demonstrated by an illustration of a freedom fighter emerging from Gaza's geography with a gun pointing at a tree that is the size of the Palestinian map and is placed at a proximity to it. The use of a female fighter figurine is reiterating the active role women play in the armed struggle for liberation of Palestine. Three slogans are written in Arabic, English and French in support of the steadfastness "Sumoud" of the people of Gaza and to mobilize masses across the globe and build internationalist anti Zionist and anti imperialist alliances.

In synchronicity with the resistance operations in Gaza, we were witnessing a new form of operations undertaken by the PFLP alongside other revolutionary organizations in the form of plane hijackings. The plane hijackings were used for two noble purposes: one was to acquaint those in the West with the Palestinian struggle for liberation and the second purpose was to facilitate prisoner exchanges and free Palestinian and Arab prisoners in Zionist prisons. Hijackings were a means to strike the growing power of the Zionist and Imperialist axis and became the sole option after Arab regimes betrayed the Palestinian revolution.

With regards to plane hijackings, these take place firstly in 1969 with the PFLP being the first organization to hijack a plane in "Operation Flight 840".

"Operation flight 840" is led by Leila Khaled and Salem Issawi whom hijack a plane en route from Los Angeles to "Tel Aviv" and fly over Greece and Occupied Palestine respectively. During the operation, Leila Khaled is said to have chanted "This is the PFLP, Palestine is Free and is an Arab Land". The plane lands in Syria after being chased by Israeli fighter jets and is destroyed while the 116 passengers are released in a

prisoner exchange. Syrian authorities detain Leila Khaled and her comrades for months. The plane hijacks generate a string of media productions and a global news coverage whereby we see the hijack and the media go hand in hand in educating masses and paving means of solidarity with the Palestinian struggle for liberation.



Figure 13. The World Must Recognize This (1970)
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Following the plane hijackings in 1970, this poster was produced displaying an illustration and a photograph. The illustration is meant to shed light on the imposed exile of Palestinian families following the 1948 Nakba catastrophe while the image below is of a Palestinian freedom fighter standing at the door of a hijacked Boeing Plane with the flag of Palestine hanging at the door of the plane. The slogan

“Palestinians, 22 years in the desert. Now is the time for the world to wake up”.

Dissecting this phrase, we can interpret the phrase “Palestinians 22 years in the desert” as a means to shed light on the heinous living conditions Palestinians experienced in refugee camps stranded away from their homeland. The use of the “Now is the time for the World to wake up” is a means to demonstrate the complicity of the international community in enabling the Occupation of Palestine and the suffrage of the Palestinian people in refuge. The calling for the World to wake up is more of an alarm call to the imperial powers and Arab reactionary regimes that have enabled the Zionist colonial project. In other words, the PFLP are saying they will continue those plane hijackings for Palestinian liberation and to challenge the global silence on the struggle.



Figure 14. People’s War (1970) Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The first time I saw this poster “People’s War” was in a video whereby Maha Abu Khalil had just finished a press conference in Jordan in 1970. Abu Khalil attempted to hijack an Israeli plane from Athens and is captured alongside her comrades in the process. The poster appears following the conclusion of the press conference, Abu Khalil answers a foreign journalist who questions her motives behind the hijacking the plane and insinuates that these operations are a threat to civilians who have nothing to do with Zionists. She answers

“I did what I did because I believe in my country and the rights of my people. And for them we must struggle. We try our best to not hurt any innocent parties after all our struggle is with those who hurt us.”
 (The Palestinian Archive, 2020)

With regards to this poster, there are four central slogans to be taken into account:

- Firstly, the central slogan is “armed struggle is our response to the June 1967 Aggression”
- Secondly, “Popular War is our path to liberation”
- Thirdly, Our enemies are: Israel, the World Zionist Movement, Imperialism, Reactionary Arab regimes
- Fourthly, the leadership of our revolution is in the hands of the working class

The poster is a vanguard against Zionism, imperialism and Arab reactionary regimes and as per the revolutionary ideology of the PFLP advocates for the proletariat to be leading the armed struggle towards Palestinian liberation. The central slogan justifies the actions of the PFLP as a response to the heinous atrocities Israel committed in the 1967 aggression. The phrase “Popular War is our path to liberation” is an adherence to the Maoist values instilled within the organization’s revolutionary makeup whereby guerilla warfare is the path to liberation from imperialism and reactionary forces.

A famous phrase in Mao’s teachings is that power comes out of the barrel of a gun. The background of the poster is a collage of headlines from the pages of *Al-Hadaf* magazine detailing resistance operations in various parts of Palestine (Gaza, West Bank, Jerusalem and Historic 48’ Palestine) it is a demonstration of this unity of all fronts across the geography of Palestine.

On September 6 1970, four planes are hijacked simultaneously in Frankfurt, Zurich and Amsterdam as a means to liberate Palestinian freedom fighters from Zionist and imperialist prisons. Three of those planes are routed to Jordan and later destroyed, a large prisoner exchange occurs as a result. The fourth plane is captured in London with leaders of the operation: revolutionary Leila Khaled captured and Nicaraguan

revolutionary Patrick Arguello murdered by Israeli forces in the London Airport and left to bleed to death. Why did Patrick Arguello a Nicaraguan revolutionary who had no blood connection to Palestine embark on a plane hijacking operation was a question reiterated by global media. Following Arguello's assassination, there was a rush to conceal evidence of his identity and he was falsely identified as an Arab and his corpse hidden by the UK-US-Israeli alliance. (Al-Hadaf, 1971)



Figure 15. From Nicaragua 1970
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

“Patrick Arguello” His father was from Nicaragua, his mother from America, he studied in Switzerland. He was a martyr for Palestine.” This poster emerged to break the imposed silence by imperialist media and reveal the truth behind Patrick Arguello's identity and to honor his role as a martyr for Palestinian liberation. Pointing out

Patrick's Nicaraguan and American origins is a means of saying that one does not have to be Palestinian nor Arab to fight for the liberation of Palestine. This is in coherence with Kanafani's words "The Palestinian cause is not a cause for Palestinians only, but a cause for every revolutionary as a cause of the exploited and oppressed masses of our era." Delving into Arguello's background we could deduce that his life was molded in struggle against imperialism since his early years due to his identity as a Nicaraguan communist who supported the Sandinista Liberation Front. The Sandinista nationalist front was a resistance front against the Somoza fascist dictatorship backed by US-Israeli axis ruling Nicaragua at the time. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Sandinista Liberation Front formed alliances and exchanged guerilla fighters alongside tactics and educated one another about their respective causes.



Figure 16. Al-Hadaf Magazine (1971).

In an interview by *Al-Hadaf* magazine with Patrick Arguello’s mother “Kathleen Arguello” she talks about how the general public sphere in the West are unaware of the Palestinian cause given the salient ideology powerful hierarchies of American and

imperialism dissipate within media forms. This cultural hegemony does not grant room for any Palestinian Arab nor anti Zionist Jew to speak about the cause. She draws upon the experiences of her martyred son and how he did everything to let people know about the plight of the oppressed Palestinian Arabs and gave his life to serve the oppressed people of Palestine after witnessing the atrocities Israel, Britain and USA put them through. He is commemorated as a friend of the proletariat and a social justice advocate in the eyes of his mother and in the eyes of the Palestinians who he served with his blood. She expresses her anger and rage at the US/UK/Israeli alliance and likens it to Nazi violence and expresses her stance in support of her son's heroism and the PFLP's actions as a resistance front struggling for liberation in a world that does not comprehend why her son did what he did. (Al-Hadaf, 1971)

We are visited by this overarching theme of material anti imperialist solidarity beyond borders that the media forms helped amplify. We must note that the role of Kanafani as the editor-in-chief of Al-Hadaf magazine at the time allows him to auteur this notion of anti-imperialist solidarity across the magazine and inspire revolutionaries around the globe to ally with the Palestinian revolution in the struggle for liberation from global imperialism.

Days later, Black September takes place in Jordan, the events of Black September can be summarized as follows:

- Following the Plane Hijacks, Jordanian authorities accuse Palestinian organizations of threatening the national security of Jordan and building a state within a state.

- Washington and the international community express their dismay and rage at the Jordanian regime for not putting a halt to the activities of Palestinian organizations and the position of Amman as an “Arab Hanoi”
- King Hussein of Jordan feared the potential toppling of his throne should the Palestinian factions gain more military and political power.
- Under pressure from Kissinger, the Jordanian regime targets Palestinian Fidayeen and shells Palestinian refugee camps across Jordan.
- The Fidayeen under the leadership of various Palestinian leaders defend themselves against the Jordanian Armed Forces aggression.
- The fighting takes place for ten days, thousands of Palestinians are massacred as a result.
- A ceasefire is brokered by Egypt under the Cairo Agreement whereby Palestinian organizations are expelled from Jordan to Lebanon.

(Al Jazeera Documentary, 2019)



Figure 17. Triple Threat (1970)
Ghassan Kanafani Popular Front for the
Liberation of Palestine.

Black September pinpoints the contradiction between Arab regimes and their support for Palestinian liberation as we witness both the Jordanian and Egyptian regimes express their hostility towards Palestinian Fidayeen. The hypocrisy of Arab regimes was clear in the Marxist Leninist ideology of the PFLP that painted Arab monarchs, rulers and tyrants with as enemies to the Palestinian revolution.

In this poster (Figure 17), Kanafani illustrates the alliances of US Imperialism, Israel and the Jordanian monarchial regime and their collective massacre of Palestinian families in Black September. This is represented with the hat combining both the US and Israeli flags on top of a skeletal head alongside a figurine of King Hussein of Jordan

with a patch over his eye linking him to Israeli Occupation Defense Minister Moshe Dayan. Inside the mouth of the skeletal head we have piled up corpses in order to represent the atrocities committed against Palestinians during Black September.



Figure 18. “Glory to the fighters who have shattered the fascist tanks in Al Wehdah” Ghassan Kanafani. Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (1970).

One of Kanafani’s most famous works, this poster was produced in the aftermath of Black September to honor the Fidayin that have fought against Jordanian armed forces that brutally shelled Al-Wehdah refugee camp massacring Palestinians. Kanafani paints the figurine of a freedom fighter with a rock in an arm and a rifle draped around his hips toppling a Jordanian army tank. The spatial position of the fighter portrays a rebellion against the hegemony of the Jordanian monarchy and re-establishing Palestinian agency. With the case of those two posters above (Fig 17-18) produced by Ghassan Kanafani, those were produced and published in Lebanon and circulated amidst an International and Arab silence on the events of Black September. The minimal posters produced expose the atrocities of Black September fighting off the media silence with regards to this matter in public media sphere. To this day media refrains from discussing the topic possibly in order to guard the Jordanian regime from accountability for its crimes or to avoid stirring tensions between Palestinians and Jordanians. After

the enforced expulsion of the PFLP alongside the PLO and other Palestinian organizations from Jordan to Lebanon, Lebanon becomes the capital for Palestinian and Arab leftist liberation movements. Lebanon becomes the metro-pole for revolutionary media and cultural productions, we witness a rapid rise in revolutionary posters, magazines and the emergence of a revolutionary Palestinian cinema. The public sphere whereby these productions are circulated is now much wider and hence this is what grants Palestinian organizations opportunities to grow their alliances and solidarity networks.

