Where the Rocks Bleed Ink: Images of Self in Palestinian Political Cartoons

Jonathon P. Wurth

Western Kentucky University, jonathan.wurth557@topper.wku.edu

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WHERE THE ROCKS BLEED INK:
PALESTINIAN IMAGES OF SELF IN POLITICAL CARTOONS

A Capstone Experience/Thesis Project
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Bachelor of Arts with
Honors College Graduate Distinction at Western Kentucky University

By:
Jonathon P. Wurth

*****

Western Kentucky University
2015

CE/T Committee:
Dr. David DiMeo, Advisor
Dr. Juan Romero
Dr. Melinda Grimsley-Smith

Approved by
____________________
Advisor
Department of Modern Languages
ABSTRACT

This graphic novel looks at symbols used by three prominent Palestinian political cartoonists—Naji al Ali, Baha Boukhari, and Khalil Abu Arafah—that represent the Palestinian people. The goal, assuming that political cartoons accurately reflect the opinions of the common people, is to discern what Palestinians think about themselves. This study finds that while the cartoonists use a number of cultural and religious symbols to represent Palestinians, the most regularly used images—and hypothetically the most insightful—are representations of common Palestinian people themselves. They are depicted as humble yet strong and pious. Al Ali’s cartoons are taken from handala.org, a website dedicated to al Ali, his most famous character Handala, and to the Palestinian cause. Boukhari’s and Abu Arafah’s cartoons come from their personal Facebook pages.

Keywords: Palestine, Political Cartoons, Middle East
Dedicated to my lovely wife Audrey who married a very silly man.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful for the numerous people who told me that this project was not such a bad idea after all. I am indebted to David DiMeo, my CE/T advisor, for revealing to me the wacky world of Arabic news media and for encouraging me every step of the way. Many thanks to the members of my committee—Juan Romero and Melinda Grimsley-Smith—for their support and insight.

I would like to thank the Honors College for providing an environment that encourages creativity and scholarship.

I would also like to thank Western Kentucky University for its generous financial support of my CE/T project through a Faculty-Undergraduate Student Engagement (FUSE) Grant. Without this support I would not have been able to complete this project and present my research at the Kentucky Foreign Language Conference.

I would like to thank my mom, dad, and grandmother for believing in me. Thank you also for all of the pens, pencils, sketchpads, and art sets you bought me over the years.

Finally, I would like to thank my beautiful wife for putting up with all of the late nights. You are too good to me. Thanks also go to my daughter Evelyn for all of her hugs and giggles. You are like the sunshine to me.
VITA

May 19, 1984…………………………………………...Born – Bowling Green, Kentucky

2001-2002………………………………………….Cartoonist for The Purple Gem
Bowling Green High School
Bowling Green, KY

2002…………………………………………..First Place – Editorial Cartoon –
Class AA – Kentucky High
School Journalism Association

2002…………………………………………..Bowling Green High School
Bowling Green, KY

2013…………………………………………...........Awarded Supplemental
Benjamin A. Gilman International
Scholarship

Summer 2013………………………………………..Study Abroad – Jordan – The
Dhiban Project, University of
California, Berkeley, University
of Liverpool, and Knox College

2014-2015…………………………………….Awarded Faculty-Undergraduate
Student Engagement (FUSE)
Grant

PRESENTATIONS

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FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field 1: Anthropology

Major Field 2: Arabic
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A blank page is unimaginably exciting. It holds such possibility. This project is the product of a few blank pages and possibility.

I first got into cartoons as a little boy. Gary Larson’s *Far Side* and Bill Watterson’s *Calvin and Hobbes* were by far my favorites. As I hit my teenage years, comic books became my new obsession, and I even considered becoming a comic book artist. Then in my sophomore year of high school I went on a field trip to Washington DC, where I visited the Holocaust Museum. In the gift shop I caught a glimpse of Art Spiegelman’s *Maus*, and it is the only souvenir from that trip that I still have. I still use the receipt as a bookmark. *Maus* was my first exposure to non-fiction graphic novels, and as I have hit my late twenties and thirties I have come to appreciate them even more. This is my first completed attempt at making something akin to a graphic novel.

Cartoons and graphic novels tell stories through pictures and words. They are art and literature wrapped up into one genre. The image and the text have to work together to tell a coherent story, and the image has to lead the way. Otherwise, the work becomes unnecessarily wordy.

