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throw a US-supported dictator, but further towards socialism, raising the society out of backwardness and at the same time extending internationalist support to other struggling peoples. For these reasons, we find of special interest the section of the congress' main report, which deals with Cuba's position in the socialist community:

«Our party has played a decisive role in the development and strengthening of ties that bind us to the communist parties throughout the world, particularly those of the socialist community to which we belong. It is our position that the cohesiveness of the communist movement, which fully respects the independent opinions of each of its members, is an important factor in the struggle for the advancement of socialism and the implementation of a joint strategy for peace and development. The role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in this historic task is



well known. As the world's first socialist country and because of its enormous economic potential, its unquestionable military might, and its loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Soviet Union is a decisive part of contemporary histori-

cal forces. The CPSU, its guide and leader, is our closest friend and our best political ally, although each party, whether great or small in this important movement, will always be deserving of our greatest esteem and consideration.»

## Special Relationship

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### 'Israel' and West Germany

*Attention is most often focused on the massive political, military and economic support the US gives the Zionist state. Yet one should keep in mind that consolidation of the Zionist state is a concern shared by all the imperialist countries. It is no coincidence that West Germany, the bulwark of capitalism and NATO in Europe, is second only to the US in terms of strategic support to 'Israel'.*

Economic aid from West Germany was the single most crucial factor in the original Israeli program for economic growth and industrialization. West Germany and the US are the only countries to have provided the Zionist state with direct capital infusions. In the years 1967-78, German investment in 'Israel' ranked second only to that of the US. After the US, West Germany is the Israelis' most important trading partner.

When Israeli Prime Minister Peres visited Bonn in January, the media focused on his talks on the Middle East 'peace' process and his commemoration of Jews who died in Nazi concentration camps. However, the crux of Peres's talks with West German officials was economic issues - trade, scientific cooperation and setting up a German-Israeli venture capital company. *Jerusalem Post* had preceded the visit with an article entitled «German-Israeli cooperation in the third world?» (January 23). The article quoted the chairman of the West German parliament's Foreign Committee as saying: «West German experts and investments can play an important role in promoting Israeli knowhow in third world countries.» While it is not known what was concretely agreed upon in this respect, Peres and Chancellor Kohl did announce plans for a joint scientific institute in 'Israel'. Bonn has pledged \$31 million for the project. Peres named the research fields as medical, biological, plant and water. Yet one notes that this further consolidation of West German-Israeli scientific cooperation comes at a time when both states have expressed willingness

to join in the research for the Reagan administration's Strategic Defense Initiative - Star Wars.