Kanafani strikes imperialism in a foremost illustration (Fig.19) demonstrating the alliance between the United Kingdom, United States of America, Switzerland, West Germany and “Israel”. The illustration is that of a hideous looking soldier in Nazi Uniform wearing a U.S. Golden Helmet with the initials: U.S., U.K., West Germany and the Nazi symbol on it. With regards to the Soldier’s coat, we recognize that his shoulders are drenched in blood in order to represent the monstrosity of the Imperialist-Zionist alliance in the continual massacre of Palestinians and people of the Global South. The coat is also laden with the same initials U.S., U.K., West Germany and the Star of David plus Nazi Symbol. If we zoom onto the pocket, we notice that the flags of Israel, USA, UK, Switzerland and Germany lined up with one another to demonstrate their monstrous alliance. With regards to the abundance of initials it is a means of showing the colossal implication of those nations in our suffrage and how are our collective enemy and one should rebel against them.

We could also dissect the inclusion of every country in the poster:



Figure 19. “Destruction to the enemies of the people”
By Ghassan Kanafani 1970.

- United Kingdom: British Colonialism in Palestine, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Oman alongside African nations and Asian nations. Orchestrating the Balfour Declaration giving leeway to the foundation of Zionist Settler Colonial entity on the land of Palestine. This was also evident when we saw British colonial forces handing over the land of Palestine to Zionist militias in 1948.
- West Germany: Sponsoring “Israel” financially and being a strong political ally of “Israel” and cracking down on leftist movements in Germany for their solidarity with the peoples of Palestine and Vietnam ex. Red Army Faction

- United States: Vanguard of Imperialism in the World, committed atrocities against the indigenous native population alike “Israel” and is its biggest ally in all realms.

The blood of Palestinians is on its hands.

Moreover, it has committed atrocities in Cuba, Japan, Vietnam and the Arab region at the time of the poster produced.

- Switzerland: Supporting “Israel” under the guise of Neutrality.

The use of the Nazi symbol next to the Zionist symbol is a means of calling out the Zionist atrocities committed against Palestinians and comparing them to Nazism.

Furthermore, a skeletal hand emerges out of the coat engraved in U.S.A initials and holding onto a baton with the Zionist symbol as also a means to demonstrate how

“Israel” is an extension of the US Imperialist project in the region and without the support of US imperialism we will witness the collapse of “Israel”. Finally the slogan

“Destruction to the enemies of the peoples” is used to demonstrate rage and resistance against this alliance that has destroyed the lives of people in Palestine and peoples from all over the World.

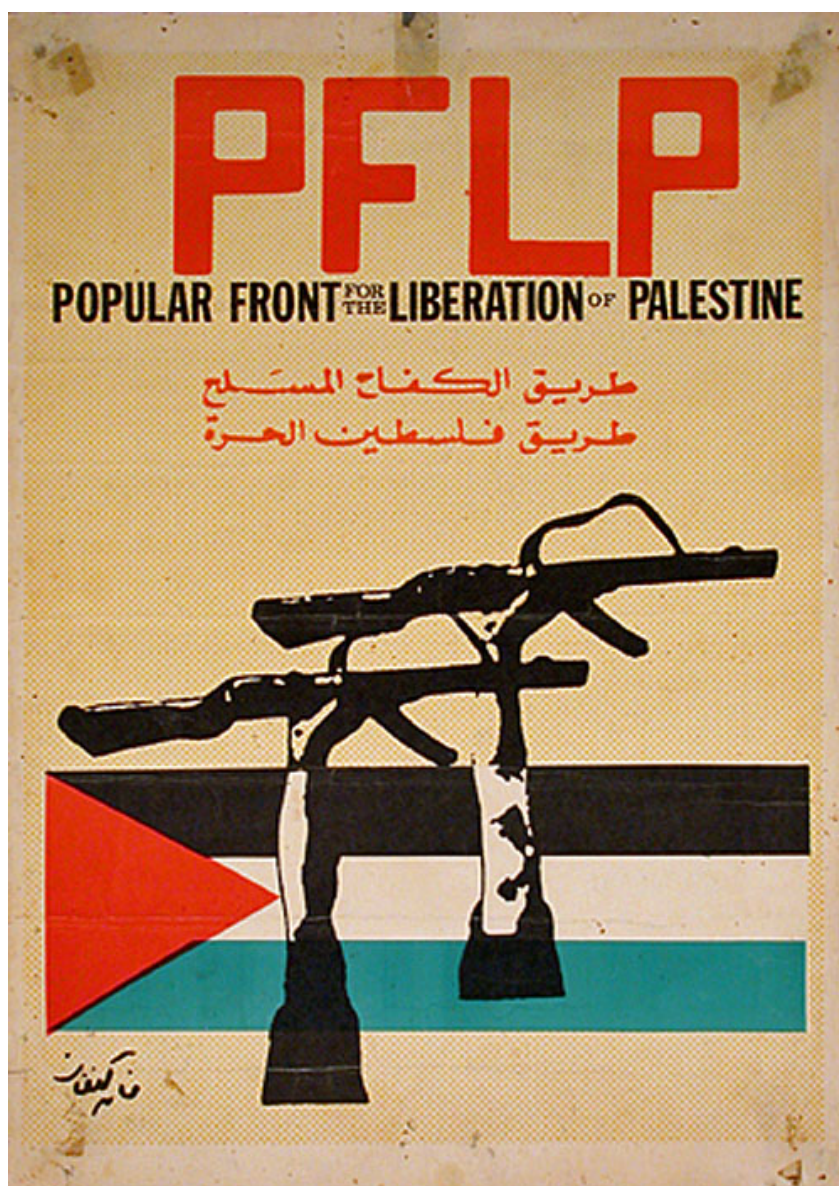


Figure 20. “Armed struggle is the path to a liberated Palestine” by Ghassan Kanafani 1970.

Kanafani illustrates in support of the idea that the sole path to Palestinian liberation is through armed struggle. He draws two tree branches supporting two rifle guns against the background of the Palestinian flag and an Arabic slogan in red “Armed struggle is the path to a liberated Palestine” reproducing the notion that armed struggle is the driving force to Palestinian liberation and reiterating that cultural production in the

Palestinian context is supplementary to armed struggle. The poster could be interpreted as a means of facilitating mass mobilization for the organization and the Palestinian revolution as a whole and engagement in the armed struggle against the Israeli Occupation.

D. Posters and Martyrs

During the late 60s – early 70s period prior to the Lebanese Civil War, a series of assassinations orchestrated by the Israeli Mossad targeting prominent Palestinian resistance figures including Ghassan Kanafani, Kamal Nasser, Kamal Adwan and others took place. This series of assassinations coincided with the targeted assassinations of notable anti imperialist figures across the globe by US / French / German Intelligence and their proxy agents in the Global South. Anti imperialist figures that were assassinated during this period include Patrice Lumumba, Che Guevara, Fred Hampton, Malcolm X, Ulrike Meinhoff, Ouali Mostapha Sayed among many others. On July 8 1972, Ghassan Kanafani leading anti-imperialist resistance figure and revolutionary Marxist was assassinated in a car bombing by the Mossad alongside his niece Lamis Najem in West Beirut. Kanafani's loss was a colossal one to the PFLP as an organization, the global revolutionary anti imperialist movement, the world of literature, his family and loved ones and every Palestinian and free person across the globe. Kanafani was a thorn in the face of imperialism and the Zionist colonial entity and posed a great threat to their continuity, he was a mastermind behind resistance operations and building anti imperialist alliances of those an alliance with the Japanese Red Army. The flame of resistance that Kanafani left was kept alight and revolutionary posters and cultural productions were made to honor his legacy and ensure its continuity

across multiple generations. We see the poster now become an active means of commemorating the martyrdom of resistance figures. On April 10 1973, the Mossad assassinated Kamal Nasser leading member of the Palestine Liberation Organization and chief editor of “Palestine the revolution” magazine alongside his comrades Kamal Adwan (military commander in the PLO) and Mahmoud Najar (leader of Palestinian political affairs committee in Lebanon) in Verdun, Beirut.



Figure 21. Cover of *Al Hadaf* Magazine 22 July 1972.

Two weeks after Kanafani's assassination, *Al Hadaf* honored its martyred editor-in-chief shedding light on his revolutionary consciousness and his role as an anti-imperialist leading figure. A photograph of Ghassan Kanafani at his office is used with a white circle around his face to demonstrate that he was at the heart and center of reproduction of resistance across the pages of *Al Hadaf* and the struggle for Palestinian liberation at large. Both PFLP and *Al Hadaf* were not the same without him. Moreover, the cover reiterates Kanafani's notion of Palestine being an internationalist cause and honors his role in birthing global anti-imperialist alliances specifically that between the Japanese Red Army and the PFLP. Two Japanese Red Army fighters Tsuyoshi Okudaira and Yasuyuki Yasuda were included in the front cover alongside Kanafani to highlight the correlation between their martyrdom in the Lydd Airport operation and Kanafani's martyrdom only a month later. Ghassan Kanafani was assassinated due to his revolutionary essence and ideological power as the architect of resistance and anti-imperialist alliances prominently that between the PFLP and JRA.

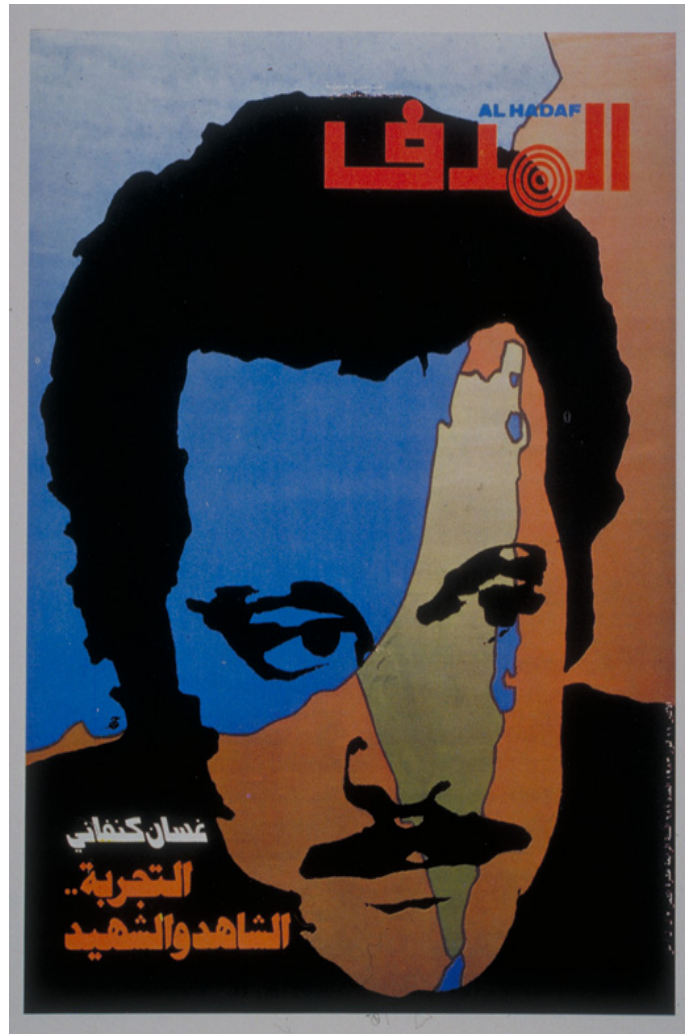


Figure 22. The cover of Al Hadaf Magazine an edition published a few years after his assassination.

This cover poster is designed by Marc Rudin a Swiss-French revolutionary artist that joined the ranks of the PFLP dedicating his life to drawing for the Palestinian struggle for liberation alongside other anti imperialist struggles for liberation. “Ghasan Kanafani... The experience, the witness, the martyr” is engraved in the corner of the page to express Kanafani’s utmost contribution to the Palestinian struggle for liberation. The map of Palestine that is superimposed onto Kanafani’s eyes and face is a means of

demonstrating that Kanafani's revolutionary teachings are a path to a liberated Palestine from the river to the sea.



