

THE WAR OF THE MAPS: THE POLITICAL USE OF MAPS AND ATLASES TO SHAPE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS – ISRAEL VERSUS THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to examine the political uses of geographical maps made to form the national identity of pupils in the educational systems of both Israel and the Palestinian Authority. People trust maps and see them as true representations of reality because cartography has an aura of scientific accuracy stemming from the notion that map and territory are identical. In fact, map drawing is interpretation rather than an exact copying of reality to paper. The map's ability to present a pre-ordered reality allows for its use as an extremely meaningful political tool. Nations and other political bodies make much use of maps for propaganda or political messages. These bodies make use of cartographic tools aimed at creating their own "truth", focusing only on those facts or "alleged facts" that might form behaviors conforming to their interests. There are also cognitive maps residing in our minds or hearts. Although intangible, they carry much weight regarding spatial decisions made by individuals. Cognitive maps are an example and concrete expression of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The study of the maps shows how both sides relate their own narrative of the conflict while ignoring the other side. The universal principle regarding maps used in the sphere of education states that "my map is educational - your map is propaganda."

Keywords: *Cartographic manipulation, Cognitive Maps, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Maps education, Propaganda maps, Political maps Territorial image.*

1. INTRODUCTION

A map is a tool used to represent spatial reality on a small scale. It serves as an auxiliary tool for conceptualizing space, with space usually represented abstractly and subjectively. Maps constitute the basic cartographic tool for spatial representation, yet in addition to their practical function in everyday life they also serve as a component in artistic works, as a means for expressing national and local pride and for promoting other purposes as well. Indeed, throughout history maps have also been utilized as a means of propaganda and as an instrument of persuasion and political indoctrination.

The general public regards maps as sacrosanct products of scientifically accurate work. The prevailing view is that maps provide a reliable territorial representation and that cartography, which is based upon satellite photos and mathematical and engineering calculations, is an exact science. Yet in practice the drawing of maps is not a precise copying of reality onto paper, but rather an interpretation of reality that is influenced by the political and cultural views of their creators.

Maps are subjective, and the way they are read and deciphered is both subjective and interpretive. Hence, the need to make "cartographic adjustments" cannot be avoided. Even if a map basically relies upon "the real world," cartographers cannot avoid introducing into their maps their own subjective point of view, cultural background or target audience. Every map filters reality, distorts it and imbues it with common symbols without which the map would be worthless (Portugali, 1996). Even with no malicious intent or deliberate manipulation on the part of a map's creator, it still conveys ideological themes by virtue of its being a culturally dependent graphic representation.

The public has faith in maps and considers them a reliable representation of reality. Most people who look at maps usually lack the requisite knowledge and tools for critical observation. They are thus incapable of discerning all the craftily designed manipulations carried out by the cartographers in preparing the maps. These manipulations find expression in the information chosen to appear on the map, in the means of representing it and in the decision as to what information to feature and underscore and what to merely hint at or understate.

The ability to use maps to represent a chosen realism that goes beyond physical reality turns maps into an extremely significant political tool (Collins, 2004). Throughout the history of mapmaking, heads of state have exploited this tool for propaganda purposes or to convey political themes (see Figure 1 and Figure 2). Not only did maps describe facts, but they also depicted worldviews, and in addition to their practical uses have also served as tools for education and for shaping consciousness.



Figure 1. Satirical map published in London in 1877.¹

¹ **Figure 1** is a satirical map published in London in 1877 showing the Russian Empire's intentions to conquer Turkey in order to restore its hegemony over the Black Sea and to give the Russian navy access to the Mediterranean Sea. Russia is depicted on the map as an octopus whose arms are choking Poland and threatening Armenia, Persia, Turkey and central Asia. Greece is shown supporting the octopus's arm. Germany is trying to stop the octopus, Spain is turning its back on what is happening, and England and Scotland are looking seaward with passive anxiety (Source: *Magnificent Maps*, p. 164).