Well, stories are one thing and research is another. How does one draw a research paper?
That question haunts me. I do not think I have perfected drawing research, but I know a lot more now than I did at the beginning. It takes more than raw talent and a few good ideas. It takes a lot of planning, reading, and time.

I also learned that there is a lot more research to be done on Palestinian political cartoons. I wish I had more time to dive into the works of younger artists like Mohammad Saba’aneh, a thirty-something who spent time in an Israeli jail, or Omayya Joha whose first husband died fighting for Hamas. They are the new generation who has never known anything but Israeli occupation.

My research presented in this graphic novel only scratches the surface of what could be done. I hope that others take a few sheets of blank paper and explore the possibilities.
WHERE THE ROCKS BLEED INK

PALESTINIAN IMAGES OF SELF IN POLITICAL CARTOONS
HELLO.

MY NAME IS JONATHON WURTH

...AND I STUDY ANTHROPOLOGY
AND ARABIC

AT WESTERN KENTUCKY UNIVERSITY

AND I'D LIKE TO TELL YOU ABOUT PALESTINIAN POLITICAL CARTOONS
In 2011 Ali Ferzat, the famous Syrian cartoonist, was beaten up by the President Assad’s thugs for criticizing the regime.

They even broke his drawing hand—a serious offense to an artist (Ali).
Cartoonists the world over were outraged when Mohammad Saba’aneh, a Palestinian cartoonist, was locked up without charge by Israeli Defense Forces in 2013 (Schachter).
On 7 January 2015 twelve people—including four cartoonists—were gunned down by Islamic extremists at the offices of Charlie Hebdo, a satirical French magazine known for printing irreverent cartoons of Muhammad (“Charlie Hebdo Attack: Three Days of Terror”).
Political cartoons are powerful weapons—criticizing the rich…demonizing the “enemy”…or desacralizing the sacred.

Political cartoons speak for the masses. They give voice to the underlying sentiments of the common people (Danjoux 11-12).
If this last statement is true, then what do political cartoons have to say about the very people they represent?

What do the people say about themselves?

To answer those questions I need a people who have been well represented in their own cartoons, and so I turn to a nation caught in the midst of tragedy, controversy, and history: the Palestinians.
In this study I looked at the works of three eminent Palestinian political cartoonists:

...Naji al Ali

...Baha Boukhari

...and Khalil Abu Arafah.
I took a sampling of each of their bodies of work from internet sources. Al Ali’s cartoons came from handala.org, a website devoted to the artist, Handala—al Ali’s most famous character—and the plight of the Palestinian people. Boukhari’s and Arafeh’s cartoons came from their own Facebook pages.

Political cartoons speak primarily through symbols: objects or people that represent something bigger than themselves. For instance, a dove holding an olive branch—or the two symbols individually—represents the larger notion of peace.
I had two questions in mind regarding symbols and the Palestinian people.

First, what symbols did these cartoonists use to represent Palestinians? Second, what did the symbols reveal about how Palestinians thought about themselves?

My hypothesis was that the symbols used most regularly were the most important and therefore gave the best insight into Palestinian self-perception.

While many fascinating symbols were used by the cartoonists, I only focused on the most regularly employed symbols.

I also decided to include Christian symbols used by al Ali since they are some of his most striking images.

Before I go into the research, I believe that a short history lesson would provide a little context for my discussion.
A

(Very)

Brief

History

of

Palestine
The Holy Land. A little strip of land in the Levant that holds significance for the three major monotheistic faiths: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. This is the setting for our three political cartoonists and their cartoons.
To start with, the Israelites conquered Canaan around 1250 BC ("A History of Conflict").

They eventually established a couple of kingdoms but both would be lost.

The northern kingdom of Israel was scattered to the four winds by the Assyrians in 721 BC ("History of Jerusalem")

...and the southern kingdom of Judah was exiled by the Babylonians in 586 BC ("A History of Conflict").
Some of the Jewish people returned 70 years later to rebuild a life for themselves.
They remained until 70 AD when the Romans destroyed their temple and kicked them out of the land.

Then in 638 Omar, the second Caliph—leader of the Muslim community after Muhammad—brought the land under Arabic control ("A History of Conflict").
For the first few centuries of the second millennium the Holy Land changed hands between Muslims and Crusaders. Palestine would eventually fall to the Muslims (“History of Jerusalem”).

In WWI the British wrested control of the land from the Ottoman Empire.
Meanwhile, Jewish people had begun escaping persecution from Europe and Russia and setting up camp in Palestine.

The Arab population feared that the land that they had lived in and farmed for centuries was being taken from under their very feet.
Their fears proved true in 1948 when the Jewish State of Israel was established.