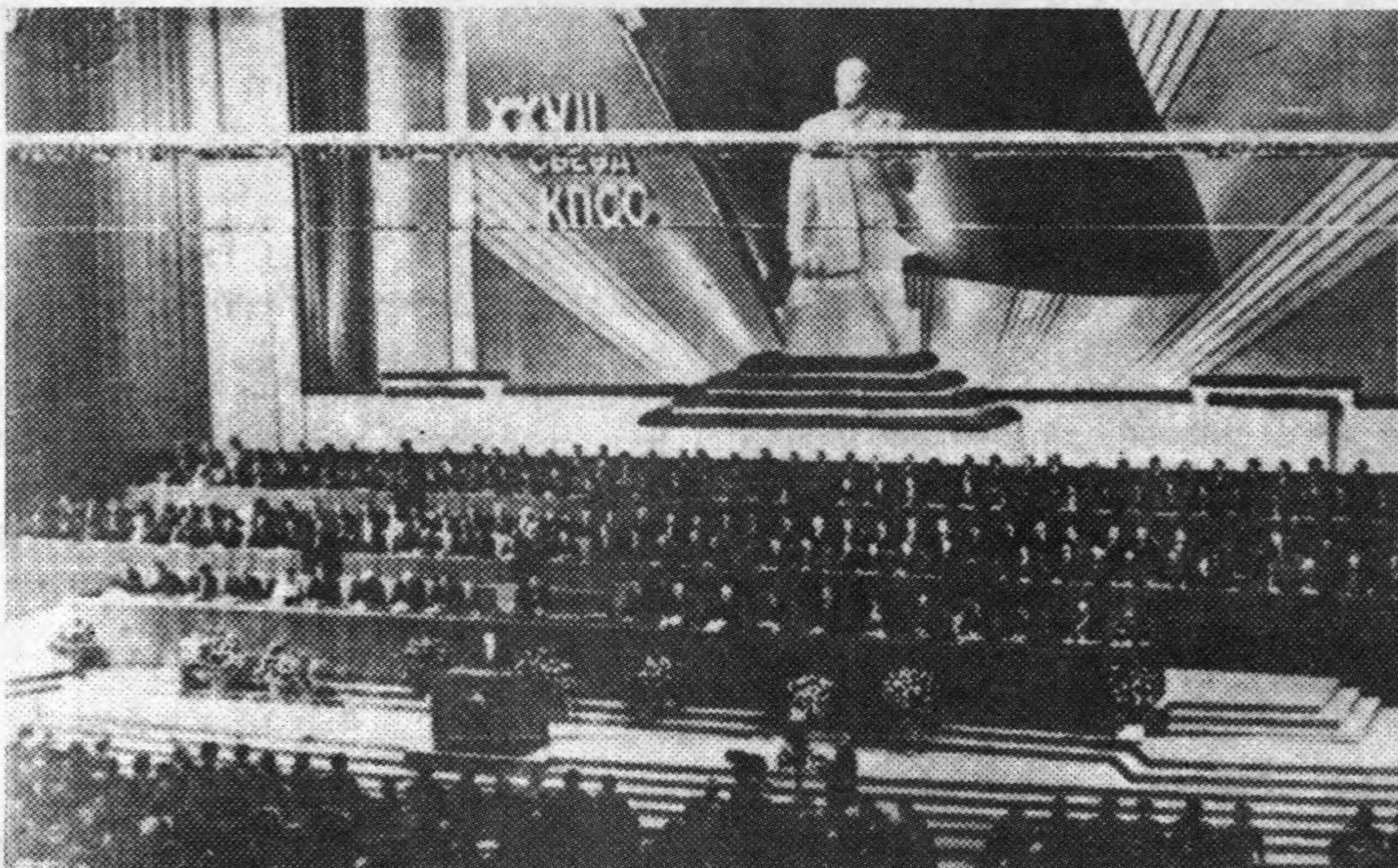
#### *The Special Relationship Between West Germany and Israel*

Above is the title of a book written by Lily Gardner Feldman and published in 1984, in London and Sydney. It gives a detailed, well-documented, historical account of West German-Israeli relations, which we have used as the basis for the rest of this article. (All facts and quotes are from the book, although we take responsibility for the analysis which is not identical to Feldman's.)

In defining the special relationship between 'Israel' and West Germany, Feldman relies on the methodology of bourgeois political science, which is descriptive rather than analytical. This leads to superficial conclusions. For example, Feldman attributes this special relationship to the Germans' bad conscience about Nazi persecution of the Jews, rather than to imperialism's strategic interests in the Middle East. However, facts speak for themselves. An objective reading of the book gives insight into Israeli and West German motives for their mutual political, economic and military relations. Though not stressed by the author, the facts show that Israeli-West German relations stem from the two states' respective positions in the imperialist camp and its strategy for controlling the peoples and resources of the Middle East.

# CPSU 27th Congress

*The 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), which convened on February 25th, can rightfully be called the most important international event of this period. It was attended by 5000 delegates, plus 135 representatives of progressive and communist organizations from all over the world.*



In view of the congress documents and the speeches delivered at its sessions, one can say that this congress marks a new era of international and socialist developments, due to the following facts:

**One:** The congress stressed the Soviet Union's sincere decision to employ all means for attaining world peace and nuclear disarmament. In the opening speech, Secretary General Gorbachev stressed that socialism definitively rejects war as a means for solving political, economic or ideological differences: «Our aim is a disarmed, non-violent world.»