Figure 2. Nazi propaganda poster.²

Mapmakers with vested interests deliberately manipulate cartographic means to produce maps intended to convey ideas they wish to express and thus to create their own version of the "truth." Maps such as these focus only on those facts or ostensible facts likely to elicit the behavior and thoughts desired by those who commissioned the map. To this end a variety of cartographic techniques are used: omission or addition of details; use of various projections; alterations of scale; choice of statistical data; stressing a particular topic; choice of place names; attention paid to page and text design; selection of a title for the map; and choice of dramatic and provocative symbols and colors.³

2. COGNITIVE MAPS

The term "map" has also been used in psychological and intellectual contexts. Mental or cognitive maps reside in our emotions or in our minds and are therefore not visible. These maps have a major impact on determining how individuals make decisions of wide-ranging importance, such as how we choose a place to live and a place to work, how we decide where and how to spend our leisure time, how we navigate through the city and how we plan our morning route to work (Portugali, 1996). These maps are subjective and personal. Every individual has his or her own inner image of the surroundings, one that includes emotions, opinions, beliefs, values and other emotional attributes.

According to Fleishman and Salomon (2005), the creation of a cognitive map in our minds is a function of a number of factors, including direct and indirect experiences. An individual's direct experiences of space occur when traveling, walking, hiking and the like.

² **Figure 2** is a Nazi propaganda poster printed in France in 1944 showing Churchill as a diabolical octopus smoking a cigar and attempting to grasp Africa and the Middle East with its arms, but the Axis countries are preventing this by amputating the octopus's arms (Source: *Magnificent Maps*, p. 165).

³ The most extensive research on this topic was written by Mark Monmonier in his book titled *How to Lie with Maps*. The book was first published in 1991, and a revised and expanded second edition came out in 1996. The book demonstrates in detail how cartography can be used to manipulate map drawing and for what purposes.

Another factor comprises the messages an individual absorbs from formal and informal educational systems, from information disseminated by the media, books and maps and from information passed from one individual to another by means of interpersonal communication.

While cognitive maps are personal and generated in the mind of each individual, there are groups of people whose cognitive maps are similar – collective maps, of sorts: national groups, ethnic groups, social groups and the like. These collective maps resemble a common language in that members of two different groups are likely to build different maps describing the same phenomenon or the same territory. Collective maps are usually maps of the stereotypes that are an integral part of the culture in which we live. These stereotypes are indeed influenced by distinctions between groups, but their primary influence derives from the ways the groups relate to one another. When the interests of two groups are at odds, this will be expressed by negative stereotypes.⁴ In the following maps the graphic designers have created maps in accordance with the viewpoints of their intended audiences (Figure 3, Figure 4).



Figure 3. Mapping stereotypes: How China sees the world.⁵

⁴ For a variety of stereotypical maps produced by graphic designer Yanko Tsvetkov, refer to these links:
<http://www.andrewcusack.com/2010/09/21/stereotype-map/>
<http://alphadesigner.com/project-mapping-stereotypes.html>

⁵ This map that appeared on the cover of *The Economist* shows only the capital city, Beijing, with a limited number of sites: the Imperial Palace, the Forbidden City, Chang'an Street and Tian'anmen Square. Immediately behind the city is the Pacific Ocean, including a number of islands that are important to China: its traditional enemy Japan, Taiwan depicted with the Chinese flag and Hong Kong, which was returned to China in 1997. Behind the islands is the most important continent to the Chinese – America. The sign "Please give generously" on the Statue of Liberty symbolizes the disintegration of the United States. Next to the sign are abandoned sheds with the words "Closure Sale" written on them. Wall Street divides the United States into two. Europe, small and insignificant compared to the United States, is marked by the names Prada and Hermes, two fashion chains popular among China's upper class, thus showing that the Chinese see Europe mainly as a



Figure 4. Mapping stereotypes: How America sees the world⁶ (source: Jason (Wade) Heflin, 2007).

Collective cognitive maps impact directly on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The source of the conflict is the battle over the same territory between these two groups. Their words and deeds make it clear that each group understands or "sees" the past, the present and the future of this territory from its own perspective. Each perspective differs radically from the perspective of the other, thus forming the basis for two different spatial perceptions of nationality.