The Palestinians dubbed it the *Nakba*, which is Arabic for “disaster.”
According to UN estimates, nearly a million Palestinians were displaced by the year 1950 (Faroush 107). They flocked to surrounding Arabic countries.

Many refugees still hold the keys to their homes in Palestine in hopes of returning.
The region has seen two intifadas—popular uprisings by the Palestinians against the Israeli government—and numerous failed peace deals.

The Holy Land is perpetually in the world news and will probably remain so indefinitely.
Political cartoons, introduced by Western colonial powers to the Middle East in the 1800s (Gocek 6), have remained one of the most powerful weapons against Israel, the West, and corrupt Middle Eastern governments.
NAJI AL ALI
(1938 - 1987)
I would be remiss not to start with the patriarch of Palestinian political cartoonists: Naji al-Ali.
He personally witnessed the Nakba having been uprooted from his native Galilee when he was only ten years old

...and transplanted in Ain al-Helweh refugee camp in southern Lebanon (Abid).
In adulthood he worked as a cartoonist in Kuwait, Lebanon...

...and finally London where he was murdered by an unknown assassin (Abid).

Since he ridiculed Arab, Israeli and Western powers, it is thought that his death was mandated by one of them.

But no one is for sure.
His most enduring character is Handala, a ten or eleven year old Palestinian refugee who goes about barefoot and in patched clothing.

He usually stands with his back to the audience, his hands crossed, looking on at the scene.

He is not handsome. His oversized head with its few bristly hairs sits on a hunched back.

Yet for all his unloveliness, he is the Palestinian people (al Ali vi).
Handala represents an innocent and defenseless Palestine who can do little but watch forces more powerful than him—i.e. Israel, Arab elites, and the West—wreak havoc on the weak.
As I mentioned before, all of al-Ali’s work that I analyzed comes from the website handala.org.

Though al Ali died before the popularization of the internet, the fact that his work is available to the public via the internet is important. Al Ali meant for Handala to be a public figure.

As the artist said: "At first he was a Palestinian child, but his consciousness developed to have a national then a global and human horizon" (al Ali handala.org).

Downtrodden people the world over have embraced Handala as their own.
There are seventy-eight cartoons on handala.org, and all of them include Handala.

Al Ali employs a number of other images to represent the Palestinian people. They are as follows in order of frequency: the crescent moon, the common man, the keffiyeh, Fatima, plants, and the Crucifixion.

Figure 1

Some terms or names may be unfamiliar, but I will explain each in turn.
The reason for my certainty of its religious significance is its use in contrast to—or in conjunction with—the Christian cross.

The crescent moon shows up most frequently: twenty-eight times. It is certainly used as a symbol of Islam, which makes sense since a majority of Palestinians are Muslim—more on this later.

For instance, the above image employs a few religious images: the Crucifix, a Pieta, and the crescent moon. This cartoon shows that Palestine is made up of both Christians and Muslims.
Notice the moon in this cartoon with men in traditional garments worn by Muslims making pilgrimage to Mecca. The moon is an Islamic symbol here since it is used in an explicitly Muslim context.

I not only counted “natural” crescent moons but also man-made ones. For example, I counted the moon on top of the minaret above.

Obviously, the crescent moon is a religious representative of Palestine.
The second most frequently occurring image is the common Palestinian man. He appears twenty-seven times.

He is poor, going barefoot and in patched clothes. He is bald, mustachioed, and not particularly handsome.

Handala appears to be his son.

He is every Palestinian man: powerless, poor, and depressed, but he carries on, plowing and planting. He is a human representative of Palestine.
Number three on the list with eighteen appearances is the keffiyeh. The Keffiyeh is the black and white checkered scarf warn by the man above. The pattern can also be seen on the map of Palestine in the same cartoon. It is a cultural representative of Palestine.

The keffiyeh can be used ironically as when a member of the Arab elite wears it as mere fashion.
At number four Fatima, as she is called, (Najjar 269) shows up fourteen times. In five cartoons she wears a patterned dress common to rural Palestinian women (Najjar 270). She is a woman of the land who is no stranger to hard work, and she is proud of her heritage. She represents a Palestine who is rooted in the land and who is tireless in her pursuits.

Though she is attractive, she is no hussy. Her chastity and faithfulness are apparent from her modest clothing.
Well, there is one instance where she may play the whore. To the right a belly dancer gyrates for an Israeli soldier while balancing a freedom fighter’s head on a platter. She may be the sell-out version of Fatimah with her revealing keffiyeh and her bra patterned similarly to Fatimah’s dress.

