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Palestinian Visual archive: Power, Collective Memory and Identity

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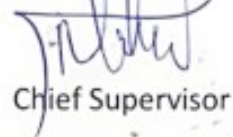
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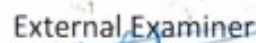
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Where I submitted to the Arab American University for master's degree and that it is the result of my own research, except as indicated, of which none has been offered for higher degree to any university or other educational institution.

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6-3-2018

Dedication

To my children, Rand , Anas and Shadi , who have always been a constant source of support and encouragement during the challenges of my studying journey, I always strive to be the mother you like me to be. To the most loving father Mohamed Shahwan, to the person who taught me that education is the most important value that one can have.

To my colleagues, visual archivists ... you are doing a great work ...believe in the importance of what you are doing.

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Abbreviations

| | | |
|-----------|------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | A/V | Audio-Visual |
| 2. | PBC | Palestine Broad Casting Corporation |
| 3. | MoC | Ministry of Culture |
| 4. | PLO | Palestinian Liberation Movement |
| 5. | C.S | Civil Society |

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المُلخَص

يُسلط هذا البحث الضوء على أهمية الأرشيف وقوته، خاصة الأرشيف البصري، وذلك من خلال التركيز على دور الأرشيف وأهمية إدارة هذا الإرث الثقافي الذي يعكس تراث الشعوب وذاكرتها. إن الجهة المسؤولة عن إدارة هذا الموروث الحضاري تلعب دوراً رئيسياً في تشكيل الرواية والسرد التاريخي لشعبها. بالإضافة إلى دور الأرشيف في تشكيل الذاكرة الجماعية والهوية الوطنية للمجتمعات والجماعات. تقدم هذه الأطروحة تحليلاً موضوعياً لحالة الأرشيف البصري الفلسطيني من خلال استكشاف المراحل التي مر فيها هذا الأرشيف منذ النصف الثاني من القرن العشرين ، موضحةً كافة المحاولات المتعددة التي قامت بها جميع الأطراف، سواء السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية أو المجتمع المدني، إضافةً إلى المحاولات الفردية التي قامت بها شخصياتٌ دوليةٌ داعمةٌ للقضية الفلسطينية، في محاولةٍ لمعرفة سبب عدم وجود أرشيفٍ وطنيٍّ مرئيٍّ حتى هذه اللحظة من خلال اجراء مقابلات مع معظم الافراد الذين لعبوا دورا مباشراً او غير مباشراً في محاولة حفظ وتجميع الارشيف.

وتُظهر النتيجة الرئيسية في هذا البحث أنّ تشكيل الهوية الوطنية والذاكرة الجماعية يعتمد إلى حدٍ كبيرٍ على نجاح الأمم في الحفاظ على ذاكرتها وروايتها من خلال تأسيس الأرشيف الوطني، الذي يحمي الرموز والطقوس والاحتفالات والتقاليد التي تشكل الهوية الثقافية والرواية الوطنية. وتعكس هذه المواد المحفوظة والصور السابقة الذاكرة الجمعية التي تضمن لأيّ أمةٍ الاستمرارية بين الماضي والحاضر والمستقبل وفي الحالة الفلسطينية فإن هناك تقصيراً ملحوظاً في هذا المجال ، وان جميع المحاولات التي تم رصدها لا ترتقي للمستوى الذي يعكس أهمية وقيمة هذا الارشيف .

توصي هذه الرسالة بتأسيس هيئةٍ مستقلةٍ تعني بحفظ الأرشيف ، ويشرف عليها لجنة تمثل كافة اطراف المجتمع الفلسطيني وتمثل مؤسسات السلطة الوطنية الفلسطيني، المجتمع المدني، والقطاع الخاص.

Abstract:

The purpose of this research is investigating the importance and power of archive, mainly visual archive through reflecting its role and domination over history narrative, collective memory and national identity. The thesis aims to analyze the status of Palestinian visual archive, through exploring the transformation of the field of visual archive since the second half of the twenty century. I elaborate on the multiple attempts to preserve and collect the Palestinian archive that have been conducted by all parties (Official institutions, Civil society, International figures). I investigate why the Palestinian people (nation) do not have its national archive yet.

The main result in this study shows how the formation of a national Identity and collective memory depends to a large extent on a nation's success in preserving its memory and narrative through constructing a national archive which protects symbols, ceremonies, celebrations and traditions that form cultural identity and provide a symbolic space for the nations narrative. These archived materials and images of the past represent the nation's memory in tracing objects of continuity between the past, present and future. At the Palestinian level, it is clear that all the attempts that have been done to this day does not reflect that the idea of a Palestinian archive is not perceived as vital by the political authority of the state. The main recommendation of this study is that the PNA along with the civil society institutions in cooperation with individuals should call for forming an independent archive commission that can collect and unify all the Palestinian memories under one place.

Introduction

Visual archive is the soul of the past and its history, the repercussion of the voice of the past, when the body and its material substance has altogether vanished like a dream. Everything mankind has done, thought, gained, or been, is lying as a magic preservation in the images of the archive.¹

Archive is one of the vital components of cultural life in modern times. It has been considered as the treasure of the ancestors, body of knowledge, a human experience, as well as a documented memory. It is a resource that holds information and facts that have been gathered by the different communities over centuries. Archive, archival behaviors and practices are valued as a central piece of the Socio-political system, especially in modern societies and democratic countries.

The work on the establishment of a national visual archive has begun within the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority. To this day, there are no tangible results on the ground. The establishment of a Palestinian National Archives which can serve the political, economic, scientific, and cultural interest of the public as well as the authority itself does not exist yet. Moreover, the loss of the historical visual documents records or images through different stages of the Palestinian history, and the destruction of the materials that contained stories and

¹Baton, Patrica ,The Importance of Archives , <http://www.americanarchivist.org/doi/pdf>

tales of the Palestinian society has impaired the preservation of the evidence of the historical events.

Significance of this Thesis

The significant of this thesis lies in the fact that conducting an archive study is crucial at this stage because we are a stateless nation. The political peace process has reached real deadlock, making it imperative that we build our national archive in order to refresh our national memory, while preserving and deepening our national identity.

This thesis is significant due to the lack of previous literature and researches material that examine the current and continuous status of the visual archive and record all the attempts that have been done to preserve and protect the archive. For that cause this s thesis will be valuable for Palestinian libraries with a good reference for archive subject, and through this thesis I intend to provide new academic intellectual archival paradigm.

Objectives

In this thesis, I document my testimony as an archivist and archive manager. I investigated the extent in which the national institutions are concerned and aware about the role of visual archives, as well as assess and evaluate all the efforts and

attempts that were done to establish a visual archive. The results will be supported by evidence and observation from inside the archive.

The aim of this thesis is to shed the light on the power of archive, and its role in shaping the nation's identity formulation and representation of the present and future, concentrating on the Palestinian visual archive². In addition, this study investigates whether visual memory (Archive) contributed to the Palestinian people's sense of national identity. Furthermore, the thesis examines how much the archive is able to portray and embody the temporality of the past in different representational terms.

I show the power of archive and its responsibility in characterizing the narrative about the past, present, future, and link it with collective identity and collective memory. This collective memory consists of visual archive that has been used by Palestinians for promoting their struggle and their right for liberation. Based on these points this thesis examines these main subjects: firstly the power of archive, secondly the archive and collective memory, thirdly archive and the construction of identity, and the last one is the story of the Palestinian visual archive's achievements and challenges.

²Visual archive means the Videos record that produced and accumulated during the course of a personal or institutional life trajectory and which, in the custody of institutions of record, are subjected to technical treatment seeking their availability and systemize, as sources for various use.

My interest in this thesis comes from my passion for the visual archive - a passion that has formed my career journey. I spent half of my life studying, working, and researching this subject. Through my work at the Palestinian national institutions presented by the Ministry of Culture (MOC) and Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation (PBC), I realize the narrow perception towards the work in the archive section, where the archive is considered as storage of mess, a place of punishment for other employees who are not doing their duty in a proper way. This way of dealing with the archive field has highly motivated me to challenge this disappointed reality, trying to change it into a better and positive one.

Additionally, the regulations and the bureaucratic way of management, along with the selectivity in promoting some ideologies while concealing others. These critical points have pushed the researcher to dig deep in the theory of visual archiving, and investigate more through academic approach to understand the ambiguity and power, knowledge and the truth that visual archives hold. Through this thesis, the I hope to raise awareness towards the importance of the visual archive.

I also aim to record and document my personal experience that represents the story of the Palestinian visual archive and part of the Palestinian collective memory. This collective memory partially consists of social interaction and

individuals' memory. This thesis is an attempt to provoke questions towards the recent status of the Palestinian national archive.

The non-existence of national archive leads to an increase of unhealthy competition between individuals, civil and official institutions over the control of the historical archive. This approach has been responsible for the scattering of the Palestinian national archive.

In my thesis, I also targeted witnesses from inside the archive to hear the truth about the challenges they faced during their work, and to figure out who is responsible for the loss of visual archive whether in Beirut or Gaza Strip. Finally, to try clarifying the motivation that derived international figure to be part of this work and spend time and effort for preserving the Palestinian visual memory.