These two groups live in the same geographical area, and each has created its own cognitive map. Each is aware of the existence of the other entity, but pays no attention to the other because each embraces and abides by its own nationalistic social order.

3. ISRAEL'S USE OF MAPS AND ATLASES TO GENERATE AFFINITY FOR THE LAND OF ISRAEL

One of the primary objectives of the Zionist movement was to secure the land of Israel for the Jewish people, both from the perspective of political and military control and from that of a sense of emotional belonging. Recognition of the supreme importance of territorial identity referred to the actual existence of a living space for the Jewish people – "a national homeland" – and of its borders. This recognition is among the ideological foundations of the State of Israel, and therefore the Zionist Movement, and subsequently the State of Israel, made use of diverse means to secure the land for the Jewish people (Feige, 2002).

Geographic maps play an essential and responsible role in shaping the territorial image and in constructing the conceptual map and borders of a political space. Hence, the way in which political maps are designed and presented is of major importance. According to Bar-Gal (1993), in the field of education maps constitute an excellent tool for communicating political messages. "The Zionist movement and the State of Israel, like other nations and movements, have always exploited map features for their own needs" (Bar-Gal, 1993).

shopping center. Next to Europe is Africa, depicted by industrial factories to demonstrate China's financial investments on the continent and its accessibility to raw materials.

⁶ The map depicts how the average American perceived the world. East Asia is seen as a producer of shoes and electronics, the Middle East as a region of wars and oil, Europe as a producer of perfumes, wine and spaghetti, South America as a producer of coffee and cocaine and Africa as an unpopulated area.

The creation of a national language goes hand in hand with purging the language of foreign words and concepts in order to emphasize its distinctiveness as the national language. When the Jewish people "returned to Zion," most geographic sites had Arabic names. Thus, at the same time the land was being settled and a Jewish-Zionist community was coming into being, this national rebirth also found expression in the Hebraization of the landscapes of the new-old homeland, with the nationalistic idealistic goal of representing the space of the land of Israel as a Jewish-Hebrew space. One of the ways of achieving this goal was to choose names for the localities on the map.

The names given to sites on a map express ownership and belonging and therefore serve as an ideological and political tool to help establish Jewish sovereignty in the land of Israel. For this reason, the naming of places should not be seen merely as a cultural practice but also as a political statement, for names reflect the balance of power in a space. The choice of place names on a map, thus, is of major importance and has an impact on creating the mental map signifying ownership of a territory. Choosing a name for a place symbolizes its historical ownership, and for this reason two different nations can each refer to the same place by a different name.

In practice, the official Hebraization of the land of Israel began in 1949. Ben Gurion appointed a committee whose declared function was to give Hebrew names to all residential areas, mountains, valleys, springs and byways.

In 1951 the government established the Government Names Committee, which was charged with Hebraizing the map and with deciding upon Hebrew names for all the geographic features comprising the national landscape. During the years of its existence, this committee has determined close to 9,000 new names for localities, regions and sites appearing on maps of Israel (Shraga, 2010).

Examination of a variety of maps reveals an indefinite picture of the territory of Israel. One of the reasons for this lack of clarity is that some of Israel's borders are undefined and have not yet been finally determined. Undoubtedly political motives play a major part in this. The political confusion and the ideological debate between right and left in Israel are reflected in the maps themselves, as can be seen in a map's title, in whether or not the Green Line is marked and in the choice of names for regions, such as Judea and Samaria versus the West Bank or the conquered territories. Whether borders are marked or missing is not coincidental. Their presence or absence is deliberate, reflecting different ideologies and testifying to a complex political situation. In effect, then, maps are representative of the ideological landscape more than of the actual landscape (Collins, 2004).

The title given to a map has a similar impact. Like borders, the title also offers an indication of the map's essence and of its political message and thus has ideological significance. Further, what is absent from the title is also open to political interpretation. Clearly, the title reflects the worldview of the mapmakers.

The cultural and political tension emerging from the differences between the concepts of the "borders of the State of Israel" and the "borders of the Land of Israel" serve to exemplify this point (Falah & Newman, 1999).