Figure 23. “Glory to the martyrs, Palestine is a continuous revolution”. Palestine Liberation Organization (1973).

This poster published shortly after their assassination commemorates martyrs Kamal Nasser, Kamal Adwan and Mahmoud Najjar and glorifies the contributions they have served towards the Palestinian revolution. In the middle of the poster, there is a circle of rifles each holding different names of martyrs from the three martyrs to Ghassan Kanafani, to the Guevara of Gaza, Fuad Shemali and Om Youssef among others fulfilling the slogan of the poster that the revolution is continuous.

E. Land Day

Whilst the Palestinian revolution was taking place in Beirut, the indigenous population of Palestine in Historic 48' Palestine was leading a struggle against Zionist settler colonialism. In 1975, the Israeli Occupation decided to expand colonial settlements and further annex land from Palestinians living in Occupied Galilee, Occupied Naqab, The Triangle and other Arab villages and lands located in 48' Palestine. At the end of 1975, the settler colonial entity annexes 740 acres of Palestinian land and enforces a ban on Palestinian farmers entering their lands in Arraba, Sakhnin and Deir Hanna and turns their lands into Israeli military zones. In February 1976, the Israeli Occupation decides to expand settler colonialism in the Galilee region annexing 4900 acres of land.

These settlement plans are faced with a large wave of protests and popular resistance across the entirety of 48' Palestine. On March 30 1976 a major general strike is observed across the entirety of Palestine under the title of "Land Day" as a means of popular resistance to defend the land of Palestine and to protest against the annexation of Galilee and other parts of Historic Palestine. This strike is also observed across the refugee camps in Lebanon. During the strike, the Israeli Occupation forces fire live ammunition at the strikers murdering six Palestinians (Raja Abu Rayya, Khidr

Khalayleh, Khadija Shawahna, Khayr Yassin, Muhsin Taha, Ra'fat Al Zuheiri) and injuring over fifty and detaining over 300 protestors. This day of resistance and steadfastness is marked annually locally and internationally to honor the sacrifices Palestinians made in defense of the land. (Interactive Encyclopedia of the Palestine Question)

It is a means of ensuring that identity of Palestinian land will never be erased and will be liberated in its entirety for as long as the indigenous population is fighting for it.

“Land Day” marked a significant production of revolutionary posters from 1976 to our present day across an array of revolutionary and cultural organizations and a wide range of artists.

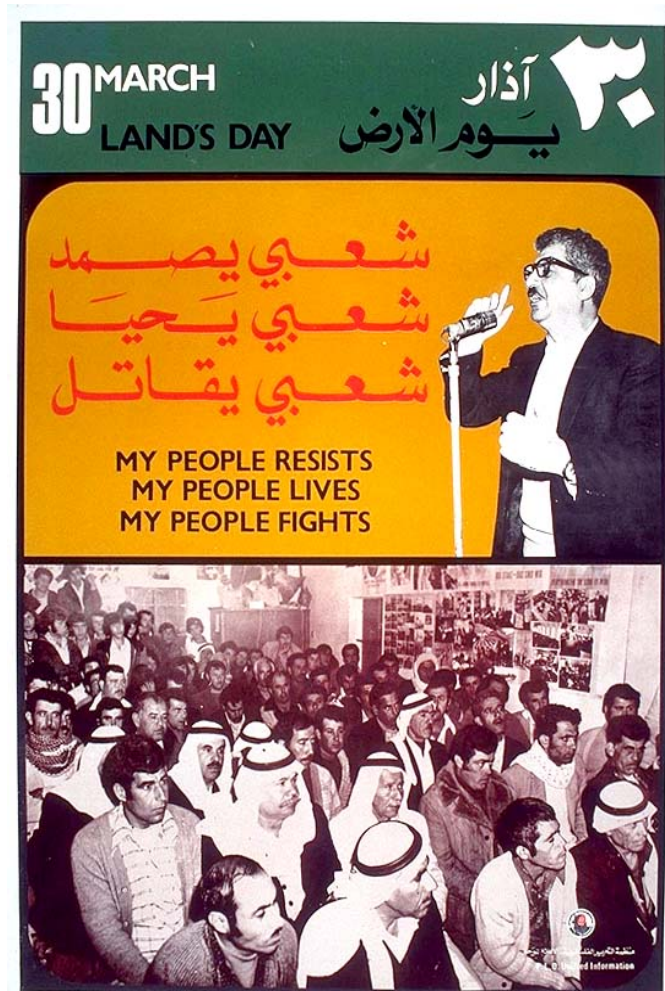


Figure 24. March Land Day (1977)
Palestine Liberation Organization.

This poster by the Palestine Liberation Organization was published in time with the general strike that occurred on the Occasion of Land Day it was used as a tool to mobilization masses to participate in the strike. Two images take prominence in the poster with: First Image is that of famous Palestinian Poet and communist politician Tawfiq Ziad performing a revolutionary poem and the second image featuring a group of Palestinian Arabs meeting with one another to organize for the strike in protest of Israeli annexation of their lands in Galilee. The passage “My people resists, my people lives, my people fights” in both Arabic and English regenerates this notion of the continuum of resistance. The use of both languages is also a means to inform English

speaking audiences about land day, its significance and the Palestinian popular resistance. One can deduce that the multiple posters produced in English, French, Spanish and other languages could have been the medium where comrades from several countries were able to learn and engage themselves with the Palestinian struggle for liberation. The use of posters as a means of a media production in the context of Land Day is a form of resistance given the media silence on the matter and also given the purpose of Land Day in all it holds in crushing settler colonial expansionist plans. Poster resists settler colonial expansion plans as it re-confirms the steadfastness and the notion of “Sumud”.

F. Tal El Zaatar Massacre

The Lebanese civil war begins on April 13 1975 after the Lebanese phalangist forces carry out a heinous massacre of more than 27 Palestinians in Ain El Remmeneh boarding a bus from Shatila refugee camp to Tal El Zaatar refugee camp. The Lebanese civil war marks a notable chapter in the history of the Palestinian struggle for liberation as we see the flame of the Palestinian revolution reignite in Beirut. Palestinian organizations form alliances with Lebanese and Arab leftist / communist organizations among internationalist revolutionary ones against the right wing Phalangist forces backed by US-Israeli axis and reactionary Arab regimes. On August 12 1970, fascist militias launch a military siege and carry out a massacre in Tal El Zaatar refugee camp amidst resistance from Palestinian and Arab militants. Tal El Zaatar is destroyed and over three thousand Palestinians are martyred with many missing as a result, this massacre was an example of class warfare backed by criminal bourgeoisie regimes as we saw both the Syrian-Lebanese regimes ally with fascist militias. The aim was to

eliminate Tal El Zaatar as it was leading anti colonial struggle and class liberation uniting workers, refugees, students in resistance. (Al Sharara magazine, 1996)

With the case of Tal El Zaatar, we witness a prominence in anti-imperialist solidarity transcending borders and surprisingly Italian and French communists fly to Lebanon to defend Tal El Zaatar camp and others play a role in documenting the atrocities that the fascist militias committed in the camps using posters and films as mediums. The only film documenting the massacre was a co-production between pioneer Mustafa Abu Ali and an Italian filmmaker. With regards to posters, Italian and French artists along with others join PLO and PFLP publish a number of posters supporting the honorary struggle of Tal El Zaatar.

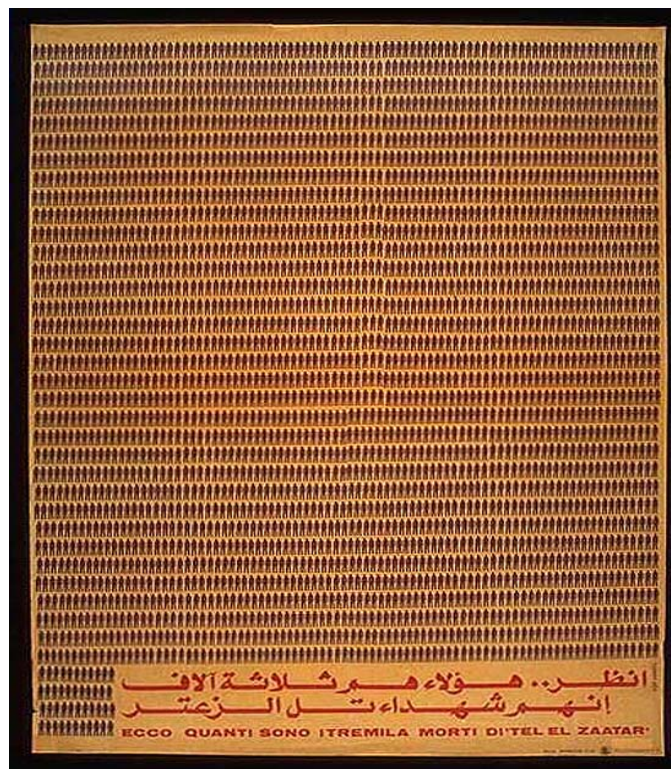


Figure 25. “Look They are 3000 they are the martyrs of Tal El Zaatar” (1976) by V. Domenici (PLO).



Figure 26. Tal El Zaatar by Marc Rudin by Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (1976).

This is the first poster produced by Marc Rudin nom de guerre “Jihad Mansour” after he leaves Italy to join the Palestinian revolution in Lebanon becoming the lead designer in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. With regards to this poster, it contains two slogans each reading: “Glory to the martyrs of Tal El Zaatar and the struggle” (in Arabic) and “Tel El Zaatar symbol of the antifascist resistance”. These two statements are a means of glorification of the martyrs and their struggle in resisting against fascism and an insistence on the geo-political role that Tel El Zaatar refugee camp plays in being a thorn against fascism even after its destruction. The use of an arm emerging out

of the rubble gripping onto a rifle and dripping blood is a means of portraying the steadfastness of the martyrs of Tel El Zaatar and them choosing to bleed than give up armed struggle in defense of the camp. The trail of blood droplets leads to an image of a flower drawn from droplets of the blood insinuating the possibility that despite the colossal number of martyrs Tal El Zaatar will blossom again. The idea of Tel El Zaatar blossoming again is a means of portraying that the anti fascist and anti colonial revolution will emerge out of Tal El Zaatar's geography. With regards to this poster, there is a correlation between Kanafani's theories and its production as we see it rooted in armed struggle against fascism that he tackled in his previous works and posters. The English language used in the poster is there to educate English-speaking anti-fascist masses across the globe about the struggle of Tal El Zaatar and build bridges of anti-imperialist solidarity.

G. Conclusion

Overall, the chapter answers the question of how posters play a role in the amplification of Palestinian resistance in various ways. Firstly, the chapter analyzes the use of posters from 1965-1967 as a means of mobilizing masses to take up armed struggle and fight for both Palestinian and Arab liberation. The figurine of the Fidai' male and female fighter is often used in order to portray this idea across. In addition to that, posters portray Palestinians as active agents of the struggle for liberation and make sure to engage with the idea that feminist and class liberation are rooted in the struggle. We see that clearly as notably multiple posters in this chapter show the working class and peasant class as being the primary force behind the struggle for liberation and proletariat women being at the frontlines of resistance such is the case in Figure 1, 9, 12

and 14 among others. Still circling around the notion of supplementing resistance, the studied media underlines different strategies to the question of liberation and armed struggle. For instance, the Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine posters included paint imperialism, Zionism and reactionary regimes as the enemies of the revolution and call for armed struggle against this reactionary alliance. The ideology that the PFLP follows paves the way for the posters and magazines to be proponents of anti-imperialist solidarity. We see prominent examples of that for instance tying Palestinian liberation to Cuban Liberation and Nicaraguan Liberation among others.