Having for years at the Palestinian archive, first as director of the archive department at the Palestinian Ministry of Culture, then as head of the archive unit at Palestine Broadcasting Corporation, I have tried hard, along with other colleagues, to develop and institutionalize the visual archive as one component of our cultural identity. One of the MOC goals has been to enhance cultural identity within the Palestinian local society arena, challenging Israeli occupation practices that always aim to destroy and dissolve this identity. Based on my observations and experience within the field of my work, I have realized the necessity of examining the status of the Palestinian visual archive, and advocating the case for

extending Palestinian investment in protecting and preserving our collective visual archive. In addition, I need to investigate the role of international figures in promoting and preserving Palestinian memory. To what level have the Palestinian reached our endeavor in establishing a national archive?

This thesis is composed of six chapters, the first one traces the historical back ground of the archive, exploring how the archive in general has historically been developed, focusing on the history of the Palestinian visual archive.

The second chapter examines the power that the archive has and how it manifests in archivists practices and domination over it, hence; I highlight some issues that reveal the power of this archive, through elaborating on how the archive can be a tool for power, and how the management of the archive, if based on secrecy and inaccessibility can transform it into a tool for authority, domination and hegemony, and not a tool for absolute truth and knowledge.

The third chapter is mainly exploring the meaning of collective memory, exploring the historical transformation of the term and how it had been tool for consolidating a social group's consciousness, clarifying how much this collective memory became a mirror into the past which is needed for the continuation of the present. The chapter also explores how realistic this memory is, examining if it reflects all of the truth, or part of it. In this chapter I draw the attention on the

relationship between the archive and collective memory, investigating to which extent this archive contains the collective memory of the past.

In chapter four, I highlight the role of the archive in relation to national identity construction and formulation, showing how the archive can participate in deepening the sense of cultural identity and national identity.

Exploring the role of the Palestinian visual archive as primary feature of the Palestinian collective memory of which the archive is a principal component will be discussed in chapter five; it will discover the extent in which the archive has shaped the Palestinian memory, enhancing the construction of national identity.

Additionally, in chapter five I assess the status of the Palestinian visual archive. Where are we from establishing our visual national archive? How far or close are we from achieving this goal? Finally; chapter six contains the findings and concluding remarks.

Methodology

While the obvious the aim of this thesis is to assess the Palestinian visual archive and its role in forming collective memory, national identity, and power. Referring to this I divided the methods into two sections interviews as primary data, these interviews are with professionals from the field of culture and archive. I integrated my interviewees into three groups: The first group consists of the

Palestinians who worked on archive section at official institutions, mainly the Palestinian MOC or PBC. In addition to the Palestinian national archive, I met staff at various functional levels including the decision makers like Dr. Ehab Bessiaso, the current minister of culture and Ahmed Assaf, the minister of Palestine Broadcasting Corporation (PBC). In addition, I met Mr. Yasser Abed Raboo, the first minister of culture at the Palestinian authority and the supervisor of BPC from 2009 to 2012, Fawaz Salameh the director general of the national archive directorate at the Palestinian Ministry of Culture.

The second group I interviewed are international film directors who played a significant role in documenting, collecting and promoting Palestinian struggle for liberation, who reflect in their films that they produced about the trauma of Palestinian displacement after 1948 “Nakba”, of those I interviewed Qaise al Zubiedi, Kassem Hawel, Monica Mauerer.

The third group consist of representatives from civil society organizations such as New Cinema Group members, the Palestinian Museum, Yasser Arafat Museum, Mahmoud Darwish Museum, Institute for Palestine Study for interviews from this group, the theses seeks to determine the reasons behind the current dispersion of the Palestinian national archive, I investigate what was the role of the decision makers and how much effort they put to achieve this establishment of a

national archive. In addition to individuals from civil society who are involved in one way or another in visual archive.

For the purpose of contextualizing and supporting my argument, I reviewed secondary literature (Books, articles, films, and theories) that discusses and argue the archive issue and its connection with collective memory and identity.

Chapter One: Historical Background

1. Historical Background

In this chapter shed the light on ancient history to show the origin of archive concept, its roots and how it consequently developed until recent time, in which archive has become a main component of a nation state. I also trace the story of Palestinian visual archive since it is my concern in this thesis.

Archive as a concept was used for the 1st time in the 2nd century B.C, it meant the space where the state events and acts were preserved. Etymologically it is linked with the Greeks, which was known as the place where the authority was situated and later on - the place where the official records were stored.³

The origin of the archive is linked with the emergence of the written documents and the necessity of their preservation-conservation. The concepts, the archive and the museum are innate from antiquity. The growth and transformation of memory from one generation to another is a distinctive feature and a remaining incentive of human society. Archives strongly evolved with ancient civilizations (Chinese, Greeks, Romans), though, most of the documents disappeared, as documents were on paper or light material like a paper which do not last for long, unlike the stone tablets that preserved the history of humanity until now. For

³Historical Background of National Archives of Georgia, <http://www.archives.gov.ge/en/history,2014>

instance, archives of churches, kingdoms, and historical sites from the middle ages continue to exist, and have reserved their original aspect till now.⁴

For centuries, archival records were collected and dedicated by the authorities to record events that had huge importance on public and private affairs. The goals of the documentation process were to confirm and attest the events and activities of the past, also to attest for property rights of people, for recording taxation, and for managing the public and private affairs of societies. However, with the dissemination of literacy along with the emergence of nation states, many institutions of public governance emerged to conduct private and public issues. The central depository of public archive was modernized with the registered systems.⁵

Political system of old monarchies' was a dictatorship regime, the ruling class controlled all Political system institutions including archive, the archives were secretive and inaccessible. It was only used mainly for juridical system, and for administrative functions. The collection indexes and references for returning back to it when needed. Dealing with the archive with such care was an indicator for how much power the archive has, as well as the tightness of the ties between the archive and the political system and the ruling class.

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Terry, East Wood, *What is Archival Theory and Why is it Important?*, *Archivaria*, The Journal of the Association of Canadian Archivists , *Archivaria* 37 (Spring 1994).

In that time, archival materials were preserved without any metadata or description, which was not part of the archiving process. Instead, archivists focused on archiving procedures and arrangements, paying more attention to the raw documents that were preserved on dossiers, series, and ended with in the physical facility of the material in storage. This situation remained stable until the end of the 19Th century.⁶

Although the foundation of the archives and the methodology of archival administration is rooted in antiquity, archives and archival management as they are known today go back to the French Revolution. The founding of the French national archive in 1789 came to centralize and institutionalize the national state records and documents, which was a result of nation state building, this was the first time that a unified administration of archives emerged, the central archive established a hold on all existing depositories and public records, also it was the acknowledgment that the state was responsible for the protection and preservation of its archive.

⁶ Ibid

2. Visual archive in contemporary age

In the 20th century humanity has witnessed many developments at several levels like industrialization, democratization, cinema and media production, part of these developments increased the consciousness and awareness towards the importance of archive business.⁷ This was the consequence of the appearance of the photography, the sound recording and the moving image. Using all these kinds of materials for recording and documenting became a new challenge for the archivists, they found themselves obliged to handle new kinds of records, like photographic records, motion pictures, sound recordings, and computer-kept records, or microfilm. These new types of material had its own legal status and system that guarantee its protection and preservation.⁸

Audiovisual archiving was a new domain that emerged in the last century, new kinds of records, such as photographic records, motion pictures, sound recordings, all these formats emerged as an outcome of the growth and dissemination of audiovisual media.⁹ Along with the emergence of the radio in the 1920s forward, creating additional recording and program, which produced entirely

⁷Alicja Zelazko, record office, records,16/6-2017,<https://www.britannica.com/topic/archivespho>

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Edmondson, Ray, Audio-visual Philosophy and Principle ,Third Edition 2016

new types of material for possible preservation and was followed by more developments in moving image.¹⁰

The growth of audiovisual materials sensitizes the public to the value of preserving the film heritage and images, especially in newly independent state and across the “third world”. In the western world and after the Second World War the awareness toward the value of the archive, the National Register of Archives seriously extended the work of archiving in assistance with a new generation of archivists, who started preserving national memory in a systematic way. This was due to the large extent of damage and deterioration in human civilizations heritage as a result of the wars. Additionally the emergence of a number of new states, new ethnicities and identities, this resulted in exerting extra burden on those new groups to assert their identities, to give legitimacy to their existence and liberation in the case of decolonization and against the threat of the external powers. For this reason, those states started searching documents, which support their rights, and formulate a national narrative that confront the colonial narrative. As a consequence the value of the audiovisual material was perceived as a tools for achieving legitimacy and recognition.¹¹

¹⁰Ibid

¹¹ Ibid

3. Palestinian Visual archive-history and developments

Palestinians have been affected by the media revolution and the spread of Audio-visual (A/V) culture since the twenties of the last century, Palestine was an attractive place for Arabic and international production companies and agencies, due to its religious and political importance, there were other international film directors, photographers, and agencies from around the world interested in documenting and recording the holidays and religious celebrations in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The first short Palestinian documentary recorded the visit of King Saud Ben Abdel Aziz to Palestine in 1935, it traced his travels between the Palestinian main cities (Jerusalem and Jaffa), this film was produced by Ibrahim Sarhan. Later, Sarhan also produced two other films, one was a feature called “Dreams Come True”, in addition to other film which was about Ahmad Hilmi Pasha, who is a member of the Higher Arab Commission. In 1945, Palestine Studio was established and launched its career with a feature film titled “On the Night of the Feast”.¹²