This tension escalated after 1967 and reflects the ideological debate surrounding the future of the territories annexed to Israel in the wake of the Six Day War. As a result, Israeli society has been presented with different maps showing different borders. In most cases, maps titled "Israel" or "The Land of Israel" depict Israel with its expanded borders and without any division into regions with differing territorial status.

The issue of the Green Line is particularly apparent when it comes to borders. Fleishman and Salomon (2005) found that the name and the demarcation of the Green Line was the most definitive and significant representation of all border demarcations. Whether or not it is drawn reflects clear-cut political interests, and its presence or absence on a map provides an instantaneous political interpretation. The Green Line is in essence the official armistice line agreed upon following the negotiations between Israel and Jordan in Rhodes in November 1949. In practice the Green Line served as a border for twenty years. In 1967, this border was allegedly obliterated. Settlements were built on it, roads crossed it and it disappeared from maps, textbooks and official maps as well. Yet it continues to exist in people's minds as a cognitive border. Fleishman and Salomon show in their study that the political decision to erase the Green Line (Eldar, 2006) from the maps made a major contribution to creating a situation in which generations of Israelis educated in the government school system know nothing about the sovereign territory of their country. The confusion between these two concepts forms the platform for local political discourse on the future of Israeli control over the territory comprising Judea and Samaria and its Palestinian population (Fleishman & Salomon, 2005).

The territorial identity of the citizens of a country is shaped not only by government decisions, but also by the decisions and actions of other political groups on the right and on the left. A case in point is the map of the Golan Heights published by the Golan Heights Settlement Committee. This map uses cartographic manipulation in the form of a three-dimensional projection emphasizing the great height of the Golan Heights as compared to a two-dimensional projection showing the other regions in the north of Israel. In addition, the map uses bright colors and threatening arrows to illustrate the strategic importance of the Golan Heights and thus to sway public opinion and to underline the dangers of giving up the Golan Heights (Figure 5). The map of Judea and Samaria distributed by the Just Peace For Israel' movement via the Internet is designed to show how very dangerous the "two states for two peoples" political solution is. By means of cartographic manipulation using color and three-dimensional projection, the map underlines the importance of Judea and Samaria to Israel's security, and using red arrows it calls attention to the short distances between these territories and the population centers of the State of Israel (Figure 6).⁷

⁷ http://www.justpeaceforisrael.com/maps_of_middle_east_conflict

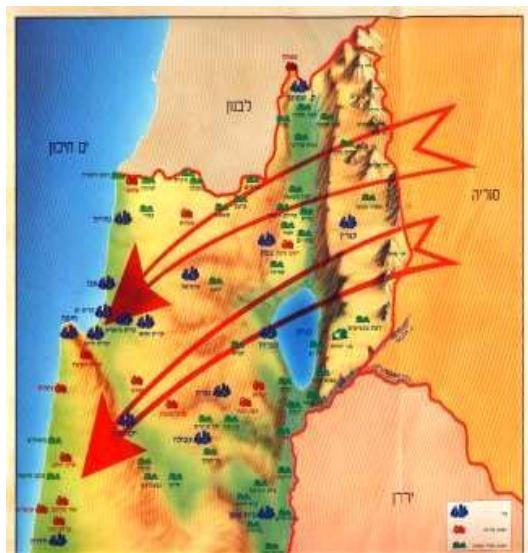


Figure 5. Cartographic manipulation using colors, arrows and projections to underline the strategic importance of the Golan Heights.



Figure 6. Cartographic manipulation using colors, arrows and projections to emphasize the strategic importance of Judea and Samaria.