Contrary to that, the Palestine Liberation Organization rely on national unity in armed struggle in the path to liberation to establish a Palestinian state. Finally, the analysis in the chapter adheres to Kanafani's theories as the posters used are proponents of armed struggle; Kanafani is an auteur of several posters included in chapter. Kanafani as an architect of several of posters in the chapter aligns with his theories glorifying armed struggle and using cultural productions as an adjacent means to it. Furthermore, the posters produced by Kanafani address both a Palestinian Arab and International audience ensuring Palestine is an internationalist struggle and adhere to the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the PFLP. Later in the chapter, one can deduce that posters can be used as a means of commemorating a martyr and also a means of reproducing flame of resistance as evident by the language used in the posters of Tal El Zaatar massacre and the martyrdom of Palestinian revolutionary leaders.

In the next chapter, we will see a more thorough analysis of the question of anti-imperialist solidarity being voiced through posters alongside posters being mediums of Palestinian resistance and confirming Kanafani's theories.

CHAPTER III

PALESTINE THE CAUSE FOR EVERY ANTI-IMPERIALIST REVOLUTIONARY 1975-1980

In this chapter, I will focus on posters representing the unity between Palestinian Liberation, Arab liberation alongside Afro-Asian Liberation movements and finally Latin American movements produced in the 70s - 80s period. This period marked the region as we witnessed multiple events that have changed the course of history and the birth of liberation movements alongside multiple losses. With regards to the Arab region, we witnessed the heinous Lebanese civil war that was marked by massacres orchestrated by fascist militias against the Palestinian and Lebanese people like the Tal El Zaatar massacre (discussed in the previous chapter) and Sabra and Shatila. We also witnessed an increased normalization with the Israeli Occupation with the heinous “Camp David” agreement and further colonial aggression and eventually Occupation of South Lebanon. Alongside that, we witness a rise in colonial forces elsewhere for instance British colonialism in Oman and Moroccan Occupation of the Western Sahara. There is also a reproduction of regimes of repression across the Levant and North Africa more specifically Egypt and Sudan. The revolutionary posters shedding light on these heinous events will be analyzed thoroughly in this chapter. On the other hand, there is a glorious resistance and emergence of liberation movements and alliances from Palestine and Lebanon to Algeria and Western Sahara to Cuba to Vietnam to Japan. This chapter will dissect the communications between those liberation movements and them voicing their alliances and anti imperialist resistance through posters.

**A. Palestinian Liberation is central to Arab Liberation movements:
An analysis of posters 1975 -1980**

1. The Case of Lebanon

As previously discussed in the former chapter, Palestinian liberation is intertwined with Arab liberation and hence why we saw the emergence of mutual resistance movements tying Palestinian fighters and Arab fighters in the fight for a liberated Palestine.

Lebanon is a geography for anti colonial resistance as Palestinian revolutionary organizations line up with leftist Lebanese and Arab organizations in fighting “Israel” and its phalangist allies prior to the Lebanese civil war and during its occurrence.

Tal El Zaatar emerges a geography for the union of the Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese revolutionary proletariat against bourgeoisie fascists and their colonial backed and reactionary regime class warfare. After the heinous defeat in Tal El Zaatar and its destruction, we witness a raised awareness and condemnation in the role that capitalist reactionary Arab states play in fighting against the Palestinian revolution. George Habash voices this to the Arab masses saying “The best you can offer to the Palestinian cause is to be part of the struggle against your reactionary regimes.”

Following this, resistance groups start gaining military and logistical strength and hence this allows them to deter fascists. Palestinian resistance groups alongside their communist and Arab nationalist allies settle in South Lebanon and launch military action against the Zionist targets just across the border in Occupied Palestine. Notable resistance operations are led one of the prominent examples was Dalal Al Mughrabi’s operation whereby Dalal and her comrades led an operation on a highway between Haifa and the colonial city “Tel Aviv” built on the ruins of Jaffa. Mughrabi’s operation was a means to pressure “Israel” to free a number of Palestinian and Arab prisoners in Zionist prisons, Mughrabi was killed alongside her comrades but they managed to strike

the enemy incurring losses in the Zionist military complex. (Interactive Encyclopedia of the Palestine question)

Days after this operation, the Israeli Occupation launched a military invasion of South Lebanon named “Litani Operation” taking control of the Litani River and areas in the South up until the city of Tyre. The invasion was backed by the SLA (South Lebanon Army) a phalangist army that serves as a proxy for Israel, the aim of the invasion was to destroy PLO army bases and gain control of the South. (Souied, 1978)

The aim of settler colonial expansion was beyond Palestine as we saw with the 1967 Naksa and the Occupation of other Arab lands in Syria and Egypt. Later in 1982, the Israeli Occupation forces launch a ground invasion and Occupation of South Lebanon alongside the capital city. The Occupation and its Phalangist allies carry out horrifying massacres against Palestinian and Lebanese citizens striking West Beirut under the guise of destroying the PLO. Posters published during this period highlight the Lebanese-Palestinian unity and resistance in the face of the Imperialist, Fascist-Zionist aggression. The posters shed light on the atrocities committed by the Israelis alongside the phalangists against both the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

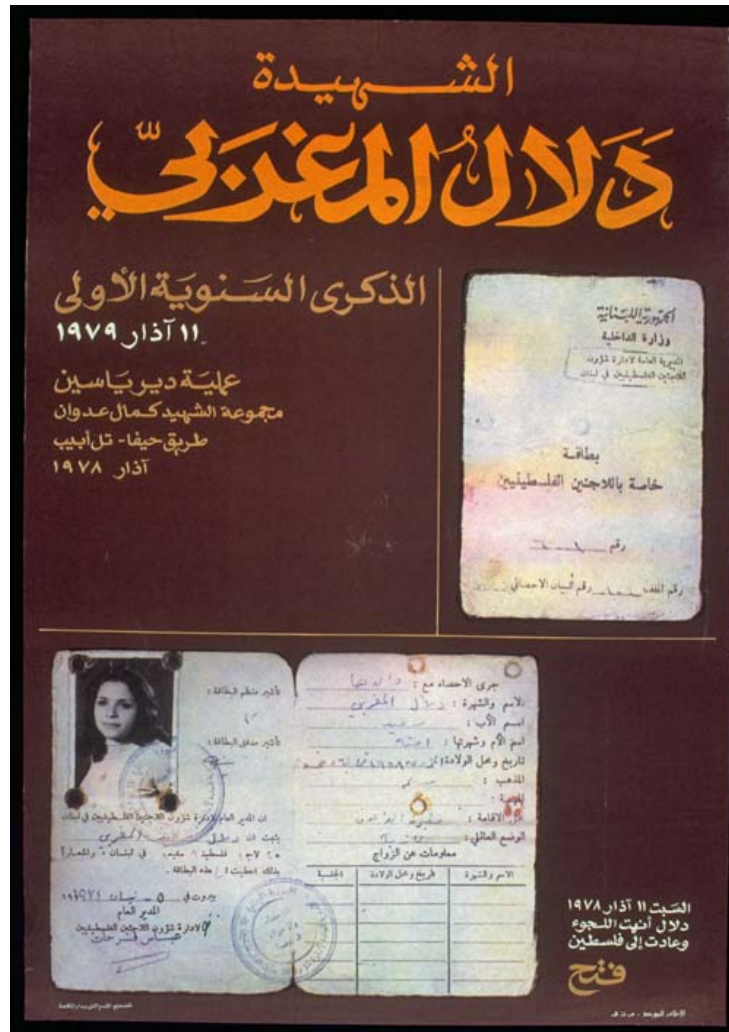


Figure 27. Poster commemorating Dalal Al Mughrabi's martyrdom (1979) Palestine Liberation Organization.

This poster was illustrated by “Fatah” in order to honor the resistance operation that Dalal Al Mughrabi lead on the pathway from Haifa to Tel Aviv on March 11 1978. The poster includes Dalal’s Palestinian refugee ID card issued by Lebanese General Security. Consequently, the use of an ID card is a means of pointing out that Dalal was forcefully exiled from her homeland Palestine and lived as a refugee. In addition to that, alongside the card reads a small sentence “Dalal has finished her period of refuge and returned to Palestine” this is a means of highlighting that via the resistance operation she was able to achieve her right to return to the homeland. Resistance is the only pathway to liberation and return to the homeland one could infer that from the story of

Al Mughrabi who was a feminist icon of anti colonial resistance. Media form is used to amplify role Dalal played as a feminist anti-colonial resistance figure and to acquaint others with her feminist and class struggle as a Palestinian refugee in Lebanon fighting to return to her homeland. Culture of resistance is reproduced as the viewer is recalling the resistance operation Dalal conducted and honoring its memory and significant role it plays in the struggle for liberation on the long run.



Figure 28. Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (1982) Marc Rudin “Steadfastness of the Joint Forces” and Down with Fascism”.

Palestinian Liberation and Lebanese liberation are seen as complementary to one another in both of these posters. It is important to take into account that both posters emerge out of the context of the Lebanese civil war and the Israeli invasion of Beirut

with the backing of phalangists. In the first poster by Marc Rudin, there is a spearhead decorated with both the Palestinian and Lebanese flag penetrating a whale's mouth. The whale has two teeth shaped as "missiles" touching the spearhead to represent the terrorist Zionist aggression against Lebanon affecting both the Lebanese and Palestinian people. The eye of the whale bears the Star of David present on the Zionist Occupation's flag, the tail of the whale carries a dollar sign. The unification of those two symbols is a portrayal of the unity of both Imperialism and Zionism in the massacre of both the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. While the poster sheds light on the massacres and the terrorism of the US-Israeli axis, the use of a spearhead penetrating the whale's mouth is done to hail the steadfastness and resistance of the united Palestinian and Lebanese revolutionary groups in the face of Zionist and Imperialist terrorism. In the next poster "Down with fascism in Lebanon", the Kataeb symbol is used on a spearhead with blood at its pointed end and a Star of David at the other. The use of the Star of David on the Kataeb spearhead is there to represent the Zionist support for the Lebanese fascist movement. Two arms emerge out of the poster clinging onto both the Palestinian and Lebanese flags in unity, they are placed in opposition to the Kataeb spear. The spatial position of the arms in opposition to the spear is a means of exhibiting the Lebanese-Palestinian unity in resistance against fascism and adhering to the slogan "Down with fascism" (Written in English) and "Death to Fascism" (written in Arabic) displayed in the poster. The other slogan in the poster "للشعب النصر" in Arabic translates to "Victory to the people" reiterating the fact that the Lebanese and Palestinians are one people in their resistance. Through the analysis of Figure 28, we can deduce that the poster is a medium of mass mobilization and bridge to build solidarity between Arab masses as they unite in the face of a reactionary enemy. Both

posters in Fig 28 serve an agenda that Kanafani discusses and that is awakening the Arab consciousness tying Palestinian liberation as foremost for Arab liberation and reproducing culture of resistance in mobilizing Lebanese-Palestinian revolutionaries to fight alongside one another.

2. Egypt

Following the death of Abdel Nasser and the rise of Sadat to power, we witness a shift from nationalist socialist policies to neoliberal reforms and class oppression. Sadat becomes a leading figure in authoritarianism and cracking down on political dissidents across Egypt. Egyptian masses lead revolts against Sadat's oppressive regime and its capitalist reforms including his lifting of subsidies in the 1977 Bread Intifada. (Soliman, 2021)

As well as that, we see Sadat accelerate the Egyptian regime's relations with imperialist powers and later warm up to the Zionist settler colonial state brokering the Camp David Accords the first normalization agreement between "Israel" and an Arab nation. The Camp David accords are met with outrage from Palestinian and Arab masses and revolutionary masses around the globe. The outrage and condemnation against this normalization is voiced in cultural productions by Palestinian revolutionary organizations including the PLO and PFLP. Both organizations voice their support for the Egyptian Bread Intifada against Sadat's regime.