Part of the Palestinian resistance against the occupation was through the preservation of their collective memory, as one nation sharing the same history and memory, films as carrier of this collective memory has contributed to preserving

¹² Buali, Sheyma, A militant cinema : Interview with Mohanad Yaqubi ,2 May 2012. www.ibraaz.org/.../a-militant-cinema.

the past of the Palestinians, and formulating their collective representation of present and the future.¹³ The construction of a Palestinian National consciousness commenced in the early 20th century, this process intensified after the Palestinian trauma of displacement on what to be called Al ' Nakba ' of 1948. And the defeat in 1967, these two events have been watershed moments in Palestinian history, the reaction to those events has accelerated the forming of an opposing narrative to the occupation, through creating a cultural movement that reflected in different components film, folklore, literature, or art, returns to these two historical moments.¹⁴ In this period, Palestinians start to think how to reshape their collective identity, and unify all the refugees under a one comprehensive identity.¹⁵

In 1968, a Palestinian cinematic movement began in Jordan, which is considered to this day as one of the boldest cinemas among the Arab visual cultural history. The Palestine Film Unit (PFU), a group of Palestinian filmmakers and photographers including Mustafa Abu Ali, Sulafa Jadallah, Hani Jawhariah, Salah Abu Hannood, and many others, started together with the full support of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). Its aim was to document everyday life and the extraordinary events that occurred regularly in Palestine during this time. Those directors used the camera, which became one of the tools in Palestinian

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Al Khaldi, Rashid, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* 1997, p20,28

¹⁵ Zubaidi, Qais, *Palestine in Cinema*, Institute for Palestine studies, 2006

struggle for nationhood, a way for the Palestinians to show the realities of the struggle and to take control of their own image.¹⁶

Palestine Film Unit was thus established, and the first Palestinian documentary was “No to a Peaceful Solution.” This documentary was produced in 1968 by director Mustafa Abu Ali, who was one of the founders of the Palestinian cinema movement. Following the exodus of Palestinian revolutionaries from Jordan to Lebanon, the PLO and its parties established cinema departments in Lebanon which was represented in the Media and Culture Department, Samed Institute for Cinema Production, PFLP Art Commission, and PDFLP Cinema and Photography. These departments worked on producing fifty-nine films with “Return to Haifa,” as of the the only fiction film which was produced by the Iraqi director Kassem Hawal. Those films formed the core Palestinian national archive, and became known afterwards the historical revolution archive.¹⁷

After the Oslo agreement, the interest in preserving and collecting the Palestinian archive as part of the Palestinian collective memory has increased in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This interest comes as a result of the availability of several elements that draw the attention to the subject. Most importantly was the state-building endeavors, the need to preserve Palestinian rootedness to increase their ties with the past and Palestinian culture.

¹⁶<http://archive.thisweekinpalestine.com/details.php?id=2354&ed=149&edid=149>

¹⁷Zubaidi, Qais ,Palestine in Cinema, Institute for Palestine studies,2006

Chapter Two: The Power of archive

This chapter examines the relationship between the archive and power, a relationship which has been recognized since ancient times. I look at how much controlling archive provides the controller with power and hegemony. Additionally, I discuss the post-colonial archive as a provider of a national collective memory as well as a contributor to a national narrative. I conclude by examining how much truth does this archive holds within its documents.

In the past, archives were controlled by powerful entities within a society, with archives created to serve the interests of power and authority including the church, rich and influential families and the ruling institutions. The enlightenment era witnessed the spreading of literacy and a 'Cultural Revolution'. During this time, the archiving process developed and was institutionalized to contain documentary evidence, which protected the rights of both citizens and governments. This was made possible by archives that faithfully represented the actions and policies of government. In this way, the archive became an authentic source of information and a means for conveying truth in a way that had wide-ranging value to researchers and academics alike.

Historically; Archives have the power in defining historical knowledge, official chronologies provide their one-sided accounts, and propaganda rewrites history, excluding the subjective experiences and objective plight of those lacking access to the means of representation. However; today's technological possibilities

allow artists and activists to accumulate their own counter-archives from zones of conflict, revealing stories that lie beyond the pale of the redacted media narrative. These technological developments allow more accessibility to archive as a tool for knowledge and truth in the democratic countries. Also as a result of globalization the dissemination of information has been increased, and widening the awareness towards the right to know, with the demand accountability by authority for the political democratic state.¹⁸

The power of the archive manifests itself in providing access to governments past experiences, including their successes and failures. It also provides a historical model that people can learn lessons from, particularly in relation to developing countries. In those countries the archive became a unique source of information, this information was needed for earlier developmental initiatives, and of demographic, economic and social information.

The archive concept was developed and influenced by the development accrued in the time of post-modernity. Many academics and theorists have investigated how this concept evolved including the French philosopher Michel

¹⁸Laermans, R. &Gielen P. (2007). Image & Narrative: Online Magazine of the Visual Narrative, http://www.imageandnarrative.be/inarchive/digital_archive/laermans_gielen.htm.

Foucault who is known for his examination of power, and Jacques Derrida who stated, “Nothing is less clear today than the word ‘archive’.”¹⁹

The term archive has extended in modern times to include other kinds of materials such as audio-visual material. Foucault conceptualized the archive as a body of knowledge comprising information and stories, totally separated from the physical space where the archive is held. For Foucault, "the archive is not merely the sum of all historical documentation produced by a culture, nor is it the institution that allows for the storage of these texts. It is rather a theoretical twin to his conception of “discursive formation”.²⁰ For Foucault “the archive does not reproduce but actually produces meaning and it is no longer a monument for future memory, but a document for possible use”.²¹

We can use the archive as a source for value, research, and knowledge, a point that was asserted by Michael Lynch who considers “the archive is never ‘raw’ or ‘primary’,” because it is always assembled to lead later investigators in a particular direction.²² In his attempt to explore the power of the archive over politics Tomas Richards, described the creation of what he calls ‘the fantasy of the

¹⁹ Derrida, J, *Archive fever*, : A Freudian Impression. Religion and Post modernism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1996.p.16

²⁰Laermans, R. &Gielen P. (2007). *Image & Narrative*: Online Magazine of the Visual Narrative.

²¹ Foucault, M. (2010). *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. New York: Vintage books1991, p. 191-192).

²²Manoff, Marlene, *Theories of the Archive from Across the Disciplines*, <http://uwf.edu/dearle/capstone/manoff.pdf>.

imperial archive'. Richards provides us with a deep insight into the literature created in England during the British Empire. In exploring the direction that archival science was taking, Richards claims that, "knowledge itself had become a weapon in the Empire's arsenal."²³

From Richard work, we see how the state attempts to manage and monopolize the information to become a means of power and control. Since the State's archive is also a source of information used by the public, the archive can be an instrument for demanding more accountability or to highlight government's corruption. Based on this, it is in the interest of the State to control the archive due to its power.

Nowadays, scholars have begun to explore the term of "archive" from a philosophical perspective, through conceptualizing the archive as a real institution, a real entity, and a real subject, with specific theories, methodologies, and practices. Thomas Richards also discusses 'the archive' as "utopian space of comprehensive knowledge... not a building, nor even a collection of texts, but the collectively imagined junction of all that was known or knowable".²⁴ Richards

²³Thomas Richards, *Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verson, 1993), p.11

²⁴ Ibid

seeks to demonstrate how “the imperial archive was a fantasy of knowledge collected and united in the service of state and Empire.”²⁵

The huge destruction that had occurred after the Second World War resulted in the loss, not just of life, but of historical and cultural institutions which motivated governments to document what remained from their memories. Authorities in the new emergent states realized that without unconstrained archives of records, there is no system in government, no plan to systematize the past, and no authority over the images of the archives. In other words, there is no power for controlling the present and the past that only exist in our imagination.²⁶ This power manifests itself in the domination over images and materials about the past, also apparent in the way that serves and legitimizes perceptions of authority – creating legitimacy for domination over their societies, through the manipulation of memory, history and knowledge that exists in the archives. According to Said, “knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control”.²⁷

From another angle, the power over the archive is embodied in guaranteeing the right to know and full accessibility to the archive as a source for knowledge. Unrestricted access requires a mutual relationship contingent on an enhanced

²⁵Ibid p. 73, 11, 6

²⁶George Orwell, http://www2.archivists.org/history/leaders/randall_jimerson/embracing-the-power-of-archives

²⁷Edward W, Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 36

social responsibility towards the archive that represents the history of majority. As Maurice Halbwachs tell us, “no memory is possible outside frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollections”.²⁸ Moreover; the power of the archive disclosed in the practices inside the archive, where the archivist decides what to remember and what to forget, what to hide and what to show, what to preserve and what to destroy, what to give access to and what to block, sanctifying certain documents while negating and destroying others. In these practices the archivist holds the power for forming one ideology, this ideology serves the authority and the powerful party through emphasizing certain values, certain ideology, certain narrative²⁹.

Archivists are keepers of memory they wield power through active management of records before they come to the archives. they starts by assessing and selecting the material, afterwards they develop descriptions. this provides them with the power to create records of definite events and exact thoughts. Through daily practices archivists name, label, and choose what to focus on in order to meet the stipulated needs, be it business, government, or personal needs. In dealing with beneficiaries, the archivist holds the power to say yes this

²⁸ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Lewis A. Coser (ed. and trans.), (Chicago, 1941, 1992), ch. 2, “Language and Memory”, p. 43.