**Two:** The documents of the congress stress the progressive role played by the national liberation movements seeking to liberate their countries and peoples from imperialist hegemony and oppression. It was stressed that newly liberated countries are moving in one of two directions in their development, either in the direction of socialism, or in the direction of capitalism. Consequently, the Soviet Union will continue to support those countries that choose the socialist direction, and cooperate with the others.

**Three:** It is clear from the congress documents that the Soviet Union will make all efforts to improve relations with China, because China considered the

October Revolution as vital to the victory of the Chinese revolution; the Soviet Union, for its part, considers the victory of the Chinese revolution as having strengthened the world communist movement.

**Four:** In line with the emphasis put on the importance of the Soviet Union's economic development, the following goals were set for the coming 15 years: (a) doubling production; (b) fully automatizing the economy, exploiting currently untouched natural resources and land without fearing unemployment,

knowing that the Soviet economy can absorb much more man power; (3) concentrating on meeting the needs of Soviet citizens in terms of quality and quantity; (4) cutting waste of raw materials to a minimum, and benefitting maximally from resources.

## Open discussion

The congress devoted special attention to faults and failures of the past, making it clear that mistakes would be eliminated and those responsible punished. There was a broad, open discussion to find constructive solutions for existing problems. In a press conference in Moscow, February 27th, CPSU Politbureau member Haidar Aliev said that questions concerning social policy had never before been discussed so frankly at a party congress. During the February 26th session of the congress, the leader of the Moscow party committee, Boris Yeltsin, said that one of the reasons behind the economic problems of the last decade was that the party organization had intervened in economic affairs to the extent of beginning to lose its role as a political leadership. Thus, the committees of the Central Committee had become almost like duplicates of the ministerial committees.

On March 6th, the congress held its closing session. A new central committee of 307 members and politbureau of 12 were elected. The composition of these bodies showed clearly that new dynamism had been injected in the CPSU top leadership by the congress, in line with the tasks the party will shoulder in the coming period. In his closing speech, Comrade Gorbachev urged the congress to «bring home to every Soviet citizen» the message of «radical transformation in all spheres of our life.» ●

## Cuba — 3rd Party Congress

*Our people and party will always be like a single fist and a single heart.*

This was said by First Secretary Fidel Castro at the closing session of the 3rd congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, on February 7th. Attended by 1790 delegates and guests from 197 progressive parties and liberation movements, the congress evaluated every aspect of the party's and country's life — economic and social development, defense of the revolution, the role of the mass organizations, etc. — in addition to

the international situation and Cuba's role. Tasks were charted for the coming period, and elections were held based on a slate of candidates drawn up to inject more women, youth, blacks and mulattos into the leadership, strengthening its popular representative character.

The Communist Party of Cuba distinguishes itself by having developed from a national liberation movement, by having led the people not only to over-

## Economic aid first

It is telling that West Germany and 'Israel' enjoyed full-blown economic and military relations for over a decade before diplomatic ties were established. West Germany feared that according full recognition to the Zionist state would jeopardize relations with the Arab states and lead them to recognize the German Democratic Republic. These considerations did not, however, keep West Germany from providing 'Israel' with massive economic aid. This started in 1952, parallel to West Germany's integration into the Western bloc (including NATO) and the gradual abolition of its status as a defeated, occupied power after World War II. This aid was not an entirely German initiative; nor was it based on guilt feelings. Rather, according to Feldman, «The US perceived a need for a German contribution to Western defense, especially after the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950» (p.50).

The special relationship began in the context of Israeli demands for compensation to the Jews and their families who had suffered under the Hitler regime. This demand was actually rooted in the nature of the Zionist state. Established as a settler colony through war and expulsion of the native Palestinians, 'Israel' needed massive external aid to maintain itself and its army; it could not look to its neighbors for normal economic relations. Shinnar, head of the Israeli delegation to the initial talks with the West German government in 1952, admitted: «There can be no doubt as to the importance of our awkward economic situation in the decision to seek reparations» (p.70). Just as the Zionist movement exploited the holocaust to bring settlers to Palestine, so the Zionist state was eager to solicit funds in the name of the victims, for strengthening itself as imperialism's forward base in the Middle East.