Though motivated by opposing ideologies, movements both on the political left and right make use of cartographic techniques to draw attention to Jewish settlement in Judea and Samaria. The left wants to show the size of the territory appropriated from the Palestinians, while the right seeks to emphasize the achievements of Jewish settlement.⁸

4. PALESTINIAN USE OF MAPS AND ATLASES TO SUPPORT THE PALESTINIAN NARRATIVE

Similar to Israel's policy, the Palestinian Authority also uses maps to support its national narrative.⁹ These maps are ever-present on the Palestinian streets and serve as a significant representation of the national aspirations of the Palestinian people. The maps are sold in the open markets and can be seen hanging on the walls of institutions across the Palestinian

⁸ See, for example, the settlement map published by B'Tselem (The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories) (http://www.btselem.org/Download/Settlements_Map_Heb.JPG) and that published by Amana (the settlement movement of Gush Emunim) (<http://www.amana.co.il/map/binyamin.asp>)

⁹ In addition to maps showing the borders of Palestine during the British Mandate, the Palestinian iconography has several other features: the rifle and the clenched fist symbolizing the struggle, the "V for Victory" sign, the Palestinian flag, the key symbolizing the right of return and the traditional Palestinian kaffiyah made of typical black-and-white fabric.

Authority and in the offices of individuals and organizations. The maps also appear in textbooks and are prevalently seen on advertisements, postcards, badges, souvenirs, and of course on television programs, Internet sites and at demonstrations organized by various Palestinian institutions and organizations (IICC, 2004).

Using maps to introduce messages that denounce Israel's right to exist has been common practice in the Palestinian educational system and in Palestinian society in general.¹⁰ According to the Palestinian narrative, Palestine is the historical homeland of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian leadership, which has been working diligently for years to formulate Palestinian national identity, is currently at a critical juncture in this process and is attempting to invent an ancient and glorious past for the Palestinians by characterizing the ancient peoples of the region as Palestinians (Eshed, 2000). This characterization supports the Palestinian narrative in its denial of any authentic historical ties of the Jewish people to the land of Israel, since the "patriarchal right" to the land belongs to Palestinians (Bar-Siman Tov, 2010).

Over the years, the Palestinian educational system has tended to disregard the existence of the State of Israel. On maps, in atlases and in textbooks Israel does not exist, except through allusions in negative contexts. In contrast, Palestine is depicted as a nation-state despite not yet having that status (Figure 7, Figure 8).¹¹



Figure 7. Map of the Middle East with Palestine depicted instead of the State of Israel.



Figure 8. Map of Palestine with Palestinian Authority flag emphasized.

¹⁰ From early childhood, Palestinian children absorb the anti-Israel atmosphere surrounding them. Conversations at home, television programs, incidents on the street, the opinions of friends at school – all these have an impact on them, even more than curricula taught by teachers who themselves are influenced by these factors (IICC, 2004).

¹¹ Sources: http://www.palestinefacts.org/images/map_invalid_02.jpg
http://image03.webshots.com/3/0/44/63/21504463KmwHgCGXSy_ph.jpg
<http://home-and-garden.webshots.com/photo/1021504463025465733KmwHgCGXSy>

The reality depicted by most of the maps issued by the Palestinian Authority¹² and by all the maps issued by the Hamas movement is of the nation of Palestine stretching from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea, with no indication of the Green Line and no mention of the name of Israel. The major message understood from these maps is that only the Palestinians have a right to the Palestinian homeland. The Hamas, which has been in control in the Gaza Strip since 2007, completely denies the existence of the State of Israel and makes extensive use of militant Islamic slogans. Hamas maps depict Palestine as covering the entire sovereign territory of the State of Israel. Furthermore, the names of Israeli localities established by the Zionist movement have been systematically obliterated from the maps, leaving only the names of Arab localities or cities that were under Arab control prior to 1948 (Figure 9). On this map, published by the Hamas movement in Gaza, the tables and small maps on the right side provide data about the dispersion of the Palestinian refugees and the refugee camps in order to underscore the right of Palestinian refugees to return to the entire historical territory of Palestine. The title in the upper right hand corner states: "Our Palestine – Let us not forget Palestine, the land of our fathers and forefathers." Only Arabic names of localities are noted on this map (IICC, 2004).



Figure 9. Map of Palestine distributed in the Gaza Strip by the Hamas movement.