²⁹Joan, M. Schwartz and Terry, Cook, *Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory*, *Archival Science* 2: 1–19, 2002. © 2002 Kluwer Academic Publishers. Printed in the Netherlands.

information you can use.³⁰Through their practices, the archivists can allow for one narrative to dominate over other narratives, through directing the researchers and conditions under which they examine the records. Furthermore the archivist wields power in directing and affecting the research in a way that serves the authority's point of view.

Both Schwartz and Cook assert that archivists and professionals exercise a particular kind of power, asserting that the archivists are not “hewers of wood and drawers of water,”³¹ as they are seen from the outside.³² On the contrary; they both emphasize that “archives as institutions have power above the administrative, legal, and financial liability of governments, companies, and public, and are involved in powerful public strategy discussion about the right to know, freedom of information, protection of privacy, copyright and intellectual property, legal issues and protocols for electronic commerce.”³³ This means that the archive can as a tool be used to systematically expose unhealthy power relations and shake the national narrative by those who have been neglected or marginalized.

³⁰James B. Rhoads, *The role of archiving and records managing in national information system*, 1983, General Information Program and UNISIST, p.18,19,20

³¹Ibid, Joan, M. Schwartz and Terry, Cook, *Archives, Records, and Power*.

³² Ibid

³³ Ibid

1. **The Power of the Archive in the Post-Colonial Age**

Post-colonial archives were investigated by the post-colonial theorists, who studied the subject of the archive not as profession but as institution that carries meaning. Said linked the post-colonial archive with orientalism through his emphasis that orientalism is indeed a library or archive of information commonly and, in some of its aspects, unanimously held. What bound the archive together was a family of ideas and a unifying set of values proven in several ways to be effective³⁴. In his approach Said ignored the archivist point of view through not considering the importance of records management and practices.

In the post-colonial age, the archive is a central instrument for societies that faced different kinds of conflicts, on the one hand the archive contains a plethora of narratives, stories, interviews, witnesses, documents and records, In the post colonized era, archives become one of the valuable means of controlling the narrative. It is efficiently used as a re-healing process, and support people in dealing with their past through transitional justice, truth commissions, and accountability, in the periods of transition, archive is considered as a primary data for documenting human rights violations. Secretive archive may contain clues and

³⁴Karabinos, Michael, Post Colonial Archive, 12/8/2008, <http://lis.cua.edu/res/docs/symposium/2009-symposium/Karabinos-PostColonial-Archives.pdf>, p12

evidence of truth. Moreover, in the age of national, the state building archive could be an efficient way and means to build national strategies for a development process after emancipation and liberation. Elisabeth Baumgartner, a Swiss lawyer stressed “archive is valuable for investigating of human rights violations and reconciliation.”³⁵ This was in the case of Tunisia, South Africa and especially in Cambodia where the archives have a durable power to hold the regime accountable, because they were tangible evidences for the international human rights tribunal, as revealed by the documents in the archives provided by archive director. International efforts to preserve Khmer Rouge records, which provided the basis for the correlation between indictments and documentary evidence.

The archive in the Cambodian case gave significant contribution to the establishment of truth commission, because they have epistemological validity over the testimony of survivors, as seen repeatedly throughout the tribunal. These archives are powerful tools that safeguards the truth to events that took place during the Khmer Rouge time, in addition to vital role of Cambodian archive in helping the victims to deal with their painful past, by giving voice to survivors, the archive and documents found inside became a source for legalization of their

³⁵ Baumgartner ,Elisabeth, Importance of documentation and archives in dealing with the past, 22 January 2014,<https://www.oikoumene.org/en/press-centre/news>.

stories and narratives, archivist participated in holding the Khmer Rouge accountable, initiating truth, and constructing memory and narrative.³⁶

On the other hand, the archive in a decolonizing age became a critical subject, and a point of contention between states, particularly in the period of colonization or occupation, where the power of archive exists on the table of political negotiation,. In his book *Orientalism*³⁷, Said explains how European colonists were accumulating knowledge on the regions they controlled. This knowledge grew to form a complete perception and idea of the place, which became the place itself. Later on, after emancipation from the colonizer's, the history of the colonizer remains at the colonized archive, it is a colonizer history that reflects the dehumanize action of the colonized by the colonizer, and records the act of resistance against the oppressors, For this reason colonizer state prefer to keep this information or memories secretive, and inaccessible so as to hide the truth that may be used as evidence that discloses the oppressor's crimes and violations.³⁸

Despite the fact that the archive in the colonized state is a representation of the colonizer's system, nonetheless, in most cases the colonized request the delivery of memory and history which was preserved in the colonized archive. As

³⁶Ibid

³⁷Edward W, Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978

³⁸Ibid , Karabinos, Michael, Post Colonial Archive.

a result, the original parts of the colonial system survive in the archive. The archive has settled in its place, permitting for colonialism's sustained existence and power over post-colonial societies as Derrida call it the "fever of the archive".³⁹The good example here is the French-Algerian "Dispute" over the archives of French ruled Algeria (1830–1962), the disagreement between the Algerian government and French governments on the confiscation of the archive concerning the history of French colonialism and the Algerian's long resistance, which resulted in the termination of colonization and the Algerian independence in 1962. A thousand boxes were smuggled to France two days before the independence of Algeria. Many committees formed to discuss the possibility of having copies of Algerian archive base.

The Algerian party adopted the legal texts issued by the United Nations "UN", The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization "UNESCO" and the International Symposium on Archives, which states that the right of independent States to exercise their sovereignty retroactively over the archives that have been written and preserved, based on Hague convention that underline the records under "Cultural Properties" that should be protected for its historical values.⁴⁰ In 2009 both parties signed an agreement stating that both of

³⁹Ibid

⁴⁰ Cox+, Douglas , Archive and Conflict in Armed Conflict: International Law and the Current records Iraqi Records,p8 <http://www.dcofiles.com/iraqarchives.pdf>. p. 4

them will cooperate on solving the archive issues and work on giving copies of the archive to Algerian national archive. The Algerians managed to get back only 2% of their archive. They are still fighting for taking back the rest of archive, believing historical truth might come to surface if only archival records are collected and become accessible to all. in order to support the unity and cohesion between the groups, and give meaning to their existence through shaping their national identity.⁴¹

Despite what I previously mentioned, the relationship between the archive and the truth is uncertain, particularly when in postcolonial archives. The postcolonial archives were produced to maintain cultural heritage and values of the colonizer, these memories are the representation of the people who were in power that the colonizer history over colonized land. Thus those materials contain (truth) from colonizer's perspective, and exclude the point of view of the oppressed. Post-colonial countries are preserving the colonizer's records in their national archive as their and inherit this knowledge as part their memories which forms their national identity and narrative.

The power over knowledge and truth that is hidden under the layers of the archives, reveal the complexity of the issue and raises questions of how much truth

⁴¹ الجزائر تشتري ارسيفها المسروق، عميرة، عند، 14\4\2017 <http://www.noonpost.org/content/17492> p.1-3

and objectivity does the states national archive possess, and how many facts are found inside the archive? These questions raised by post-colonial archive theorist, through arguing the common belief that archive has usually been linked with concepts of truth, authority, order, evidence, and value. This old belief confirmed that archives are the custodian of truth; archives as records which hold the absolute evidence of past acts and historical fact. But this relationship was not stable and it's changeable due to the investigations and researches that have been done on the science of the archive, and also due to the developments and requires in the last three centuries on media and records field.

Even though; the fact that the archive may not have the subjective truth, and wield power over the marginalized groups memory; but still the archive is strongly involved in forming the collective memory for communities and nations referring to both Foucault and Halbwach who admit that the archive can be a tool for hegemony that creates collective memory that assures unity and coherence of groups to construct o a unitary identity. Also as The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has similarly described archives as “an essential part of the heritage of any national community, they document the historical, cultural and economic development of a country and provide a basis for

a national identity".⁴² Thus, the link between the archive and power is very strong while archive can be utilized as a tool to search for the truth, however archives contain the truth of what happened in the past, but the truth's neutrality is an impossible mission. Even if we deal with the archive as a technical job free from the malevolent world of political concern, a job of clear description (collecting, sorting, preserving, making available, the records of the society, users of archives, historians and others), This cannot prevent the imprint and personal worldviews of archivists in descriptions, filling metadata, shapers of archives (record creators, record managers, and archivists) add layers of meaning, layers which become naturalized, internalized, and unquestioned.⁴³

After all, based on my knowledge as an archivist, I assert that the archive has absolute power, and part of the truth is there. Through my experience as a director of visual archive at the Palestinian broadcasting corporation (PBC), I practiced this kind of power on daily for instance, there is a list of restrictions on materials that have images for some figures or personalities that politically are not acceptable, so it's not allowed to air these materials during the daily schedule, or sometimes the archivists are ordered to edit some materials and cut images that

⁴²Ibid, Cox+, Douglas , *Archive and Conflict in Armed Conflict: International Law and the Current records Iraqi Records*, p8.

⁴³ Erll , Astrid," *The Power of Fiction: Novels and Films as Media of Cultural Memory*", A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies.

show political figures who have opposing political views from political leaders. On a different angle, , the archivists decide which materials to show and give to the beneficiaries, several times the archivist who is on duty doesn't want to dig deep to find new materials, so he/she finds it much easier to provide film directors or editors with the same materials and images that serve one's ideology and are easily accessible.