As a result of the complementary motives of the Zionist and West German states, the two entered into talks in Wassenaar in March 1952, which ended with the signing of the Luxembourg agreement in September of the same year. West Germany hereby agreed to pay 3.45 billion German marks in reparations. Of this, 450 million were paid to the Conference of Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, but by far the greatest amount (3 billion) was paid directly to the state of 'Israel' in goods and services «to help absorb 300,000 refugees» (p.90). According to international law, 'Israel' could not claim reparations, yet it was treated preferentially.

Parallel to the Wassenaar talks, West Germany negotiated in London with 18 European countries about reparations and debt repayment. The agreement was signed with 'Israel' six months before the London talks reached agreement. The Adenauer government promised 14.3 billion marks to the 18 creditors who had brought their claims to London, while the Zionist state alone got 3 billion marks. European states wanting reparations had to postpone their claims until a future peace treaty with a united Germany would allow a final settlement. The Zionist state was the only country to receive reparations. When reparations agreements were later concluded with 12 European states, they had to pass the money on to the individuals making the claim. Together, the 12 received 978 million marks, compared to 3 billion for 'Israel' alone.

## Building Zionism's industrial base

After the Luxembourg agreement, Bonn and Tel Aviv undertook a series of measures to speed up payments, so that by 1958 'Israel' had received 95% of the amount due as of 1962. By the end of 1978, Israeli individuals had received

about 40% of the total compensation due - approximately 22 billion marks. Although the latter payments are not to the state, they helped the Israeli economy, contributing to foreign currency reserves and reducing welfare costs.

In the first years after the Zionist state's foundation, West German funds were the most important. From the total of unilateral transfers to 'Israel' in 1953-65, the West German contribution was 47.2%; that of Jews around the world was 46.9%; and that of the US was 5.9%.

After 1965, the US became the only state to unilaterally transfer funds to 'Israel', but the German government's transfers to Israeli individuals continued. From 1970-8, 41-58% of all transfers to Israeli individuals came from West Germany. The benefits to the Israeli economy from these transfers can be summarized as follows:

1. Capital imports from West Germany constituted over a quarter of capital imports to 'Israel' over a 19 year period.
2. Of all the goods and services provided, 38% were investment goods; 24% raw materials, industrial and agricultural products; 8% transportation goods and bank charges; and 30% oil. Approximately 80% of the total eventually went into investments.
3. West Germany virtually built the Israeli commercial fleet, crucial because of the lack of land access to other countries.
4. Industrial equipment which derived from the Luxembourg agreement amounted to 14% of total Israeli investment in industrial equipment.
5. From 1954-64, West Germany supplied about one quarter of the total investment in power installations, a prerequisite for industrialization.
6. Reparations paid one-fifth of the equipment imported for the Mekorot Water Company in 1954-61, which helped the Israeli irrigation program and consequently agriculture.
7. During 1954-9, West Germany supplied half of the investment in railways.
8. During 1954-9, one quarter of the capital investment in Haifa port came from reparations.
9. In 1962, 12 % of the total assets of the telephone system came from reparations (p.97).

West Germany's contribution to the Israeli economy through reparations was supplemented by other aid. When West Germany started its Development Aid Program in the early sixties, 'Israel' was among the first recipients, getting 560 million marks by June 1965. This is a unique case because West Germany has never extended such aid to any other country in the absence of diplomatic relations and written agreements. In this period, 'Israel' ranked third (after India and Turkey) among the 65 recipients of bilateral aid in absolute terms, and first in per capita terms.