Maps of Palestine also serve as a national symbol to illustrate the narrative of the Islamic resistance movements (Figure 10, Figure 11). Figure 10 shows a drawing on a wall in Gaza depicting a Palestinian fighter holding his weapon, a rock. The Palestinian logo and the Palestinian flag are visible in the background, as is a map of Palestine without the Green Line

¹² Despite the 1993 Oslo Accords in which the Israelis and the Palestinians agreed to mutual recognition.

and without Israel. Only the names of Arab localities are marked on the map. The title of the map is a verse from Surah 8 of the Koran, "The Spoils of War": "And make ready against them all you can of power, including steeds of war to threaten the enemy of Allah and your enemy, and others besides whom, you may not know but whom Allah does know. And whatever you shall spend in the Cause of Allah shall be repaid unto you, and you shall not be treated unjustly."¹³

Figure 11 is taken from the main Internet site of the Hamas. The home page displays a poster marking Nakba Day with a picture of an armed terrorist on top of the map of Palestine. The text on the right underlines the need to continue using terror until the refugees return and all of Palestine is "liberated."¹⁴



Figure 10. Drawing on the wall of a house in Gaza, illustrating the Palestinian narrative.



Figure 11. Poster of the Hamas movement marking Nakba Day.

According to the Palestinian media, special lessons were held in the schools in the "territories" prior to Nakba Day to instill messages denying the State of Israel's right to exist. Figure 12 shows a Palestinian teacher in a school in Hebron teaching a lesson about the Nakba, showing the pupils two maps with the title "Palestine" written in Arabic and with no trace or mention of the State of Israel.¹⁵ Figure 13 shows pupils in the Gaza Strip next to a map that marks 60 years since the Palestinian Nakba and negates the existence of Israel.¹⁶

¹³ Source: <http://web2gaza.org/events/brief-history-of-palestine/>

¹⁴ Source: http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/Hebrew/heb_n/html/alnacba.htm

¹⁵ Source: http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/Hebrew/heb_n/html/alnacba.htm

¹⁶ Source: <http://www.life.com/image/81081441>



Figure 12. Palestinian children in Hebron learning about the Nakba.



Figure 13. Pupils in the Gaza Strip standing next to a map marking 60 years since the Nakba.

The gradual diminishment of Palestinian territory is stressed in all the maps and atlases. The maps underscore the Palestinian narrative, according to which they have been the victims of aggression in a territory that belongs to them and are therefore permitted to fight for the right to rectify this injustice (Figure 14).

The first cartographic depiction of the shrinking of Palestinian territory between 1917 and 2006 appeared in the *London Times* in June 2006 (Figure 14A) in a series of maps published under the heading "Truth in Maps."¹⁷ The maps in the series are depicted over time, and from map to map clearer and more structured cartography is used. In effect, these maps tell the story of the consequences of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by depicting the territory intended for the Palestinian state, which has gotten smaller and smaller over the years. This series of maps met the propaganda needs of the Palestinians because it clearly illustrated their national narrative regarding the conflict.

From the perspective of the Palestinians, Palestine has been stolen from them as a result of historical events, among them the immigration of the Jews to the area beginning at the end of the 19th century, the 1947 United Nations Partition Plan dividing the land into two states, the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 when Israel took control of territories intended to be part of the Palestinian state and the 1967 war, when Israel conquered the remaining territory which, according to the United Nations Partition Plan, was earmarked for the Palestinian state. The official Palestinian demand is the rectification of the historical injustice done to the Palestinian people when Israel was established (IILC 2004).

¹⁷ Source: <http://pakalert.wordpress.com/2009/01/15/maps-greater-israel-and-shrinking-map-of-palestine>