Finally, to reveal the role of the archive in forming the truth, it should be kept in the “right hands”, the archivists have the responsibility and the honesty needed for dealing with this memory, throughout awareness, moral and ethical values the power can be conducted and administrated in a transparent way. The actual threat is when the archive controlled by the ‘wrong hands’, where the power is used to modify the narrative, neutrality, and prevent the truth.

This chapter provides several theoretical arguments which emphasized the relation between power and the archive. In the following chapter the building on former's strength as a guard for the past. I argue that domination over memory, controls knowledge and truth, which ultimately means claiming power over narrative.

Chapter Three: Collective Memory and Archive

This chapter examines where the archive is situated in relation to collective memory. The chapter proceeds by firstly defining what do collective memory means and how has it developed. I shed the light on the growing literature that explores the relation between the field of research sides in which the archive collective memory and national narrative formulation.

The documentation of cultural materials heritage flourished in the 16th century, the world was filled with artifacts, the fine arts were exhibited everywhere in the social space making the lived space, a big museum. Cultural Heritage, memories and history of the people were preserved in this way. Hence; In many instances this heritage stayed in the hands of antiquaries, who had the authority to control this collective memory. Alternately; the non-literate communities, who regularly preserved their heritage through re-celebrating their traditional occasions, created what might be defined as (collective wisdom). These rituals allowed the group to for keep their tribal myths and legends alive. Through these myths, they learned enduring truths about themselves in remote time. In addition, consolidated a sense of collective memory, which kept them strong and unified in hard times.⁴⁴

⁴⁴Taylor, Hugh A. (Winter 1982). *"The Collective Memory: Archives and Libraries As Heritage"* (PDF). *Archivaria* (15): 128.

In the 19th century humanity started to deal with documentation as a means for preserving the cultural heritage of social groups which became component for forming a public consciousness towards the archives as a collective memory. The destruction that occurred during several wars in the twentieth century and the dissemination of radio, newsreels, posters and the coming of television and automation afterward have increased the sense of collective memory and national narrative to extent in which it became a need for each independent state.

In post-colonial communities such as Ireland or India the role of archive as a collective memory is problematic and full of contradictions, it revealed questions on how this kind of archive which documented the colonizer's history and values can be the national collective memory of the colonized voiceless and oppressed people. In what ways have these records and voices of the oppressor portray the victims suffering and narrative? And how can the oppressed nation depend on this archive to build and construct a national narrative and identity?

Jeanette Bastian tries to answer the above questions explaining that archives can provide the keys. If the researcher recognizes that records have both a text and a subtext, that records are both evidence and action, and behind the record lies the trace.⁴⁵ She has consolidated a concept of “whispers in the archives,” which “relies

⁴⁵Ibid, Karabinos, Michael "*The Role of National Archives in the Creation of National Master Narratives in Southeast Asia*".

on discovering the words or actions of the colonized.”⁴⁶ So, reading the archive is essential to know about history, and digging deep in the layers of archival documents is the only way to investigate and to gain knowledge that is needed for constructing the national narrative and memory.⁴⁷

The notion of archives as a reflection on collective memory is often employed as a metaphor for arguing the social and cultural function of the archives. Some scholars found that collective memory is more than a metaphor, and have developed the concept to have its own theories, which views the archive as a means of expanding the temporal and spatial zone of communication. Archives convey knowledge and information in order to prolong memory that is passed from one generation to another. Archives guarantee that this memory is preserved and transformed from individual to individual, from place to place for prolonged periods.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Ibid

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸Ibid E. Foot ,Kennth, *To Remember and Forget: Archives, Memory, and Culture*, American Archivist / Vol. 53 / Summer 1990.

3.1 What is collective Memory?

Collective memory as a concept that is explored by many scholars. This concept tends to be understood as a set of social representations concerning the past. Each group produces, institutionalizes, guards, and transmits ideas through the interaction of its members. It should be clear that every member in a society is a contributor to the groups' cultural heritage, which is passed it to future generations, in order to retain his continuation and representation and narrative.⁴⁹

The collective consciousness debate was explored by Emile Durkheim who stated, “Societies require continuity and connection with the past to preserve social unity and cohesion”.⁵⁰ He argues that “collective thought required individuals to physically join together to create a common experience that was shared by the group.”⁵¹ Halbwach who is a student of Durkheim was the first sociologist to use the term (collective memory). Halbwach’s theory investigates that personal memories are induced within social system and social components for instance (language, family, religious group, and social class). He considered “that

⁴⁹E. Wells, Miriam Maurice Halbwachs, On Collective Memory, Lewis A. Coser, trans. Chicao: University of Chicago Press, 1992. <http://people.umass.edu/mewells/Halbwachs.pdf>

⁵⁰ Ibid, p.19

⁵¹ Ibid

individual private memory is understood only through a group's context; these groups may include families, organizations, and nation-states.”⁵²

Halbwach argues, “Only individual memories that are not constructed through the groups' context are images from dreams. Individuals organize and understand events and concepts within a social context, thus they then remember them in a way that 'rationally' orders and organizes them through the same social construction.”⁵³ Halbwach published his first book on collective memory, (*The Social Frameworks of Memory*), in 1925.⁵⁴ Through his book he pointed out that collective memory consists from both the group memory and collective memory. He identified that our memories are unconscious and become conscious only when they are revived, so there is no mean for any archived memory without a useful purpose for it. ⁵⁵

Halbwach asserts that social “frameworks” which give those memories meaning and value form individual memories. It also confirms that memory is the main element that facilitates our social life in a group, and it forms their collective memory. The type of collective memory is distinct from one social framework. The procedure of remembering influences and composes the collective memory.

⁵²Ibid

⁵³ Memorial world, Just another WordPress.com site,2012,<https://memorialworlds.com/>

⁵⁴ Ibid Erll, Astrid. *Memory in Culture*. p.14

⁵⁵ Tolkken,Heid: *Collective Memory in a Post-Apocalyptic World: Reading Alden Bell'sThe Reapers Are the Angels*,2014,p8

Individual memory cannot work alone without interaction within a collective environment and it is always selective⁵⁶.

Jedlowski who is an Italian sociologist identifies memory as “the human faculty of preserving certain traces of the past experience and having access to these – at least in part – through recall.”⁵⁷ In his article, "memory and sociology" Jedlowski explains the word ‘memory’ in everyday and academic language refers to an enormous set of events that is not totally harmonized. For Jedlowski “What we call ‘memory’ is a complex network of activities, the study of which indicates that the past never remains ‘one and the same’.”⁵⁸

Jedlowski quotes Frederic C. Bartlett who is a British scholar and the first professor of experimental psychology. His book *Remembering* (1932) was the most famous study, which demonstrated the constructive nature of memory. Bartlett argues that our memories are social to a degree that codify points of view on the basis of their meanings. Additionally, Bartlett determines that in general the recollections that people have of exact events are affected by the different

⁵⁶ Ibid, Hall Memorial world, Just another WordPress.com site,2012,<https://memorialworlds.com>.

⁵⁷ Paolo Jedlowski, “Memory and Sociology Themes and Issues,” *Time & Society* 10, no. 1 (March 1, 2001): 29–44,.

⁵⁸ Ibid

“recollections” that cover the same events. For this reason; remembering is composed and stabilized within association among the social groups.⁵⁹

After reviewing deferent and several definitions by numbers of scholars, most of them refer collective memory to how groups remember their past, claiming that collective memory cannot flourish or preserve without its social context, through the interaction between the members of one group the connection and continuity of the past enhanced and live. In the Palestinian context, their collective memory played strong role in forming Palestinian narrative and sense of belonging, the Palestinian through keeping their traumatic history alive they managed to serve the idea of imagined community that enhanced their unity and coherence after they forced to flee their homeland.

3.2 Archive and Collective Memory

The link between memory and the archive is not possible without arguing the role of archive in transmitting the message. In Assmann's argument, he clarified the dynamics of individual memory, which consists in a permanent relation and interaction between remembering and forgetting. “In order to remember some things, other things must be forgotten”⁶⁰, for him archive is the

⁵⁹Ibid

⁶⁰Aleida Assman, Canon and Archive ,The Dynamics of Cultural Memory between Remembering and Forgetting.

institution of this passive memory. In order to understand this aspect of collective memory, it is essential to explore history and role of the archive in constructing collective memory. According to a famous statement by the French philosopher Foucault quoted by A. Assmann, “the archive is the law that determines what can be said”,⁶¹ or it’s the future of the present as it will be our past. Therefore, A. Assmann considers the act of remembering is exceptional and requires preservation and protection. For A. Assaman it is important to deal with the archive as a central institution that allow us to discover the history and knowledge in relation to the past. Through the function of the archive, we can understand the dimension of cultural memory.⁶²

In the archive, those collected materials have a special organizational structure and system, where those materials are preserved and categorized. In this case, these materials become sourced as part of the passive dimension of cultural memory. Those materials should be available and accessible, therefore; it needs to be interpreted by an academic researcher or an artist who study the contents of the archive, and to recover the knowledge and the information. This can be done by structuring it within a new framework to be a reference for the memory of a society, and dig deep to recover the hidden and undiscovered stories. By

⁶¹Ibid

⁶² Ibid

investigating, the content of the archive one can provide a historical record of a group's collective consciousness.