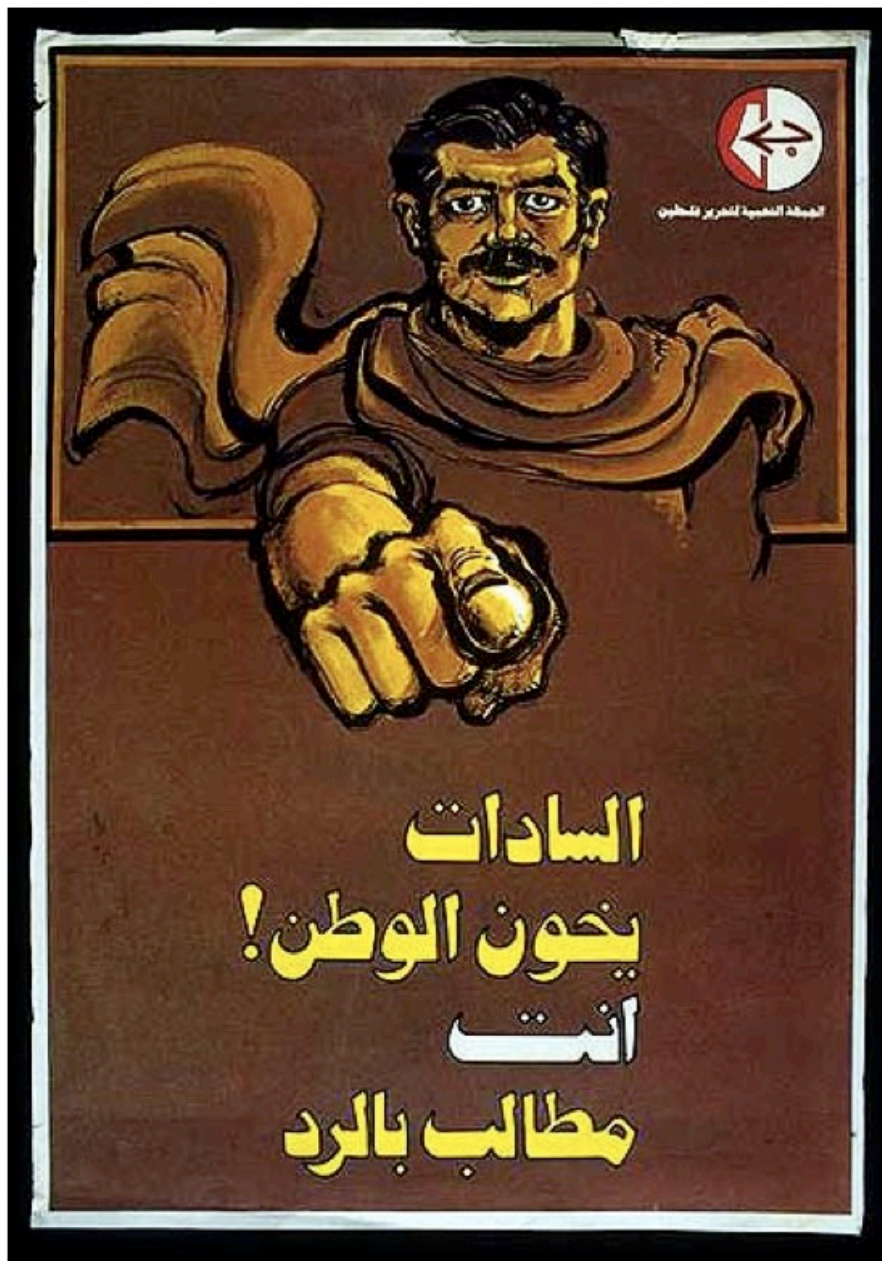


Figure 29. “Sadat is betraying the nation” (1978). Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine Youssef Abdelki.

This poster produced by the Popular Front features a figurine of a man pointing at the viewer of the poster with the slogan “Sadat is betraying the nation. You are obliged to respond”. The slogan and the action of the male figurine are complementary to one another in demanding that the viewer respond to Sadat’s betrayal of the Palestinian

nation. Consequently, the production serves as a tool for protest and reinstating that the struggle for Palestinian liberation occurs simultaneously with the liberation of the Arab nation from treacherous regimes alike that of Sadat.



Figure 30. “Smash the conspiracy” (1978) Palestinian-Egyptian solidarity committee and the Lebanese-Egyptian Solidarity committee.

This poster produced by the respective committees one of which is a branch of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, stands out as a means of anti imperialist solidarity

whereby we see Lebanese and Palestinian revolutionaries uniting with one another in unity with Egyptian revolutionary masses. Although the poster takes on a simplistic nature rather than aesthetic one, it is able to voice this solidarity by displaying the foremost slogan “The people of 18 and 19 January will defeat the conspiracy and nation’s treason”. The use of 18 and 19 January is a means to honor those who participated in the revolution to topple Sadat’s regime and stood against the Camp David Accords. Honoring Egyptian revolutionary masses via the poster aids in strengthening the anti-imperialist alliance between Palestinian and Arab liberation movements.

3. *Oman*

The Dhofar rebellion officially begins on June 9 1965, whereby the Popular Front for the Liberation of Dhofar is formed to overthrow British colonialism and the puppet monarchical regime it installed. The Omani revolution is rooted in feminist and class liberation and anti colonial resistance as we see proletarian women at its front lines. The resistance groups rely on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the use of guerilla tactics in resistance. The liberation movement is expanded to a Popular front for the liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf in 1974 as more alliances form with other liberation movements in the Gulf and the armed struggle intensifies. The movement draws inspiration from liberation movements in Palestine like the PFLP and those in Yemen who have set examples in anti colonial resistance and class and feminist liberation. Resistance in Oman takes place over a period over 12 years whereby we witness the overthrow of Sultan Said bin Taimur and his exile though the revolution is

crushed later by the arrival of his son Sultan Qaboos with British support. (Abdallah, 2021)

During the revolution, there was a wave of cultural production from literature to film to posters in solidarity with Omani liberation. The slogan of the Omani rebellion “The hour of liberation has arrived” continues to be used today by Palestinian revolutionaries resisting against Zionist settler colonialism. Posters are produced by the Palestinian rejectionist front comprised of the PFLP, DFLP, ANM among others in solidarity with the Omani revolution. Furthermore, this significant wave of cultural production among others serves as a clear reminder that the alliance between Omani and Palestinian revolutionaries is robust in the face of reactionary regimes allied with imperial forces.

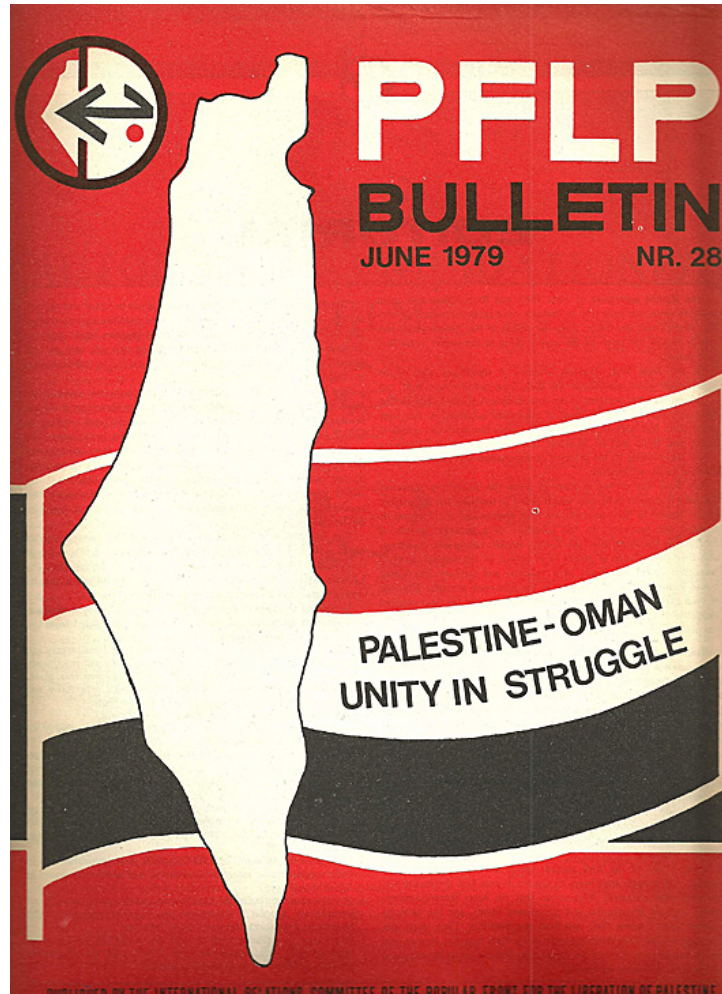


Figure 31. Cover of PFLP Bulletin Marc Rudin (June 1979 Issue 28).

The front cover of the PFLP Bulletin solidifies the solidarity between the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Front of the Liberation of Oman reproducing the Palestine-Oman unity in struggle. The use of the map of Palestine superimposed against the flag of Oman amplifies their relationship and mutual struggle against the same reactionary forces of imperialism.



Figure 32. 9th June Revolution Palestinian rejection front (1977).

Produced in honor of the 12th anniversary of the Omani revolution, this poster solidifies the Palestinian-Omani alliance and touches upon liberation from imperialism, Zionism, capitalism and patriarchy. There is a reproduction of the same image whereby an Omani female resistance fighter is fighting alongside a Palestinian resistance fighter we infer that from the attire and from the slogan. The Omani female resistance fighter is used as

an emblem of feminist liberation and tying this liberation to class liberation and liberation from colonialism. “In honor of 12th anniversary of the 9th June revolution the Palestinian rifle embraces the Omani rifle in their struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reactionaries” is used as the primary slogan banner in the poster. Clearly, this restates the mutual aims of Omani-Palestinian resistance in the face of reactionary forces imperialism and Zionism. Another slogan the poster uses is “A promise of revolution until the homeland is liberated and united”, this slogan represents the determination and the loyalty of revolutionaries to a permanent revolution liberating the homeland representing Oman and Palestine as one.

B. Palestinian Liberation and African Liberation

African Liberation is rooted in liberation from imperialism, capitalism, racial-patriarchal oppression. The meeting point between both the African liberation struggle and the Palestinian liberation struggle are their permanent revolution against colonialism and its agents. Where do we see the correlations emerge between the two struggles?

The Palestinian revolution adopts revolutionary tactics and guerilla warfare from the Algerian revolution against the French. With the success of the Algerian revolution, we see the nation emerge as the heart of third world revolutionary movements hosting African liberation and Palestinian liberation leaders on its land.

Bridges are formed between the two and this is evident through political meetings among African leaders and Palestinian leaders on Algerian soil. The Black Panther party a leading revolutionary organization ideologically built on Pan-Africanism and anti imperialism also formulates links with the Palestinian revolution. The nature of

these alliances is salient via cultural productions of those the presence of Palestinian organizations in the Pan-African cultural festival in Algiers. (Awad, 2021)

These posters emerge to the public sphere by the Palestine Liberation Organization as symbols of Afro-Palestinian solidarity.