After diplomatic relations were established in 1965, a formal agreement was signed in Bonn to «promote...economic relations by means of continuous cooperation.» In 1966, 'Israel' received 160 million marks as development aid and for specific projects. Normally recipients of development aid apply for certain projects and have to review their request with the Ministry of Economic Cooperation. For 'Israel', this procedure was simplified and abbreviated; aid is generally granted without negotiations.

In the years 1950-77, 'Israel' ranked in the top four among about 100 countries receiving development aid from West Germany, and first in per capita terms. Loans have been granted to 'Israel' on better than average conditions. Not until 1977 was the Zionist state regarded as a take-off country, which means loans on somewhat less favorable terms.

## West Germany ushers 'Israel' into the EEC

After 1960, West Germany became one of the Israelis' major trading partners. The Israeli-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Tel Aviv is one of the largest in the Zionist state. In 1977, the West German government sponsored the Israel Trade Centre's establishment in Dusseldorf. Along with the Netherlands, West Germany sponsored the Zionist state's association with the European Economic Community, leading to a series of special status agreements which give Israeli products significant tariff reductions. The latest of these, concluded in 1975, provides for completely free trade between 'Israel' and the EEC in industrial goods by 1985-9, and significant tariff reductions for Israeli agricultural exports.

## Military cooperation

Military cooperation between the Zionist and West German states also preceded diplomatic relations. It was crucial for 'Israel' in the years 1957-66. (West Germany was then replaced by France and later the US as the Zionists' major arms supplier.) The preferential treatment accorded the Zionist state can be seen in the following:

1. Due to Germany's past and efforts not to appear as a militaristic power, its military aid policy has always been restrictive. The very fact that 'Israel' received such aid was unusual.
2. 'Israel' was at this time the only state in the Middle East to receive such aid, which occurred despite the absence of diplomatic relations and written agreements.
3. The military aid granted to 'Israel' was qualitatively different from that granted to other countries. The Zionist state received at least 30% of all West German military aid to non-NATO countries. Most other countries received only software. Only 'Israel', Sudan, Nigeria and Tanzania received aircraft. Only

## Another Angle

There is another recent book covering the special relations between Israel and West Germany. Written in German by Kenneth M. Lewan, it is entitled *Sühne Oder Neue Schuld?* (*Repentance or New Guilt?*), published in 1984, and distributed by Das Arabische Buch, Wundstr. 21, West Berlin 19.

While covering basically the same facts as noted in this article, Professor Lewan's book injects another angle, pointing out that it is the Palestinian people who have suffered most from the special relationship. The book includes a survey of the Middle East conflict and an analysis of Zionism's strivings for a pure Jewish state. Lewan points out that because West German support was channeled strictly to the Jewish sector, it served to widen the structural gap between the standard of living for Jews and Palestinian Arabs.

Professor Lewan did a bit of research on his own to see if military support had stopped to 'Israel' as purported. In 1973, he wrote the Minister of Economic Cooperation, requesting information on forms of support to Israel. He got the answer that the ministry could not give any information on aid to 'Israel' — «as the special relations between Israel and West Germany do not allow for any comparison...»

Lewan argues that it was US strategy motivating West German support to 'Israel', not guilt feelings for Nazi atrocities. He points out that the Gypsies were never compensated, nor were Jews living in countries with whom Germany had no relations, not to mention compensation for the 20 million Soviet citizens who died. We recommend this book to our German readers.

'Israel' received fighter planes, as well as about 200 M28 Patton battle tanks, submarines, helicopters, anti-tank and anti-aircraft equipment without having to pay for them.

4. The value of the military aid granted to 'Israel' far exceeds that to any other country — 20-800% more than to Somalia, the second most costly recipient.

5. The West German Defense Ministry showed a preference for buying Israeli weapons, purchasing ammunition, grenade throwers, uniforms and Uzi submachine guns. The declared aim of these purchases was to stimulate the infant Israeli arms industry. 'Israel' viewed the sale of Uzis as a step towards entering the NATO market.