Memories of the past are distinguished by their power to shape the collective imagination of the past. Those versions of the past circulate among large numbers of individuals in the same society, and even at the international level. While archive memory has the power and potential to generate and shape images of the past, that will be preserved by whole generations, this memory travels across centuries and even become themselves objects of remembrance, which create different kind of representations, and different forms of cultural remembering in the public.⁶³ In this regard, Halbwachs confirms that archives are a vital part of the social intellectual frameworks. Remembering or reconstructing our past not only by initiating historical research on archival records, but through the claim about the past, which is formed within the social and cultural understanding.⁶⁴

3.3 Narrative and Collective Memory

Narratives are central mediators through which we interpret and give sense to historical events; we offer reasonable explanations for orientating our actions towards future goals and articulate collective memory of communities and

⁶³ Ibid

⁶⁴ Ibid, Aleida , Assman, *Canon and Archive*.

individuals.⁶⁵ In addition, the contents and the stories inside the archive represent the human aspect in relation to the suffering of the people. It links these stories to exact places where events happened in the past, this relationship constitute the group's collective memory. This collective memory is constructed through documenting and archiving personal testimonies of the victims who suffered from several kinds of conflicts, while narrating their story they linked the historical traumatic events to form a narrative. This provides meaning and interpretation for a better understanding of their past. Preserving the past enhances the act of remembering and the object of memory. By giving voice to memory, we allow more imaginations and more possibilities to arise.⁶⁶

The significance of narrative in shaping collective memory has been one of the subjects that was examined by scholars and academics. Brockmeier & Harare, 2001; Bruner, 1986; Edwards & Potter, 1992 view narrative “as a means of which human beings give meaning to their experience of temporality and personal actions, and consequently, as cultural frameworks for understanding the past events of one's life and for planning the future”.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Bresco, Ignacio, Giving National Form to the Content of the Past
A Study of the Narrative Construction of Historical Event, 2008, Vol. 1 (1), 1 - 13 1 Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, p2.

⁶⁶ Ibid

⁶⁷ Polkinghorne, D. E. (1988). Narrative knowing and the Human Sciences. Albany: State University of New York Press.p.11

As in Bresco article there is always more than one narrative in conflict zones. Each part usually decides the approach in which the creation, the evolution and the outcome of the conflict is reviewed and formed. The narratives based on the past events are usually being reinterpreted to make the experience of the past related to present life and influences the shaping of our collective memory. In addition, in a democratic state, it is possible to have more than one narrative. Each narrative has components that construct and form that narrative. In the archive all narrative are preserved and stored, through acknowledging that all narratives are in national archive, the authorities participating in constructing the national collective memory including all the marginalized groups, giving this democratic paradigm the power to exist can surely participate in forming the truth about the past. As well permitting the public to access the archive freely can increase historical researches and academic writing about the history and interpreting the past as “multiple narrative frames lead us to multiple meanings, within multiple narrative perspectives from which an event can be viewed”.⁶⁸.

In his imagined communities, Anderson argues that a nation emerges through the use of wide range of symbolic elements like the flag, traditional songs, music films, and rhetorical design the abstract idea of a nation’⁶⁹, all those elements contributes to the making of an "imagined community" among the enter

⁶⁸ Ibid, Bresco, Ignacio, Giving National Form to the Content of the Past. p 8

⁶⁹ Anderson ,Benedict ,Imagined community .1983

entire population. Though, the idea of a nation as an imagined body is not only represented and circulated through these symbolic resources, I argue that historical narratives are a significant element of making and solidifying nations as a collective entity.⁷⁰

Each nation has its historical justification for its narrative, appropriating certain components of its history to consolidate its national narrative, for this reason in most national narratives the imagined communities are presented and produced in different forms, thus, nations write their narratives based on their own historical events. In fact, it is one of the important ways that is used to convey a certain nationalist argument, which justifies and explain why certain historical events are selected and constructed.⁷¹

Finally, collective memory reflects the national narrative of a people represented through their stories. These stories are shared and become part of the collective narrative, while most of the individuals in the same communities passed through the same historical events, they shared the same cultures, so the collectivity values in heritage, and history is there in the archive.

To conclude, it is clear that the archive is the carrier of a collective memory. This carrier holds stories, events, and is a witness on past events sometimes it

⁷⁰ Ibid

⁷¹ Ibid Anderson, B. (1983).

includes legends and myths. All these elements consist of our memories about our past.

This chapter examines the work of scholars in an attempt to explain and clarify how collective memory is constructed. Furthermore, the archive is the main source and reference for historical knowledge and information. This chapter explores how the archive as a form of collective memory can be used by nations to produce a national narrative. In the following chapter, I argue on the role of the archive in relation to national identity.

Chapter Four: Archive and National Identity

This chapter examines national identity, by introducing the reader to the different aspects and definitions of cultural memory. It also explores how memory contributes to cultural identity construction and eventually national identity formation.

National identity refers to the individual's sense of affiliation to one group or community in regards to history, culture, tradition, values and beliefs. Archive is one component of nation collective memory, which is considered to shape the construction of national, social, and cultural identities. Hence, national identity is a symbolic structure, which formulates the insight that a national group and individuals have about the world, in order to shape their identity. For the (individual) he or she has to put the criteria, which distinguishes his or her identity from the others. The same criteria identifies a nation, for instance common origin, language, and traditions. Based on this it is extremely important to examine the central links between history and memory in order to understand a group how it construct its national identity.

The 19th century has shaped the concept of identity, when ethnic and national issues became one of the main interests of social sciences. Several new-trends and theoretical approaches came out. In historiography, we observe the increased emergence of identity politics from the 1970s to the 1980s. Cultural entities were no longer perceived as objective, monolithic and restricted.

Anthropological studies questioned the unity of political, linguistic and cultural borders. Therefore, they contested the very subsistence of discrete socio-cultural entity.⁷²

The construction of national identity starts from the historical evolvement of a social into group a nation, the creation of national identity is a continuous process. Only recently, did archival theory acknowledge the significance of archives as a collective memory in forming and understanding identity. To a certain extent, the notion of archives and its participation in understanding identity has been veiled and only articulated through other domains like “evidence,” “memory,” “history” and “heritage”. Aleida Assmann stated, “it is only since then that the connection between time, identity, and memory in their three dimensions of the personal, the social, and the cultural has become more and more evident”⁷³

⁷² Memory and Identity. An overview, sharing European Memory t School file:///C:/Memory_identity_overview.pdf.

⁷³ Huiling, Feng , Identity and archives: return and expansion of the social value of archives Published online, 17 November 2016 © Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht.

4.1. Cultural Memory and Identity

“A cultural memory is the faculty that allows us to build a narrative picture of the past. Through this process develops an image and an identity for ourselves”,⁷⁴The term “Cultural memory”, has been consolidated by Jan Assmann, a one component of collective memory, which is based on common values that brings a group of people together and reflects the group's collective cultural identity.

Assmann gives six elements of cultural memory with nexus to group identity, "power to restructure the past, institutionalization or formalization, organized ways of practice, adapting a system of values for cultural knowledge, and reflexivity toward its practices, self and its image".⁷⁵ Through these characters, Assmann confirms the strong relation of collective memory with the sphere of traditions, diffusion, and transferences, which he includes under the term (cultural memory).⁷⁶In addition, he persists on including the cultural sphere, he suggests giving more importance to those things that are considered as reminders for the groups' memory, like monuments, museums, libraries, archives, and other

⁷⁴Meckien Richard, Cultural memory: the link between past, present, and future, published Jun 03, 2013, <http://www.iea.usp.br/en/news/cultural-memory-the-link-between-past-present-and-future>

⁷⁵Assman, Jan. 1995. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." Trans. John Czaplicka. *New German Critique* 65, Spring-Summer: 130-132.

⁷⁶ Ibid

mnemonic institutions, in order to be able to re-materialize in the group cultural memory. Additionally, he urges us to consider the historical consciousness as “memory”, which is not abstract information about the past that has been written by an anthropologist or a historian, but knowledge of the past, which was attained. Purpose of memory and which is connected to a national identity. In the archive, those materials have special organizational structure and system, where those materials are preserved and categorized; in this case, these materials become a source of the passive dimension of cultural memory, helps individuals position themselves in time, and stands for the active memory of each community. This memory supports and defines the cultural identity of a group.⁷⁷

In her attempt to figure out the role of the archive in preserving collective memory, Astrid Erll confirms that “Cultural memory is constituted by a host of different media, operating within various symbolic systems: religious texts, historical painting, historiography, TV documentaries, monuments, and commemorative rituals”⁷⁸. Each of these categories has its exact approach of remembering and this leaves its print on the cultural memory, which creates a sense of cultural identity.

⁷⁷Ibid , Collective Memory in a Post-Apocalyptic World: Reading Alden Bell's *The Reapers Are the Angels*.

⁷⁸ Erll, Astrid, "*The Power of Fiction: Novels and Films as Media of Cultural Memory*" ,A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies

4.2. The Construction of Cultural Identity

Examining the subject of the archive and its relation to identity also becomes very popular among post modern scholars; this interest lies in the expansion of archival theory that connects the archive with knowledge and identity.⁷⁹ This relation adds more value to archive theory as components of collective memory and collective identity. One of those scholars is Terry Cook a Canadian archivist and researcher summarized that “the notions of archives, history, memory, identity is interlinked with archives, taking a prominent role controlling and directing how we remember, how we forget, and how we and others see ourselves. Cook clearly described the natural connection between archives and identity.