“Freedom is one” is written in three different languages in order to cater to all the revolutionary masses present in the festival. The use of “Freedom is one” conjoins Palestinian and African liberation with one another. The map of the African continent is interconnected to the map of Palestine further reproducing the notion that African liberation and Palestinian liberation are one and the same. One must take into account the primary symbol used at the header of the poster is that of the hand-shake of two chained hands. This symbolism signifies that the African and Palestinian people must unite and they have nothing to lose but their chains. Under this symbol, we notice that there is a freedom fighter carrying both a rifle and a flame indicated as the flame of the permanent revolution for both Palestine and Africa. The use of a rifle depicts the fact that armed struggle is the only means to Palestinian liberation.



Figure 34. Pan-African Cultural Festival Algiers 1969 Guy Le Querrec PLO (Fatah).



Figure 33. Pan-African Festival Algiers 1969 Fatah (PLO).

Additionally, another outstanding poster is produced during the Pan-African Festival showcasing that the only path to peace in Palestine is via armed struggle. This is illustrated through the use of a rifle and a dove lying on top of it symbolizing peace. Figures 33 - 34 are a reinstatement of Kanafani's ideas of how armed struggle is the sole path to liberation and using the poster as a means to vocalize both armed struggle and anti-imperialist alliance between both African and Palestinian liberation. Resistance culture is facilitated when the poster is used as a medium to solidify the alliance between African and Palestinian armed liberation movements.

1. The case of Western Sahara

In our present day, the last colony in Africa is the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (Western Sahara). Sahrawi struggle officially begins when Sahrawi revolutionaries lead an armed revolution against French and Spanish colonialism leading to the withdrawal of both colonial forces in 1975 and the independence of the state. On November 6 1975, the Moroccan Kingdom under the order of King Hassan II leads the "Green March" whereby 350,000 Moroccan Settlers alongside Moroccan Army and police invade and occupy Western Sahara massacring its people, stealing its resources and exiling thousands to refugee camps in Algeria. The Mauritanian state invades and occupies Western Sahara alongside the Moroccan Kingdom. Moroccan-Mauritanian colonialism in the Western Sahara is maintained through support from Spain, United States, France, NATO as well as the settler colonial entity of "Israel". (Khoury, 2011)

Amidst the colonial atrocities committed, the POLISARIO Front is formed and actively resists using armed struggle against both colonial forces. What is the link between Sahrawi Liberation and Palestinian Liberation?

Similarly, both Palestinians and Sahrawis are victims of a settler colonial project that aims to uproot them from their land and erase their identities. They have both been subjected to same conditions of settler colonialism, torture, imprisonment and massacres. Sahrawi oppression comes from settler colonial forces in alliance as Hassan II uses Zionist military support to maintain the Occupation of Western Sahara and his alliance with “Israel” paints him as an enemy of the Palestinian revolution. The alliance between the Palestinian revolution and the Sahrawi revolution is solidified when the first president of the Sahrawi republic El Ouali Mustapha El Sayed meets with PFLP leader George Habash in Beirut, Lebanon. Habash and El Sayed agree to commit to one another’s revolutions defying both the settler colonial entity of “Israel” and that of Morocco. Habash travels to the Sahrawi refugee camps in Tindouf, Algeria addressing the Sahrawi population as “My militant Sahrawi people, on behalf of the Palestinian people. On behalf of the people of Wahadat and Tel El Zatar camps. On behalf of the Palestinian revolution and every member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. On their behalf and mine. We salute you! We salute your struggle! We salute your heroes and sacrifices! We salute your faith in your just cause! I salute your heroic victories in your struggle against Spanish colonizers and the treacherous monarchic regime in Morocco. My dear sisters, My dear brothers, We have followed your struggle since 1973 day after day week after week month after month year after year we have followed your heroic struggle against the Spanish colonizers until you forced them to leave your homeland! We also followed your heroic struggle against the reactionary power in the Arab Maghreb.” (Habash, 1979)

Habash’s speech illustrates the heroic and noble nature of the Sahrawi struggle against colonizers and reactionary forces. Moreover, this speech marks a pivotal point in

Sahrawi-Palestinian liberation drawing upon how their struggle is identical and a dagger in the heart of reactionaries. POLISARIO and the PFLP lay the foundations of cultural productions that speak to the mutual nature of their struggle.

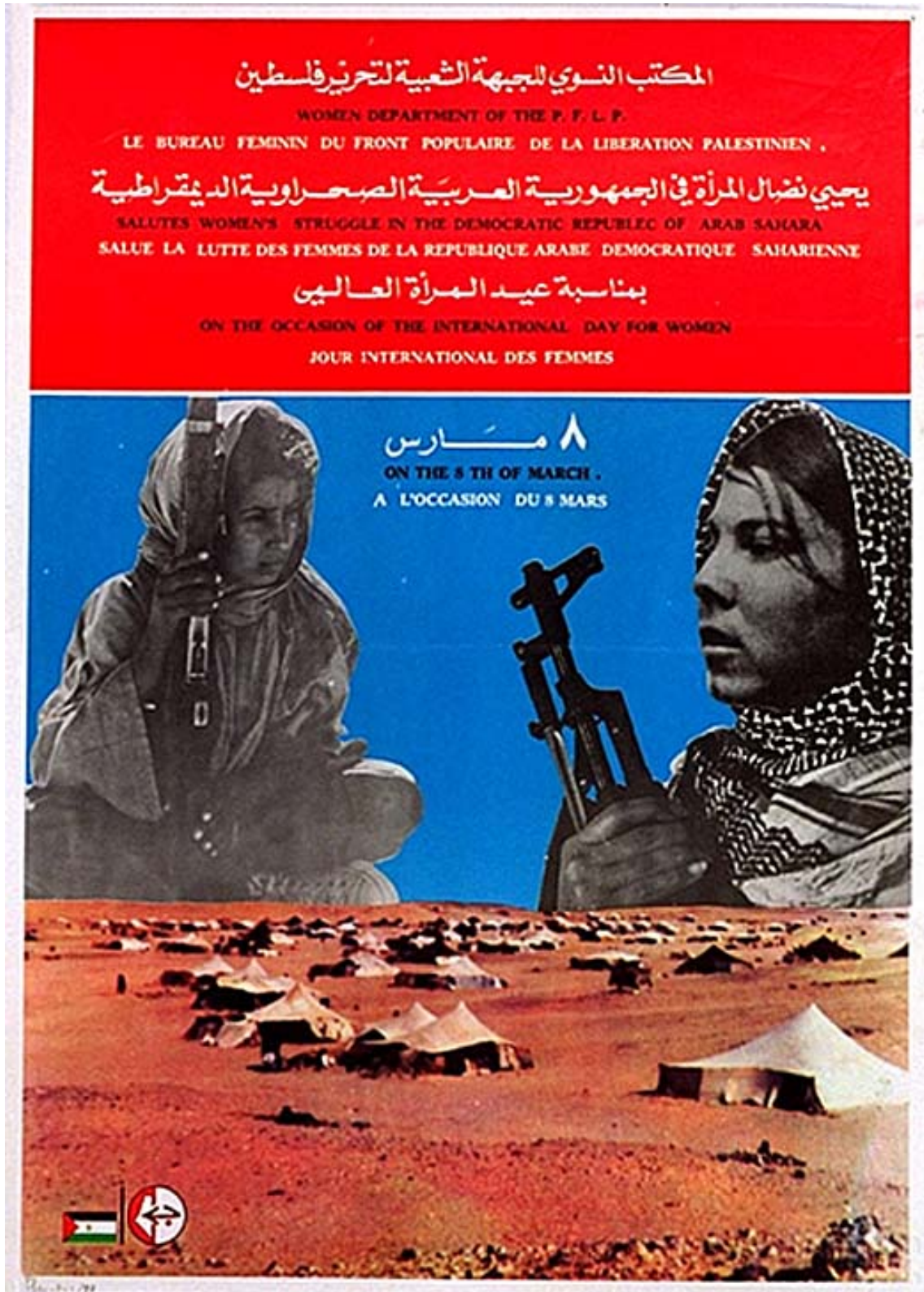


Figure 35. PFLP-Polisario Solidarity (1977) Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

On International Women's Day in 1977, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine takes it as an opportunity to extend solidarity with the Sahrawi women's struggle against Moroccan colonialism. In the poster, there are two emblems of feminist liberation: a Sahrawi resistance fighter wearing traditional clothing alongside a Palestinian resistance fighter both carrying rifles and placed facing one another. Both play a role in defining feminist liberation as rooted in the battle against colonialism and granting women the agency to lead anti colonial armed struggle amidst patriarchal oppression. In the second part of the poster, there is a picture of the Sahrawi refugee camps in Tindouf to portray the harsh conditions Sahrawi live under and yet are resisting. Class liberation is a salient part of their lives as they are refugees leading the armed struggle against a capitalist colonial enemy alike Palestinian women who also live in harsh conditions in refuge and are resisting against a capitalist colonial enemy. The use of symbols to highlight class liberation is an adherence to the notion of how class-consciousness is at the heart of both struggles as they are led by proletariat women and is an adherence to the teachings of both organizations that oppose bourgeoisie to be the primary agents of the struggle. At the corner of the poster the PFLP logo and the flag of the Sahrawi republic are lined up with one another to express their robust commitment to one another.

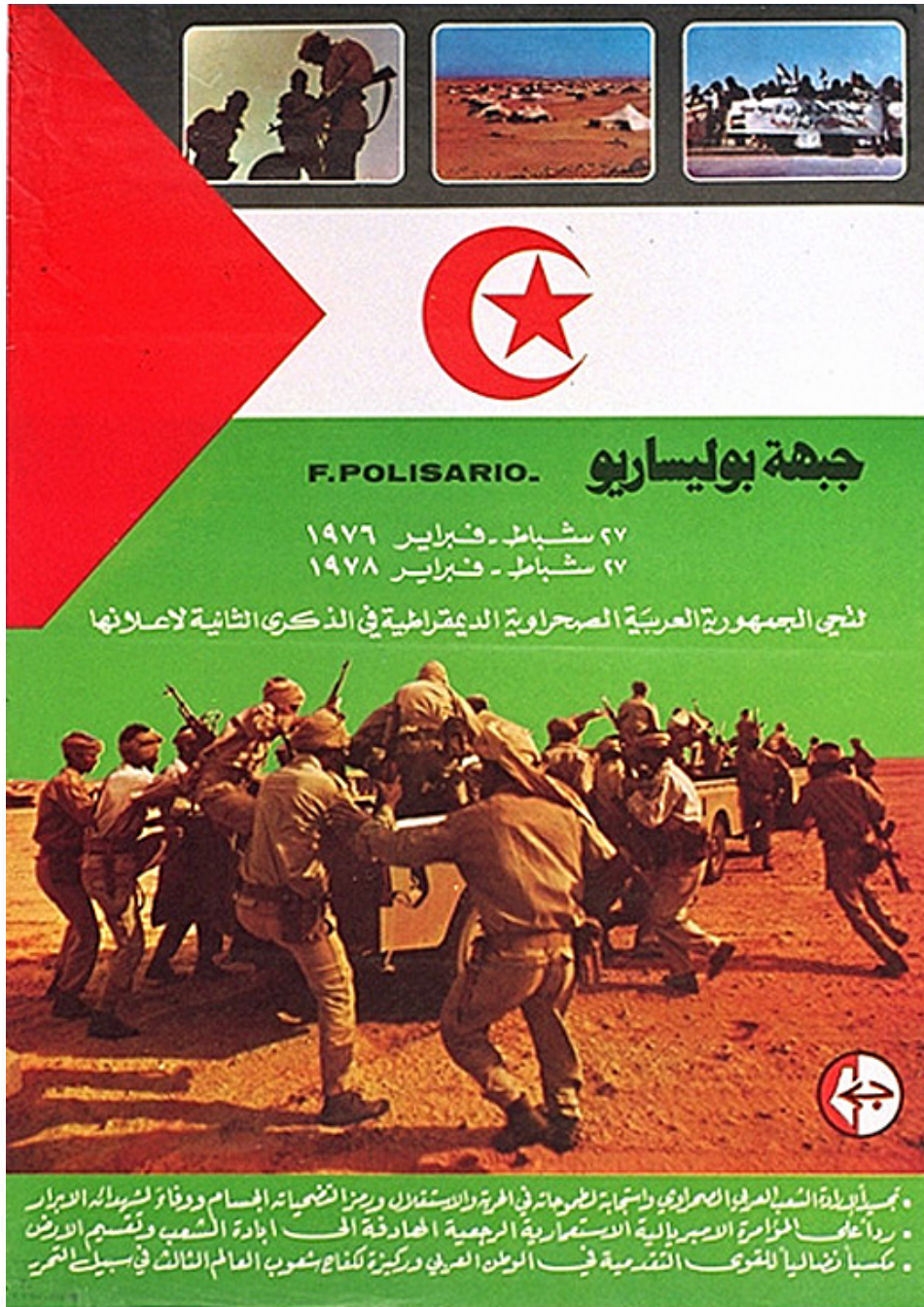


Figure 36. Frente Polisario (1978) Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