The main initiator of this aspect of the special relationship was the ultraright politician, Franz-Joseph Strauss. Shimon Peres, then Defense Ministry director-general, was the arms negotiator. Though military cooperation was justified with phrases such as «contributing to peace in the Middle East» and «reparation for Nazi Germany's crimes», the West German government actually sought to contribute to the Zionist state's build-up as an anti-communist stronghold in the Middle East. Feldman puts it this way: «Israel seemed to be conjured by German leaders as a Middle East Berlin standing against communist expansion» (p.133).

In return, the Zionist leadership helped to whitewash German officials of their Nazi past. In February 1965, *Stern* magazine claimed that Strauss had agreed with Israeli envoys that Hans Globke, a close aide to Chancellor Adenauer, would not be summoned to witness in the trial of Nazi war criminal Eichmann, in return for German arms supplies. The Israeli mission in Cologne denied this, but in fact Globke never had to testify.

Although there is no concrete evidence that the US instigated German military aid to the Zionist state, it is obvious that West Germany was generally following US policy. Feldman says, «It seems clear...that the initial contacts and the first agreement were probably related to an American initiative...The arms in question were often American, now obsolete, and there were strict rules about the transfer of such obsolete weapons» (p.135).

The military relationship was officially suspended with the establishment of diplomatic relationship between 'Israel' and West Germany in 1965, but Feldman's book records a number of indications that arms deals continue. Since 1975, the Israeli embassy staff in Bonn has included a military attache whom the Israelis call a «purchasing officer», although West German law prohibits arms sales to areas of tension, and the Middle East is classified as such an area. Exchange of technological, strategic and defense information is ongoing. One can surmise that military-related cooperation goes on in the name of scientific and technical cooperation which Feldman describes as perhaps the most important aspect of current West German-Israeli relations.

## Zionist lobby

Feldman's book also covers cooperation in cultural and academic fields, including youth exchange programs. The book details how the special relationship has been reinforced by personal friendship between Israeli and West German officials and other influential persons, including publishers, trade union and political party leaders. These relations span the entire bourgeois political spectrum of both countries. Especially enduring are the relations between the Israeli Labor Party and the SPD (West Germany's Social Democrats). Pro-Israeli viewpoints are promoted through a diversity of political

and cultural channels, amounting to a virtual Zionist lobby, based on imperialist-minded politicians and business interests, but involving broader circles as well. The case of West Germany is interesting in that it refutes superficial analysis that the US's pro-Israeli policy is due to the Zionist lobby and, in turn, the size of the Jewish community. West Germany, like the US, renders support to 'Israel' based on its own imperialist interests.

Feldman's book also deals with West Germany's seemingly diminished political support for the Zionist state in the seventies, due to its need for Arab oil. West Germany has joined other West European states in pointing out that the

Palestinian question must be resolved for any peace in the Middle East, and this entails fulfilling some Palestinian rights. A closer look reveals that Bonn's role, like the European initiative generally, has been that of a go-between, offering carrots to the Palestinian and Arab side to draw them into a settlement that would essentially consolidate Zionist and imperialist control of the region. Feldman points out the West German role in the European initiative: «Voices within the SPD limited the declaration of the EEC's Venice summit in June 1980 to a call for association, not full participation, for the PLO in the Middle East peace process» (p.222).

## Nazi-Zionist Collaboration

*Jewish opposition to Zionism is not only a matter of humanitarian or international solidarity with the Arabs, but a pretty natural reaction against a fundamentally anti-semitic movement that has already managed to uproot the entire Jewish population of all the countries of the Arab world, is currently trying to do the same in both the Soviet Union and Iran, and would not be adverse to doing so in Australia if it could.*

The above quote is taken from a book entitled *Nazi-Zionist Collaboration*, published in Britain by BAZO-Palestine Solidarity and AZAN (Anti-Zionists Against the Nazis) in cooperation with JAZA (Jews Against Zionism and Anti-Semitism) in Australia. The main text is written by JAZA in 1979, as evidence for the inquiry into Radio 3CR in Melbourne, Australia. 3CR operates on an anti-imperialist and anti-racist basis, considering Zionism as a form of racism.