"While the maintenance of government accountability and administrative continuity, the protection of personal rights are still recognized as important principles for archives, the major justification for archives to the majority of users, and to the public at large rests on archives being able to offer citizens sense of identity, locality, history, culture, and collective memory".⁸⁰

⁷⁹Ibid, JOAN M. Schwartz and Terry Cook.

⁸⁰ Ibid

They confirm the power of archive in identity construction as well as the function of archivists in controlling and formulating identity. As stated, “Archivists are major players in the business of identity politics⁸¹. Archivists appraise, collect, and preserve the props with which notions of identity can be built. In turn, notions of identity are confirmed as historical documents are validated. They became the 'evidence' on which the collective narrative is built. ⁸²

Based on what I mentioned above archives are known as an indivisible and central element of national identity Ernest Gellner contends that national identity is not something that we are born with, and which stimulates our consciousness in the current time to a certain extent. The value of the archive to identity formulation is recognized through the role archives have in constructing, rebuilding and strengthening collective memory. To guarantee that archives can give legitimate and sufficient foundation to citizens' identity formulation. Archival systems should cover a wide range of the social sphere to maintain its legitimacy and authority. Archive should guarantee the rights of citizens in accessing the archives and to provide support to marginalized group. ⁸³

⁸¹ Ibid

⁸²Brown, Caroline, Memory, identity and the archival paradigm: introduction to the special issue, *Archival science*, one 2013, Volume 13, Issue 2–3, pp 85–93.

⁸³Huiling, Feng , Identity and archives: return and expansion of the social value of archives Published online, 17 November 2016 © Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht.

Jeannette Bastian examines and writes about societies memories, in her research; she links collective memory with identity. She concludes:

*“Our cultural archive merge between past and present, places, cultural records and the difference between narrative and counter-narrative, colonial and post-colonial. This supports collective memory and collective identity as it embraces a comprehensive societal source that believes in all the elements that are essential for the full societal record”.*⁸⁴

Bastian also affirms that recording cultural activities and events, with all its details and rituals enhance and represent different sides of the collective community and identity. Bastian sees these events as records that function within asocial framework, they construct, and convey content that form a national identity. In a democratic states marginalized people are integrated in national narrative through strengthening their sense of belonging through remembering their past, which makes their present, and future a national identity.

In this regard, Assmann confirms that "Collective Identity" is a reflection of "collective memory" which consists of historical background that we reclaim as ours. Archives give life to history and are a means for identity construction. The importance of collective memory and Identity was acknowledge by who believe

⁸⁴ Ibid ,Ketelaarm, Eric, Sharing ,(2005), p. 44-61

that archives, history, memory and identity are tangled and linked.⁸⁵ Ketelaar one of the scholars who explore this tangled relationship. Based on the two broadly accepted views: the first one is that identity and collective memory are obviously connected to each other. Ketelaar confirms that “as with individual identity, collective identity is based on memories, but collective memory also needs collective will and collective interests.

“The cohesion of collective identity must be sustained through time, through a collective memory, through lived and shared traditions, through the sense of a common past and heritage”.⁸⁶

For him the collective memory is formed to some extent by the experiences fashioned within these shifting frameworks, and this mainly contributes to the formulation of a sense of identity.

Brothman who is a historian agreed with Ketelaar on his holistic point view towards the relation between memory and identity, he argues that memory can sometimes become as ‘home’ and that retuning back at the history can engage all surrounded circumstances and emotional feeling in addition to ‘psychological and social processes of identity formation’. For Brothman, "Archives function as

⁸⁵ones, S. 1996. Discourses of identity in the interpretation of the past [in] Graves – Brown, P. Jones, S. and C. Gamble ed. Cultural identity and archaeology. The construction of European Communities .

⁸⁶ Ibid

agents of political continuity and social solidarity, helping their respective societies to manage to hang together over time by serving as important self-affirming symbols of community identity and memory".⁸⁷

Despite many opinions that assert the strong relationship between the archive memory and identity. however; this relation is critically examined by several researchers like Daniel J. Caron, and Andreas Kellerhals, both of them have similar points of view and perceptions in relation to the role of the archive in identity building. They believe that “archives are not directly linked to identity because identity is mainly shaped, formed, rebuilt or embraced by collective memory.”⁸⁸ Thus, collective memory is the bridge between archives and identity, which makes it possible to identify the significance of archives in identity and offer information and materials for citizens to build their identity.

They both confirm that archives are a ‘form of artificial memory’, both researcher highlight one of the weaknesses points in the archive theory and its role in identity construction, and that is it's selectively in constructing and articulating national history in current time. Through this selectivity, the national identity is shaped to serve the requirements, aims of nation, this attitude can create social

⁸⁷Ibid ,Brown, Caroline, Jun 2013

⁸⁸J. Caron, Daniel, Kellerhals, Andreas Archiving for self-ascertainment, identity-building and permanent self-questioning: archives between scepticism and certitude, <https://www.infona.pl/resource/bwmeta1.element.springer-7808d57e-99ff-311e-b924-adad269c889d>

tension, and ethnic conflict, in this case, the idea of identity has been politicized as Brothman mentioned.⁸⁹It also confirms Dr. Issam Nasser's point who considers the selectivity in some national archive as the real obstacle that face the construction of national identity. It also steers the public into a uniform national narrative.⁹⁰Daniel J. Caron, and Andreas Kellerhals consider national identity not as a biological one, for that reason national identity is not something that is fixed and fashioned by nature or determined by biological elements. It is national identification like any other type of identity, constantly in process and changeable according to political requirements.

After all, that I mentioned above, it is clear that the role and nexus between archive, collective memory and identity is very strong. Each concept works as a mirror to others. Furthermore, the role of archivists themselves is very vital; archivists have the responsibility to keep the memories protected and safe.

In my profession as in a national institution, I recognize more than anyone else, the importance of archive in identity and narrative formation. The archivist has the power to select the data that is tandem with the national narrative to be stored in the archive as well as hide the information that goes against the approved national narrative. The archive is a record for identity development, it recodes

⁸⁹ Ibid, Brown, Caroline Memory, Jun 2013

⁹⁰Nassar, Issam, Interview, 10\11\2017, 7pm

documents and all identity elements whether it is rituals, heritage, customs, beliefs, and tradition. Thus what is hidden in the archive can be the voice of the hidden groups, the marginalized, and the victimizes. These groups might not have been heard and are forgotten if we as archivists do not help in disclosing their narratives.

To conclude, I highlight the role of the archive that is manifested in activating diverse components of the national identity. Furthermore, the chapter examine ways in which the archive has contributed to the reconstruction of the individual's perception in relation to the past. It also examines how a unified collective memory became part the national identity. This illuminated in the coming chapter when examining how memory has helped in the crystallization of international awareness and legitimacy rights of the Palestinians against Israeli aggression. In addition, it clarified provides how `Palestinians depend on their visual memory in forming their national narrative that reflects their national identity.

Chapter Five: The Story of Palestinian Visual Archive

As Palestinians, we share a collective memory. The Palestinian “collective memory” plays an essential role in institutionalizing consolidating a Palestinian narrative, which built on crucial moments of the past, which effect the Palestinian people to this day. Palestinian identity cannot be separated from the memory of important events that shaped the Palestinian collective memory and became a constant reminder of the different attempts to destroy the Palestinian identity. The importance of collective memory as a guardian of a society’s or country’s identity should be reflected in preserving and protecting those memories- a responsibility that falls on the shoulders of individuals, as civil and governmental institutions. This is more pressing in order to confront the Zionist narrative, which worked diligently to promote the ‘Promised Land’ as the rightful home to all Jews over the word.

The Zionist leadership was fully aware of the importance of creating visual elements among the Jewish people to increase Jewish ties and a sense of belonging to “their” Promised Land. As Sela asserts,

“Photography and films helped constitute both a colonial and national terminology; and the way nationality “invented” itself visually in relation to parallel phenomena prevalent in the world at the time in Russia, Germany, the United States, these systematic

practices give the Zionist narrative the legacy that have legitimized Israel's founding in the Western views".⁹¹

Contrary to this approach, Palestinians were working for individual and commercial purposes, being non-organized and nonpolitical until late 1940s. Different Palestinian filmmakers and photographers, as well as international news agencies were motivated by individual desire: taking and showing a clear political stands, to explore the Jewish-Palestinian conflict, and recording its consequences⁹². Since that time, Palestinians have become politicized as a result of Zionist movement threat. Consequently, the Palestinian have invested more efforts in consolidation a national identity.

In 1948, the aggression against the Palestinian people continued through systematic and organized attacks, which were carried out by the Zionist movement against the Palestinians. Those attacks aimed at the ethnic cleansing and destruction of Palestinian entity, their cities and villages, the Zionist armed forces sought to destroy cinema studios, photography studios, libraries, and archives. This approach intended to demolish and erase anything that contradicts with the Zionist national narrative, as well as to hide any evidence of their violent practices against the Palestinian people who were forced to flee their homeland. Through hiding,

⁹¹Sela, Rona, Made Public - Palestinian Photographs in Military Archives in Israel, 2009 (curator, book)

⁹² Ibid

looting, and destroying all the documents and recordings. The colonial power intended to erase any witnesses or proof of the existence of the indigenous people, who have been historically living in their homeland -Palestine- with deep history since its inception. The state of Israel worked diligently to prove that the history of this land is only connected to Jewish people, these efforts has started with the Zionist movement and continues to this days.⁹³

This approach is common among most colonial powers. For instance, most of the documents related to the British occupation in India are preserved in the British Empire archive with limitations on accessing them, while some documents continue to be closed off to the public.