On the Second Anniversary of the foundation of the Sahrawi Arab republic, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine salutes the nation and includes three pillars from the manifesto of the Polisario Front

- Embodying the will of the Sahrawi Arab people and their ambitions of freedom and independence and their great sacrifices and honor of their glorious martyrs
- In response to the imperialist colonialist reactionary conspiracy that aims to massacre the people and divide their land
- A victory for the struggle of progressive forces in the Arab nation and a pillar for struggles of the third world peoples in their quest for liberation

The inclusion of the manifesto and the salute ensures that the viewer of the poster understands that Sahrawi liberation is built on glorious armed struggle and colossal sacrifices against the forces of imperialism and colonialism and reactionaries.

Furthermore, tying the struggle to Arab liberation and Third World Liberation demonstrates the significance of the Sahrawi cause in liberating peoples beyond Sahrawi geography. There are four prominent photographs used depicting different stages in the struggle for Sahrawi liberation and those are: the foundation of POLISARIO, the exile of Sahrawi peoples and their protest and armed struggle for liberation and finally the declaration of Sahrawi state.

C. Palestinian Liberation and Asian Liberation: The Case of Vietnam and Japan

Vietnam and Japan are both victims of the same imperialist capitalist enemy, the latter being atomic bombed during the atrocious US-led Hiroshima and Nagasaki aggression. There are vast differences between the two given the contexts that they are subject to, both peoples suffer atrocities at the hands of US Imperialism. For instance, Vietnam leads a liberation struggle against a 28-year brutal military invasion and occupation by the American enemy. Vietnamese revolutionaries establish ties with third world liberation struggles specifically with the Cuban revolution, Palestinian revolution and

African revolution. Vietnamese resistance is able to crush imperialist forces and liberate Vietnamese soil from their chokehold in 1975. The vulnerable nature of imperialism is evident to the globe, the victory becomes a catalyst for other revolutions in the region. (Chamberlin, 2011)

Vietnamese-Palestinian solidarity is significantly expressed and facilitated through shared political engagement on the ground and voiced through cultural productions in the form of films and revolutionary posters.



Figure 37. Vietnamese Children-Palestinian Children Palestine Liberation Organization (1975).

In honor of the steadfastness and the triumph of Vietnam’s liberation, this poster is produced showcasing Vietnamese-Palestinian solidarity and reviving the spirit of intergenerational resistance among Vietnamese and Palestinian children. The liberation of Vietnam is used as a model for the liberation of Palestine as the poster relies on two central ideas. First and foremost, two Vietnamese girls are photographed carrying a lighted candle with a caption in Arabic “ The children of Vietnam light the candles of freedom”. The second photograph is that of a Palestinian child carrying a rifle with the caption “The children of Palestine carry the rifle of the revolution until victory’. Both photographs and their respective captions are an affirmation of the rigidity of the Vietnamese-Palestinian alliance and how they drive one another in the struggle for liberation. Namely, there is support for the proposition whereby children are the eternal flame of the revolution and ensure its success in the future in both contexts.

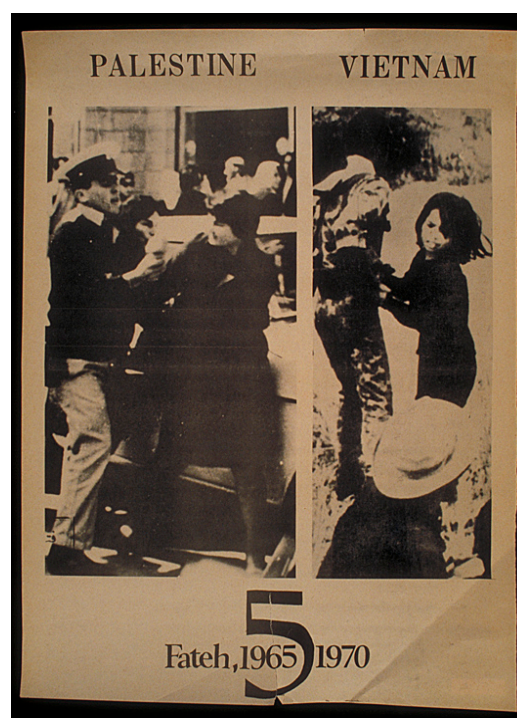


Figure 38. Vietnam-Palestine (1970) Fatah.

In the early stages of the Vietnamese struggle, Fatah produced this poster translating the shared experiences of Vietnamese and Palestinian women as they experience oppression at the hands of patriarchal colonialist forces. Mutually, they are the victims of the same terrorist alliance: imperialism and Zionism. In both contexts, we witness the women break the shackles of the oppressor resisting incarceration by the Zionist and American Soldier.

Conversely with the case of Japan, we witness the rise of a right-wing Japanese imperialist regime that leads aggressions against neighboring countries and a crackdown on leftist and anarcho-communist groups in resistance. In spite of the heinous wave of Japanese imperialism and the colossal presence of Japanese nationalists, the Japanese Red Army emerges as a revolutionary communist force against the state and its nationalists. Fusako Shigenobu a revolutionary comrade takes the lead of the organization leading a war against the state and World Imperialism. Consequently, Shigenobu's beliefs grant her an alliance with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Revolutionary cinema facilitates this anti-imperialist alliance as both parties respectively learn and conjoin the struggles of one another through a revolutionary documentary called "The Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War" by Masao Adachi and Koji Wakamatsu. This film features speeches by Leila Khaled and Fusako Shigenobu and Ghassan Kanafani, the key feature in those speeches were the calls for alliance. We see Kanafani calling upon Japanese revolutionary masses to join the PFLP to fight a common enemy and that is US Imperialism, assuring the comrades that there is no end to the struggle for Palestinian liberation and they will not be defeated by US Imperialism nor reactionary Israel. (Valassopoulos, 2014)

We then see a keynote given by Fusako Shigenobu in response to Kanafani's speech whereby she claims that the PFLP is the successor in their struggle and they should strengthen their revolutionary alliance on the ground and through revolutionary media contrary to the bourgeois neoliberal media ideology. Declaration of World War constructs a vision of a liberated Palestine and reclaims Palestinian self-determination through an internationalist revolutionary lens, stressing on the fact that there is no other solution than armed struggle against Zionism and Imperialism for liberation and ties liberation to a global liberation of workers against imperial interests. Shigenobu flies to Beirut alongside her comrades in the Japanese Red Army swearing loyalty to the Palestinian revolution and the global struggle against imperialism. Japanese Red Army fighters trained with PFLP fighters leading plane hijacks and resistance operations with one another acting as thorns in the continuity of the global imperialist capitalist interests. In addition to that, the Japanese Red Army organizes artistic activities engaging the young generation of Palestinians in refugee camps in Lebanon. Humanitarian work was also at the heart of the JRA's role in the PFLP whereby they provided medical assistance and established clinics in Palestinian camps in Lebanon. Shigenobu and her comrades took it upon themselves to translate the works of *Al-Hadaf* magazine and Kanafani to acquaint Japanese workers with the Palestinian struggle for liberation. (Shigenobu, 2022)

On May 1972, the Israeli Occupation launched a brutal aggression against Palestinian refugee camps in South Lebanon murdering over 60 civilians and injuring many. In retaliation, a joint resistance operation is carried out by both the JRA and the PFLP in the Lod Airport in Occupied Palestine. (Siklawi, 2017)

This resistance operation marks a pivotal point in anti imperialist solidarity and global revolution, leading to severe losses in the Zionist masses. Japanese and Palestinian fighters are martyred whilst carrying out the operation they are referred to as stars in the sky and are later buried in the Palestine Martyrs cemetery in Beirut. Kozo Okamoto and a number of other Palestinian and Japanese fighters survive and are detained by the Israeli Occupation. The heroic operation is commemorated and the memory of the Japanese comrades who died fighting for the honorable cause of Palestine is honored annually.

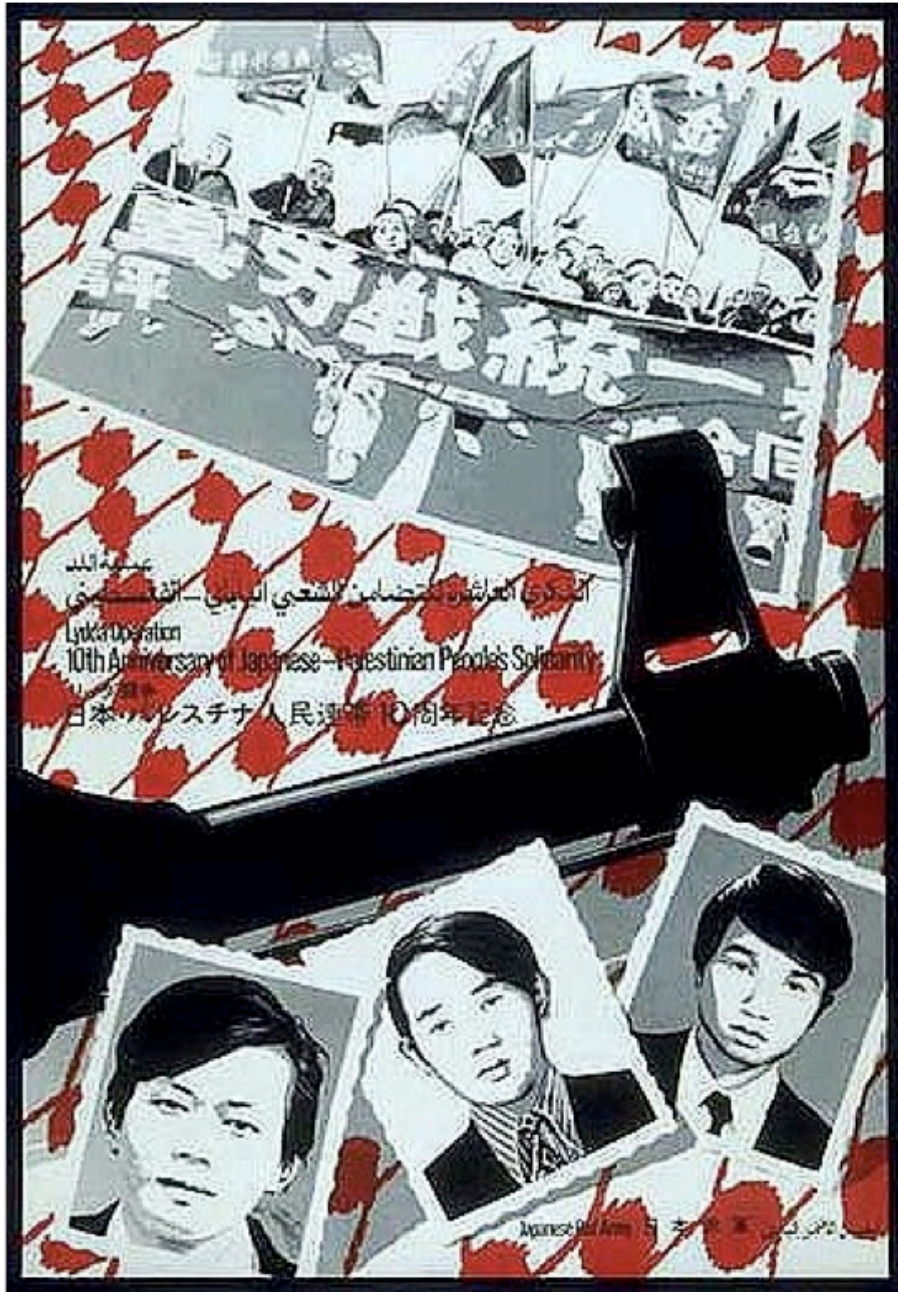


Figure 39. Japanese Palestinian Peoples Solidarity 1982 Japanese Red Army Marc Rudin (1982).