Zionists in Australia, specifically the Victorian Jewish Board of Deputies (VJBD) lashed out at 3CR with charges of «Anti-semitism», «terrorism» and so forth. Most disturbing to the Zionists were 3CR's broadcasts about Nazi-Zionist collaboration at the time of World War II. The Zionists precipitated a public inquiry by the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal into 3CR. For the inquiry, JAZA compiled documentation of Zionist-Nazi collaboration. Interestingly enough, after their vicious smear campaign against 3CR, the Board of Deputies withdrew their complaint and the inquiry was never concluded. As stated in the preface to the booklet: «Although by no means comprehensive, the evidence submitted by JAZA was apparently sufficient for the VJBD to decide it did not want a public inquiry into these allegations at any cost.» In fact, JAZA's documentation drew on Jewish sources, many of them not at all unfriendly to

Zionism, but written by persons appalled by Zionism's collaboration with the fascists and consequent betrayal of the majority of Jews. The Australian Zionists preferred to silence any serious discussion of this topic for fear of the reaction, especially in the Jewish community, if the facts were known in broader circles.

The booklet covers a broad range of aspects of the Nazi-Zionist collaboration: negotiations by the leadership, the role of the Jewish councils and police, Zionism's suppression of information about the Nazi extermination campaign, its failure to mount resistance and its policy of selecting the few for immigration to Palestine, rather than trying to save the many.

Under the title «Zionist Emigration and Gestapo Expulsion», the booklet includes a long passage from Hannah Arendt's book *Eichman in Jerusalem* which gives basic facts about Zionism's collaboration with Nazi Germany:

*During the first few years, Hitler's rise to power appeared to the Zionists chiefly as «the decisive defeat of assimilationism.» Hence, the Zionists could for a time at least, engage in a certain amount of non-criminal cooperation with the Nazi authorities; the Zionists too believed that «dissimilation», combined with the emigration to Palestine of Jewish youngsters and, they hoped, Jewish capitalists, could be a «mutually fair solution.» At the time, many German*

*officials held this opinion, and this kind of talk seems to have been quite common up to the end. A letter from a survivor of Theresienstadt, a German Jew, relates that all leading positions in the Nazi-appointed Reichsvereinigung were being held by Zionists (whereas the authentically Jewish Reichsvertretung had been composed of both Zionists and non-Zionists), because Zionists, according to the Nazis, were the 'decent' Jews since they too thought in 'national' terms.»...There existed in the early years a mutually highly satisfactory agreement between the Nazi authorities and the Jewish Agency for Palestine — a Havarah or Transfer Agreement, which provided that an emigrant to Palestine could transfer his money there in German goods and exchange them for pounds upon arrival. It was soon the only legal way for a Jew to take his money with him...The result was that in the thirties, when American Jewry took great pains to organize a boycott of German merchandise, Palestine, of all places, was swamped with all kinds of goods «made in Germany.»*

*Of greater importance for Eichman were the emissaries from Palestine, who would approach the Gestapo and the S.S. on their own initiative...to enlist help for the illegal immigration of Jews into British-ruled Palestine, and both the Gestapo and the S.S. were helpful. They negotiated with Eichman in Vienna, and they reported that he was «polite»...and that he even provided them with farms and facilities for setting up vocational training camps for the prospective immigrants...»*

*Nazi-Zionist Collaboration* can be obtained from BAZO (British Anti-Zionist Organization), at the cost of £1.50, from George Mitchell, 90 John Street, Glasgow G1, Britain.

# Development of the PFLP's Posters

*The following article, written by the responsible for PFLP's art section, appeared in the anniversary edition of «Al Hadaf», the Front's Arabic weekly.*

We cannot be sure when the art of the poster began to take shape in the Palestinian society. We do find an early form of this art in the twenties, but it was not up to the standard in other parts of the world. Rather, there were posters advertising theater groups or commercial goods. Later, as Zionist colonization escalated, there were agitational posters, calling the people to take up arms and defend the country. However, the poster as a cultural and informational material did not assume its current form until the late fifties and early sixties. At this time, it began to assume a conscious and artistic form. One kind was the posters issued by UNRWA. These were educational, aiming at increasing public awareness about health. Another kind of poster emerged with the establishment of the PLO in 1964. This developed and engendered an understanding for the political poster in the Palestinian society.