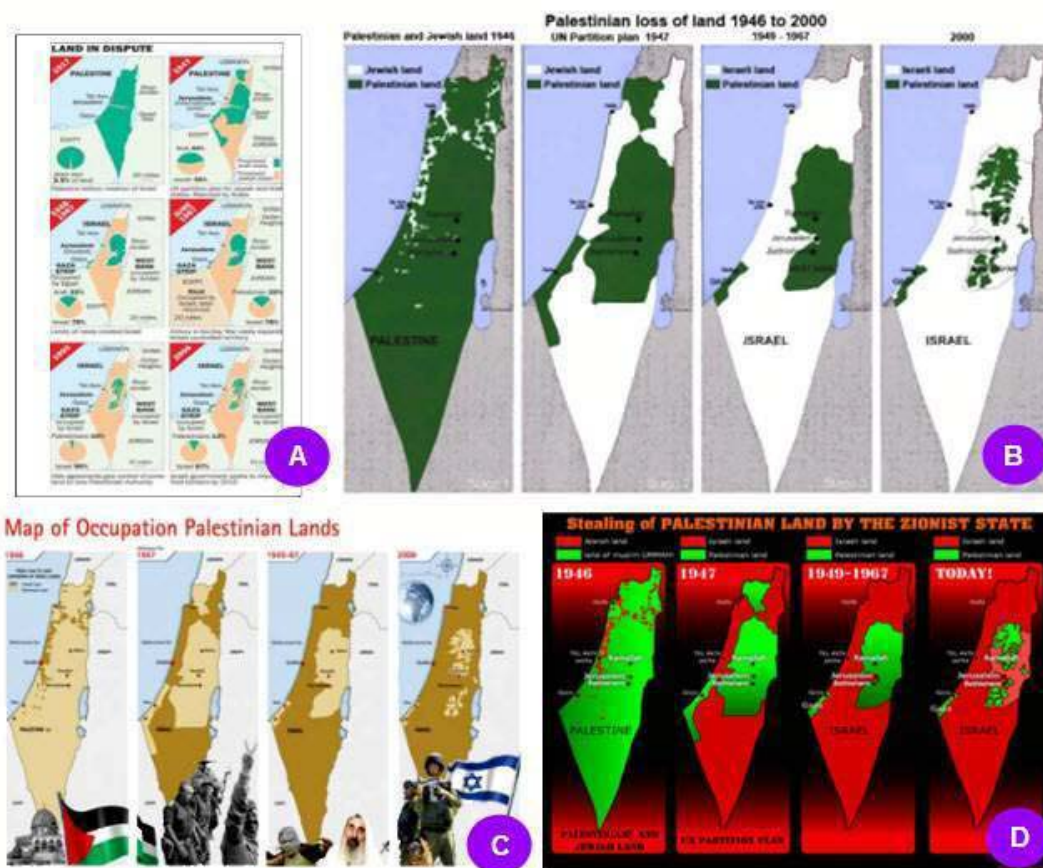


Figure 14. Various maps depicting the gradual shrinking of Palestinian territory.

The maps in Figure 14 show how the Palestinians, over time, have "improved" the message they seek to convey by using maps, by changing the maps' titles and by means of the range of colors used as well as by adding illustrative elements to highlight their point of view. The set of maps shown in Figure 14B are featured on many Palestinian propaganda sites, under the ostensibly neutral heading "Palestinian Loss of Land."¹⁸ A similar set of maps was displayed in 2007 on an Internet site marking 62 years since the Nakba.¹⁹ The heading on this site was much blunter and was printed in bold red letters: "Map of Occupation Palestinian Lands" (Figure 14C). Illustrative elements were added to the maps, among them flags, religious symbols and symbols of struggle and conquest. The purpose of these illustrative additions to the map was to serve to underscore the occupation and express the territorial message more clearly. The series of maps from 2009, depicted in Figure 14D, shows that the message has become even more radical.²⁰ The terminology used in the title, "Stealing of Zionist Land by the Zionist State," is even more extreme, and the map uses brighter and more

¹⁸ Source: <http://humanbeingsfirst.wordpress.com/palestine>

¹⁹ Source: <http://humanbeingsfirst.wordpress.com/palestine%20>

²⁰ Source: <http://techbloggerlife.blogspot.com/2009/01/save-palestinian.html>
<http://mondoweiss.net/2009/02/spiegel-database-of-west-bank-settlements-and-outposts-view-larger-map.html>

contrasting colors – red, green and black (the colors of the Palestinian flag) – in order to more clearly demonstrate the danger to the Palestinian people posed by the territorial expansion of the "Zionist entity."