This image alludes to the step-daughter/niece of King Herod in the New Testament. Her provocative dance delighted the king and in exchange for the entertainment Herod gives her John the Baptist’s head on a silver platter. Could the belly dancer be Fatimah?
Perhaps al Ali is showing Palestine as Israel sees her: an object to lust after.

Apart from this one aberrance Fatimah is often pictured mourning for her dead children and dying country.
Yet for all her tears she is not weak. Here she kneels an Israeli soldier in the groin.

Above, the man and the woman show up in the same cartoon. They represent Palestine individually and together. Palestine is homely, ragged and dogged like the man, but she is also beautiful, chaste, and sad but strong.
With eleven appearances, plants—particularly flowers—take fifth place. Flowers are beautiful and delicate. In arid places and in war zones they are miraculous, representing life among the dead. In al Ali’s cartoons they seem to represent a fragile hope that will break the bars of oppression.
Finally, with eight appearances, there is the symbol of the Crucifixion. It is one of the most intriguing symbols for the simple fact that it is a Christian one. As I mentioned earlier, an overwhelming majority of Palestinians are Muslims.

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<td>Jewish</td>
<td>Christian</td>
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<td>80-85%</td>
<td>12-14%</td>
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<td>Christian</td>
<td>other</td>
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<td>98-99%</td>
<td>98-99%</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
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Statistics from the Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook (cia.gov)
WHY WOULD A MUSLIM USE A CHRISTIAN SYMBOL?
After all, he was born in Bethlehem (Mt. 2.1, 5-6 and Lk. 2.4, 11-12, 15-16)...

Well, there are a few reasons.

For one, Palestinians consider him to be one of their own.
...a city in the West Bank.
There are other similarities.

Jesus was not rich or privileged. He was the son of a working man.

Over 18% of people in the West Bank and 38% of people in Gaza live below the poverty line.

He lived under Roman occupation.

The West Bank and Gaza are occupied by Israel.

Jesus was wrongly arrested, beaten, humiliated, tortured, and murdered in an excruciating fashion.
According to Amnesty International:

"Human rights violations by Israeli forces in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) have included, but are not limited to...punitive arrests, unfair trials, ill-treatment and torture of detainees....

"In areas under control of the Palestinian Authority, concerns include, but are not limited to, excessive use of force, arbitrary arrests, ill-treatment, torture and the use of administrative detention to jail individuals without charge or trial. Some detainees also do not receive adequate medical attention" (amnestyusa.org).
Jesus is the supreme example of the innocent and righteous suffering at the hands of the wicked.

These cartoons can be construed to say that the Palestinians see themselves as innocent and righteous people who are suffering at the hands of the wicked.
Baha Boukhari
Aside from all of the nonsense, social media can be pretty brilliant.

It is immediate

...and it is hard to censor.
All of the cartoons from the next two cartoonists—Baha Boukhari and Abu Arafah—in this study come from their Facebook pages.

No dusty archives or microfilm for me

...just eye strain from the hours of staring at a computer screen.

The freedom of artists to post nearly anything is important. They choose what they want to say and how they want to say it.
You know, when I started this project, I realized that I might run into a couple of problems.

One potential problem was that I would not find enough cartoons to analyze.

The other potential problem would be finding too many cartoons to possibly analyze.

Baha Boukhari and Khalil Abu Arefeh provided me with the second problem.
They have posted cartoons nearly every day for the past couple of years, which means they have a lot of material.

Because I started looking at Abu Arafah’s Facebook page around 18 February of this year, I began with that day and worked my way back until I had 200 cartoons.

I did the same with Boukhari starting with the nearest date of 21 February.

In the end, I have a very recent sampling of Palestinian cartoons.
Boukhari was born in Jerusalem four years before the Nakba. Around the age of twenty he began working as a cartoonist in Kuwait for Al Rai Al Aam and has been cartooning up until this very day (baha-cartoon.net).

He currently works for Al Ayyam, a newspaper based in Ramallah that is “technically independent” but has been influenced by the Palestinian Authority (Danjoux 75).
Boukhari, like al Ali, has a signature character: Abu al Albed.

Abu al Abed looks very similar to another character we have come across: al Ali’s common man. Both are bald, mustachioed, and wear patched white t-shirts.
Abu al Abed, however, has a cigarette perpetually hanging from his mouth and a keffiyeh tied Rambo-style around his head, but they both are the face of the common Palestinian man.