The development of the poster in the PFLP intersects at many points with the same process in other Palestinian organizations. All were affected by the same political events and shared many national occasions, such as the anniversary of the revolution (Jan. 1st), the Black September massacres in Jordan 1970, the Day of the Land, the Day of the Prisoner, the Day of the Martyr, etc. There are, however, differences in the content of the posters of the various organizations, due to differing political lines and ideologies; there are also differing artistic views, depending on the personnel working in this field in each organization.

## The armed resistance from 1967 and its effect on the poster

The early posters of the PFLP have a special impact, because they convey the memories of the early years of militancy. We find great artistic value, simplicity and clarity in the early posters, making them easily understandable to all. The early period witnessed militant armed uprising in two main arenas:

occupied Palestine and Jordan. The distinctive features of the posters of that time were as follows:

*One:* The early posters conveyed a definition of the political and ideological identity of the PFLP. There were text posters, displaying only written slogans, while other posters combined slogans with drawings or artistic symbols. One early poster depicted the Palestinian flag and two hands carrying a weapon; it read: «The road of armed struggle...the road to a free Palestine.» On another, there is a hand holding a weapon and the slogan: «Liberating Palestine is the battle of the Arab masses...and the cause of progressive forces in the world.» A third poster carries lines by the Palestinian poet, Mahmoud Darwish: «My home is not a suitcase and I am not a traveler.» Still another poster reads: «Armed struggle is the response of the toiling masses to the June defeat...People's war - our path to liberation...Our enemies - Israel, Zionism, imperialism and reaction...Leading the revolution - the working class.»

*Two:* The early posters were affected by the youthfulness of armed struggle which created a state of uprising among our people who had spent 19 years wandering, dispersed and dep-

rived. Almost always we find pictures of weapons - the rifle, molotov, hand grenade - on the PFLP's posters at that time.

*Three:* The early posters often expressed and paid tribute to the extensive military operations of the Palestinian resistance at that time: The commando units crossing the Jordan River and the actions of military units active in occupied Palestine. In addition, there was the battle of Al Karama which created a tremendous mood of militancy among the masses. On an undated poster, we find a drawing of Al Maghazi battle in the Gaza Strip. Another one shows a Palestinian fighter, wearing the kofia and holding a grenade, atop a Jordanian army tank. The slogan on this poster reads: «Glory to the fighters who destroyed the fascists' tanks at Al Wihdat» (refugee camp in Jordan). A poster entitled «Greetings to the rebels in Gaza in their heroic struggle» contains a drawing of a hand holding a molotov. In the background is a collage of military communiques announcing operations staged by militants of the Front in the Gaza Strip.

*Four:* At this stage, Palestinian symbols began appearing and became widely used in political posters and other art work - the rifle, the kuffiyah, the horse, the map of Palestine, etc.

*Five:* From the artistic aspect, the painted posters were the most successful, followed by posters using photographs. Use of the collage was not so successful. Realism was the dominant style, portraying events and persons as they are, with the beginning use of clearly defined symbols. On one poster there are no slogans, but rather the statement: No need for clarification. This poster shows a picture of a hat made of the US flag with Zionist stars. It is placed on a skull with open jaws holding two victims of the Black September massacre. In one of the eye sockets of the skull is the head of Jordan's King Hussein, with one eye covered by a patch, like Moshe Dayan.

The posters of this time employed many symbols and clear, direct ideas. One poster, that is more of a cartoon drawing, shows a person wearing a military uniform and a helmet covered with the US flag, holding in his huge hand a club with the Star of David on it. One of the most famous posters of Ghassan Kanafani shows a woman drawn in the