The map of Palestine also serves as a major element in various demonstrations held by Palestinians against the State of Israel.²¹ Figure 15 shows photographs from various demonstrations in the Gaza Strip, where the events are dictated by Hamas. In these demonstrations, the maps of Palestine are usually green, the color of Islam. This color ties the land of Palestine to the sanctity of Islam and therefore puts across the message that no negotiations about future borders can be held with Israel.



Figure 15. Maps of Palestine at different demonstrations in the Gaza Strip.

Maps concerned with the Palestinian right of return (

Figure 16) also make no mention of the existence of Israel. On all such maps, Palestine is the only geographic entity stretching from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea. These maps are colored in a single color without any demarcation of the Green Line and are accompanied by a picture of a key symbolizing the Palestinian right of return.²²

²¹ For example, on the following Internet sites:

<http://jpundit.typepad.com/jci/2007/07/index.html>

<http://www.daylife.com/photo/07rO6id1xocRz>

<http://www.life.com/image/50840738>

²² For example, on the following Internet sites:

<http://palestinethinktank.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/say-repeat-teach1.jpg>

<http://palestinethinktank.com/2010/04/09/franklin-lamb-can-lebanon-come-in-from-the-cold>



Figure 16. An assortment of maps depicting the map of Palestine, with a key symbolizing the right of return.²³

5. CONCLUSION

In today's reality, in which Israel and the Palestinian Authority are struggling with the issue of the establishment of a Palestinian state within agreed-upon borders, sophisticated maps serve as an extremely important tool in presenting the territorial claims of each side. In this territorial struggle, maps are weapons of perception and propaganda. In effect they constitute an infographic form of perceived reality.

Maps help create national narratives. They have an impact on the formulation of national identity and values, on how information is perceived and interpreted and on how distrust in the other is nurtured with respect to territorial rights over land. The discrepancies between these narratives are quite broad and are expressed in the maps representing each of the sides. In effect, the maps of both sides constitute the "negative of narrative."

Both groups use maps for political manipulative purposes by means of the titles given to the maps and the names assigned to various parts of the land and to the localities on the maps, as well as by stressing or concealing facts and figures, by using colors to accentuate or to obscure, by the use of different map projections and by the addition of illustrative descriptions.

An examination of the maps of Israel and of the Palestinians shows how each side tells its narrative of the conflict from its point of view, while disregarding that of the other side. The

²³ Sources: <http://www.al-awdany.org/pastevents.html>
http://www.palwatch.org/pages/allmaps.aspx?fld_id=730&doc_id=749
http://www.palwatch.org/pages/allmaps.aspx?sort=s&fld_id=730&doc_id=750
<http://palestinethinktank.com/2010/04/09/franklin-lamb-can-lebanon-come-in-from-the-cold>
<http://farewell-darwish.blogspot.com/>

principle underlying these narratives is this: "My map tells the truth, while your maps are for propaganda purposes only." In effect maps display the maximum territorial demands of each side, while camouflaging the complex reality of the situation. Many maps attempt to conceal the existence of the other side. In effect they represent the ideological landscape more than they do the actual landscape.

Israeli maps erase the existence of recognized international borders and draw a picture of an "intact" state. Through maps Israel aspires to demonstrate the authenticity of its current borders. Hence, maps play a decisive role, for people tend to see maps as representing reality. Thus, maps contribute to developing the perception of many in Israel, who see the West Bank as a region belonging exclusively to the Jewish people. Accordingly, the West Bank is a liberated territory and not a conquered territory.

The Palestinians adopt an identical approach. The maps presented by the Palestinians reflect a lack of recognition of the existence of Israel and of its right to exist, even alongside a Palestinian state. These messages lead the public and the young people to aspire to the existence of a Palestinian state stretching from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea, in place of the State of Israel. The maps depict a country that in effect does not yet exist, and reinforce the narrative that Palestinian resistance will ultimately lead to a situation in which the Palestinians will soon be in control over all of Palestine.

Today, a "cartographer" does not require a professional license consciousness (Monmonier, 1996). Moreover, today's technology makes it possible for any person or any interested party to produce and design maps and to distribute them easily across the globe via the Internet. In this reality, it is very easy for any organization to use maps to shape political.

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