He is not as depressed as al Ali’s man, though.
He usually tends to be angry

...shocked

...or smug.
Abu al Adeb shows up a little over 40% of the time. In over half of those cartoons he is accompanied by his wife Um al Adeb. She may also look familiar. Notice her hijab and patterned dress.
She looks a lot like al Ali’s Fatima. They both represent the strong Palestinian woman.

Their children, a son and a daughter, show up much less. Their son is in 18% of the cartoons and their daughter 7%. Together they represent a united Palestinian family.
In the course of research sometimes expectations are smashed. For instance, one of the symbols that I thought that would occur more frequently, turned up only just over 3% of the time.

This particular symbol is the Dome of the Rock.

Even when including references to nearby al Aqsa Mosque the total only equaled 6% of the 200 cartoons.
The Dome of the Rock is an important place for both Muslims and Jews. For one, it sits on the Temple Mount: the site of the two former Jewish temples.

It also houses the rock on which the father of the three faiths, Abraham, was commanded to sacrifice his son (Burgess 314).
It is also the place where Muhammad was supposed to have taken his Night Journey into heaven (Burgess 314).

Abraham’s grandson wrestled the angel there and obtained the name Israel (Burgess 314).
Perhaps the Dome is an important symbol religiously and culturally, but it would quickly lose its effectiveness if it were used more often.

Figure 3
KHALIL ABU ARAFEH
Khalil Abu Arafah was born in Palestinian East Jerusalem about a decade after the Nakba. While he is from a religious background—his father was a part of the Muslim Brotherhood and his brother is Hamas’ “minister of Jerusalem affairs”...

...he himself is a Marxist (Wilson). His critical cartoons tend to get him in trouble with his brother, as well as with the rest of Hamas. He has faced other problems as well.

He was once jailed for fourteen months by the Israelis for belonging to an illegal Communist organization (Wilson). He also receives death threats for criticizing Hamas.
Abu Arafeh’s cartoons were a bit more difficult to analyze than the other two cartoonists’ for a couple of reasons. For one, his style is a bit messy. Sometimes it was hard to see or read what was going on.

The second difficulty is that Abu Arafeh has no regular characters like al Ali’s Handala or Boukhar’s Abu al-Adeb. Instead he uses nameless common Palestinian men and women to symbolize the people.
The common men do not all look alike.

Some wear beards.

Some wear mustaches.
Some are clean-shaven.

Some wear keffiyehs around their necks.
Some wear them on their heads.

Some do not wear them at all.
I counted the common men when they showed up individually...

...in a family
I would not count them in a large crowd where individuals were indistinguishable.

...or in a small group.
Also, I only counted one occurrence of a man per cartoon, even if two or more men showed up together. The fact that the image of a man was used to depict Palestinians was important, not the fact that two Palestinian men showed up in a single cartoon.

“Khalil Abu Arafah’s Cartoons” Facebook page

In all there were 28 cartoons (14%) with nameless Palestinian men in them.

Perhaps Abu Arafah is saying through his use of various types of men that there are many “common” men. No one individual can represent all Palestinians.
I took the same approach with the common women who appeared in 23 cartoons (11.5%).

Only once did a woman show up not wearing a hijab...

...twice if the generic females in the cartoon above are counted.

With the prevalence of the hijab perhaps Abu Arafeh is pointing to the overall piety of Muslim women in Palestine.
A woman wore a patterned dress similar to those worn by Fatima and Um al Abed 21.7% of the time.

“The dress, of course, symbolizes Palestinian culture and a distinct tie to the land.”

handala.org

“Khalil Abu Arefeh’s Cartoons” Facebook page
Conclusion
In all I analyzed 478 cartoons, a mere sampling of all that is out there, yet what I found was surprisingly simple.

How do Palestinians view themselves? As people—regular people.

Al Ali depicts a humble ten year old boy whose weapon is his conscience.

He also employs the depressed but dogged common man and the bold, beautiful, and pious common woman: Fatimah.
Boukhari uses the comic and feisty Abu al Adeb and the sweet and supportive Um al Adeb.

“Khalil Abu Arefeh’s Cartoons” Facebook page

Abu Arefeh puts to use the common man in his many forms as well as the righteous common woman.
These cartoonists use other symbols as well, but their tried and true images are of simple, determined, and wounded people—people who constantly fight against the elite and against Israel.

Who are the Palestinians? They are as human as you get, and that is perhaps what makes them so beautiful.
The End
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