Lydd Operation is memorialized through the publication of this poster insisting that even a decade after the events of the resistance operation Japanese-Palestinian solidarity remains intact. The three Japanese martyrs are commemorated and their sacrifices for Palestine are made clear through the slogan and the symbols prevalent in the poster. The background of the poster is that of a rifle and the traditional Palestinian Kuffiyeh in a red color insinuating to the communist alliance that bought the Red Army and the PFLP to fight for the same cause.

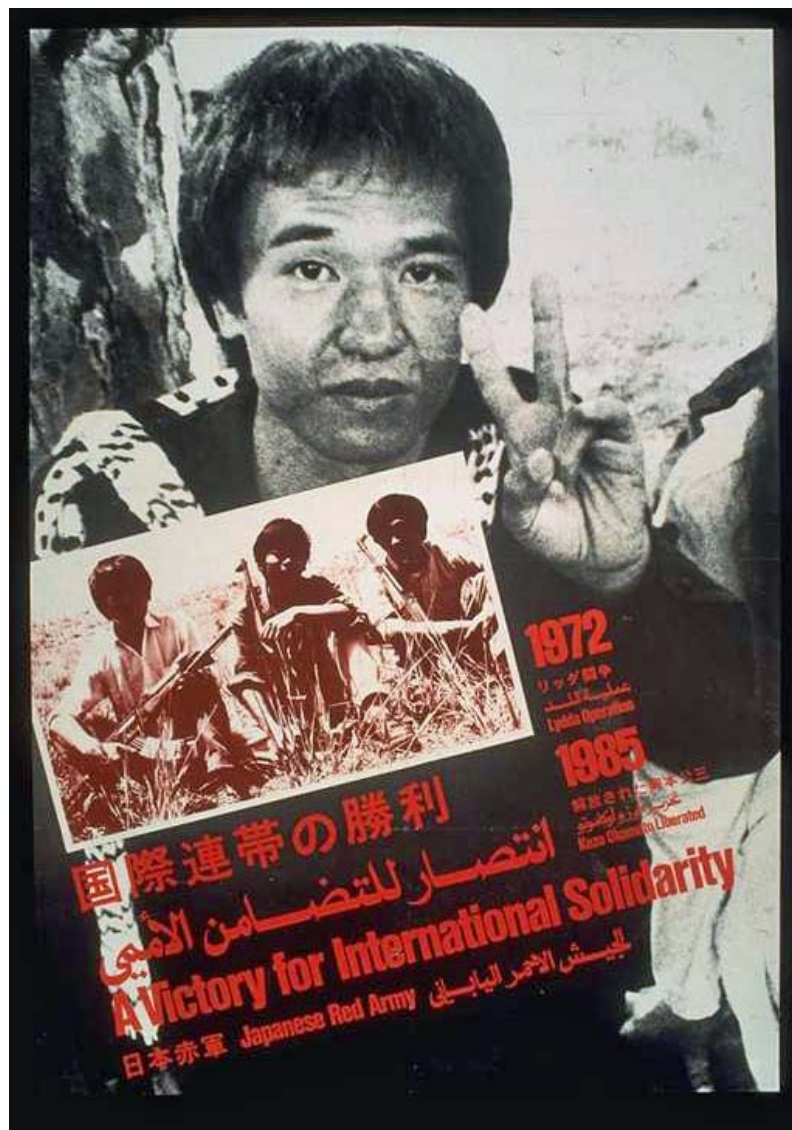


Figure 40. A Victory for International Solidarity (1985) Marc Rudin.

Notably, both posters are illustrated by Marc Rudin who plays an instrumental role in the dissemination of anti imperialist solidarity. What context does this poster emerge out of? On May 21 1985, a resistance operation is undertaken in Galilee, Occupied Palestine facilitating the release of 1155 Palestinian and Arab and other prisoners in Zionist Occupation prisons. Kozo Okamoto is among the prisoners released as a result, his liberation is seen as a remarkable achievement given the joint Zionist/US/Japanese State pressure in blockading his release. With regards to the poster, a photograph of a liberated Kozo Okamoto with a Palestine Keffiyeh around his neck and a victory sign is at its center. A small picture of Kozo alongside his JRA comrades in Lebanon is included in the poster. The use of the two pictures is to point out the chronology of the Japanese anti imperialist struggle for Palestinian liberation and its continual nature. “A Victory for International Solidarity” is painted as a slogan across the poster in three different languages English, Japanese, Arabic; the slogan disseminates the notion of anti imperialist solidarity defining Palestine as an internationalist cause. Okamoto and his comrades and their struggle are evidence of the internationalist nature of the Palestinian cause, as per Kanafani’s words Palestine is the cause of every revolutionary wherever they may be.

D. Conclusion

In summary, the chapter successfully embarks on answering the question of anti-imperialist solidarity expressed in revolutionary posters. This question is answered in posters that facilitate the theme of unity in resistance between the Palestinian struggle for liberation and other struggles for liberation across the Arab World and Africa and Asia. The unity is expressed by tying the Palestinian struggle against imperialism,

Zionism and reactionary forces to others in Oman, Egypt, Lebanon, Vietnam, Japan and Western Sahara. This is represented by imagery for instance tying a Fidayi' and their rifle to the liberation of Palestine and the African continent and touching upon feminist liberation and liberation of colonialism by portraying the struggle of a Palestinian female resistance fighter to that of a Sahrawi female fighter. We see the same instances in the posters representing the unity in Omani-Palestinian liberation as well as those representing Palestinian-Vietnamese liberation. Overall, these are reiterations of the notions that Kanafani pointed out in his theories whereby Palestine is portrayed as an internationalist cause. The posters abide by the theories as they shed light on the significance of international solidarity and how victory is only possible via building bridges with other struggles for liberation resisting the same reactionary and colonial forces. Finally the posters are an emblem of armed struggle and resistance in that they inspire resistance operations by honoring them and encouraging mutual armed struggle between different liberation movements. The salient examples of this are the highlight of mutual Lebanese-Palestinian resistance as a spearhead against fascism, the use of the Japanese Red Army's resistance operation in a cultural production and the integration of symbols of resistance in posters linking African and Palestinian liberation.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis conducted in this thesis dissertation, I deduced that posters and magazines indeed play a pivotal role in channeling the messages of Palestinian resistance by detailing resistance operations and using the figure of the resistance fighter (Fidai') and using certain slogans to incite and mobilize masses to join the ranks of the Palestinian revolutionary groups. Media analyzed in the dissertation is a revolutionary weapon in the face of imperialism, capitalism, reactionary regimes and the patriarchy that supplement the continuity of the Zionist settler colonial project. What I mean to say is the posters and magazines analyzed are tools used to voice armed struggle and inspire others to take up arms and join the struggle for liberation of Palestine. Media in the thesis engrains the idea that armed struggle is the sole path to Palestinian liberation in the viewer's consciousness and that the viewers have to adhere to class-consciousness and feminist consciousness in their view of liberation. Furthermore, there is a clear correlation between Kanafani's theories and the various posters studied as they voice out that cultural resistance is supplementary to armed struggle and highlight how the Palestinian cause is a cause for every anti-imperialist revolutionary independent of the geography they are in. Posters and magazines as mediums play a role in linking the liberation of Palestine with other liberation struggles in the Arab World, Asia, Africa and beyond. These liberation struggles are interconnected as they draw upon a common enemy and enhance the spirit of global liberation against global imperialism and capitalism as a means of building bridges with one another reiterating the notion that Palestine is an internationalist cause.

With regards to the limitations of the thesis, firstly the thesis is marginalized in the scope of the media studied as it limits its focus on a certain period of time. Many events occurred beyond the early 80s marked the history of the Palestinian struggle for Liberation were not included in the thesis at hand. Such events include the expulsion of the PLO forces from Beirut to Tunisia and the heinous Sabra and Shatila massacre that occurred in 1982. The flame of revolution is eternal in the face of those atrocities and we see this with the continuous resistance operations and eventually the outbreak of the first Palestinian Intifada. Consequently, this victorious intifada paints new realities and hopes for liberation. Following the Intifada, Palestinian masses witness an abominable wave of normalization with the Zionist enemy starting with the disgraceful Oslo Accords and later Wadi Arraba accords to the shameful ones in our present day. We must recognize that these certain events have revived cultural productions specifically posters and magazines across the 80's-00's period. Had I focused on those events in the thesis I could've solidified the thesis' aims and answered the question of how posters and revolutionary magazines reproduce a culture of resistance and supplement armed struggle and abide by Kanafani's theories more clearly.

Another foremost limitation the dissertation did not take into account were the additional liberation struggles loyal to the Palestinian cause that emerged against the imperial core, those include the South African struggle against apartheid and settler colonialism as well as the Armenian revolution, Sudanese revolution and finally the Iranian revolution. Those revolutions' solidarity with Palestine were significantly represented through posters hence also amplifying one of the thesis claims of media being a means of highlighting Palestine is an internationalist cause. Aside from that, other limitations in the methodology of my thesis was the fact that I had to limit the

scope of my searches with regards to posters and magazines directed at the specific topics I included within the thesis. For instance, there were large collections of posters commemorating the Tal El Zaatar massacre but I had to limit myself to choosing two that voiced out the thesis' claims most and analyze them. I used the same mechanism all throughout the thesis when I wanted to tackle posters produced during specific events and also the ones voicing out anti-imperialist solidarity with Palestine.

To sum up, while these limitations are not to be taken lightly it is important to highlight them in order to reshape future literature and research on the topic.

On another note, this thesis paves the path for future prospects specifically inspiring future media researchers to study tools that shape media ideologies and fight existing cultural hegemony in the public sphere. With the case of Palestine, this research paves the way for other scholars to tackle how different media forms play a role in documenting Palestinian resistance and fighting orientalist narratives. Moreover, other scholars can take this research as an inspiration to analyze anti-imperialist solidarity in our present day and how social media is being used as a tool to showcase it. In conclusion, it is important that we produce revolutionary media alike that of 60s-70s to mobilize masses to fight for the cause and play an active role in Palestinian liberation. We must delve deeper and analyze these media forms in order to understand how for instance social media sphere has been a powerful tool in challenging Palestinian resistance and building solidarity and how we can use it to our benefit.

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