The same can be seen in Ireland with the establishment of the national library during the British occupation. All the documents preserved in the library are from the British occupation period while anything related to the period before the colonial domination is not recorded or documented in an attempt to prove that the history of the colonized country started with the colonial existence .⁹⁴

The first serious attempts to document and visualize the Palestinian struggle took place during the 1960s and 1970s. In this period, Palestinians have exhibited growing awareness to their national identity, and started developing their own

⁹³Nassar, Issam, *الموروث الثقافي، وسرقة الموروث الثقافي*, <http://refugeesps.net/post/4580http>, 12\22017.

⁹⁴ Ibid , Karabinos, Michael Post(-)Colonial Archives ,12/8/2008,p14

political and cultural identity as a nation that can be clearly differentiated from other neighboring Arabic countries,⁹⁵

During that time, Palestinian refugees were became more sensitive about their national identity. They started working on changing Arab perception, which accused the Palestinians of selling their own land, and blaming the Palestinian for not resisting enough and they opt to leave their own homeland without a struggle. For these reasons, the Palestinians searched whatever available materials strengthen their past. At that time, Palestinian refugees searched for their roots, memory, and a shared past in order to strengthen their own national identity through preserving their visual memory and strengthening their cultural identity. Palestinians from the same villages or cities came together, preferring to be in the same camps to keep their memory alive and preserve the shared experience.⁹⁶

In 1976, the visual archive department was established with the launching of the Films Unit. This was a concrete step that showed awareness towards the importance of creating images and symbols, as well as debunking the myths as part of the national identity reconstruction. The films' archive was a political archive for a revolutionary cinema, preserving not only the films but also the images that reflect the Palestinian people's everyday lives. This notion was very successful in

⁹⁵ Ibid, Alkhaldi, Rahid

⁹⁶Bader, Liana , Personal interview,10\10\2017.

representing a stateless people in exile, who were more usually represented by western news footage or by the colonizer's lenses and perspectives. However, six years after its establishment, the archive was lost during the 1982 siege of Beirut.⁹⁷

The ambiguous fate of the archive and the consequent search journey started immediately after 1982. Despite all the pursuit at all levels and which were led by national and civil society institutions alongside international ones over different periods, there are lots of missing sections still. Numerous photographs and visual archives were damaged, looted, or have vanished. For the last two decades, mainly after the establishment of the Palestinian Authority (PNA), many efforts have been exerted by different parties and on different levels to recollect and gather the missing chapters of their history that were stolen and hidden in Israeli archives or were spread across the world as a result of the Israeli war against the Palestinians. Sela asserts this fact in many of her articles.

After Oslo Accord, the Palestinian interest in preserving and collecting the Palestinian visual archive as part of the Palestinian collective memory has increased in both the West Bank and Gaza strip and outside Palestine. This interest comes as a result of the several elements that draw the attention to the subject: first of which is nation-building with the need to preserve Palestinian roots and increase the bond with the past. In this way, the state reaffirms its existence as an

⁹⁷ Ibid

independent political entity. The second element is the fragmentation in Palestinian national identity between returnees and residents, as well between Fatah and Hamas, with the political identity influencing and shaping the national identity. Lastly, Palestinian recognition of the Israeli state by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) means acknowledging and accepting the Israeli narrative that stands in contradiction with the Palestinian experience of the conflict.

The forefront through narrating my 20-year professional experience in the field of archive. Through documenting this experience, I investigate the role of Palestinian institutions in preserving and protecting the Palestinian visual memory in their attempt to build their national state, including their areas of success and failure, as well as the extent of power the Palestinian visual archive possesses. I explore the role of national institutions like the Palestinian Ministry of Culture (MOC), Palestine Public Broadcasting Corporation (PBC), and the National Archive in protecting and preserving the visual archive, alongside the role of civil society intuitions, as well as the role that has been played by international actors.

5.1 The Role of National institutions

5.1.1 Ministry of Culture

Talking about the subject of Palestinian visual archive is part of talking about the Palestinian history and cultural identity. The idea of building the Palestinian state emerged as a result of signing the Oslo Accord in 13/ 9/1993. The Palestinian Ministry of Culture is one of the national institutions that have a vital role in constructing and forming the Palestinian national and cultural identity. One of its goals is to enhance and revive the components of the Palestinian cultural identity. Visual archive is one of these components, but it was not priority of the Ministry since the priority was to create a cultural infrastructure and activate the cultural life in Palestine.

Throughout my work in the Department of Cinema of the Ministry of Culture in Ramallah, we strived to collect the Palestinian visual archive, including the resistance archive of the PLO, which was kept by the PLO's Department of Cultural in Tunisia where the PLO institutions relocated after being forced to leave Lebanon.

At the beginning of my work, I was responsible for the archive file. Through my daily work, I noticed that there was high ambition and desire to construct a national cultural atmosphere, and establish an infrastructure that is capable of

advancing the cultural scene in Palestine (the West Bank and Gaza Strip). The Ministry staff included a combination of local residents and returnees, the latter of whom were part of PLO institution and considered their work in the Ministry of Culture as a continuation of their work at the PLO Cultural Department in Tunisia. Among them was Liana Bader, the chief of the Art Directorate from 1994 until 2009. She was certain that the main role of the Ministry in its beginning was to create spiritual ties among the Palestinians, and to embody the collective consciousness towards their cultural identity based on deep spiritual values. For that reason, the archive section was established, as well as many initiatives were conducted in order to establish a visual national archive. ⁹⁸

Mahmoud Roka, who is the director of the cinema department in the Gaza Strip, verifies that the Palestinian Visual Archive brought to the Gaza strip with the return of the PLO in 1994 with the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority in accordance with the Oslo Accords. This archive was part of the PLO Department of Culture based in Tunisia.⁹⁹The PLO archive contained films produced by directors from Arab states such as Egypt, Algeria, Yemen, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. In addition, the archive included the films produced by foreign directors, alongside the materials produced by Arabic and international TV channels about Palestinian cause and struggles. These materials consist of films,

⁹⁸Bader, Liana , Personal, Interview, 22/10/2017

⁹⁹Roka,Mahmoud,Interview,24\10\2017.

video reports and television series on the Palestinian cause, representing the life and struggle of the Palestinian people. The archive contained materials in the format of 16MM and 35MM films, video recordings, and Beta cam.¹⁰⁰

From her end, Bader states “After Oslo Accord we first returned to the Gaza strip. The PLO offices shipped all their materials and possessions altogether without any details or an exact address, so I went through Palestinian military offices looking for the archive and other properties until I found it among the possessions of one military group. I took them and submitted them to the Ministry of Culture - Gaza Quarter, the purpose of establishing the Palestinian national archive. There was well-built coordination between MOC in Ramallah and the Gaza branch; we brought films and screened them in schools multiple times.”¹⁰¹ She adds, “Through my work at the ministry, I insisted to activate the visual archive file because I was aware of its values. This interest was a reflection of my cultural background. In fact, I became more involved in the cultural scene when I was living in Lebanon. I worked as a journalist in AL Hurriya Magazine, writing about revolutionary films. I was also part of the Department of Culture in the PLO in Tunisia. I was not directly responsible for the archive, but I possessed the awareness and cultural consciousness that allowed me to deal with it in its

¹⁰⁰Al, Dabg, Omer, the director of Engineering Department in the MOC who was responsible for the archive in PLO culture department in Tunisia ,telephonic interview,25\10\207.

¹⁰¹Ibid

broad significance as a source of knowledge and power As per Foucault and Derrida. Derrida wrote about archives in the past few decades, and stated, "The archive has become more than a stuffy, dusty collection of records that only historians can peruse".¹⁰²

“In the case of Palestine, you can see clearly the role that visual archive has at several stages of the Palestinian history. One example, the film archive in Beirut had a functional mission that was embedded in providing film makers with materials needed for their films, as well as documenting the Palestinian trauma from within. In Beirut, we were required to prove our national identity all times; there was a civil awareness and a cultural identity. Bader affirms we were also required to reaffirm our identity among the conflicting cultural communities. In 1994, after the establishment of PNA, the Palestinian Ministry of Culture (MOC) had different goals; one of which was to deepen the Palestinian identity and linking it to its past. Bader explains after returning to Palestine, the need for enhancing the Palestinian sense of cultural identity became very clear, taking into consideration that most of the Palestinians were living in a rural society. This meant that land was the main component of their cultural and national identity, especially with the permanent cultural siege imposed by Israeli occupation. This siege has strengthened the Palestinians’ bond with their land, and has created a significant

¹⁰²Ibid, Karabinos, Michael Post(-)Colonial Archives ,12/8/2008, p14

relationship with it. There was a real need to enrich the Palestinian cultural identity by reviving its components, and exploring the past of the Palestinians through reconstructing the collective cultural memory in order to enhance Palestinians' sense of cultural identity".¹⁰³

"The visual archive in MOC-Gaza was very organized, properly labeled, categorized, mostly digitized, and well preserved. The archive was a main reference for press agencies, with many raw materials copied and given to them. We tended to make the visual archive accessible to all. The archiving conditions were stable and hardly changing until 2006, when Hamas won the legislative elections and a new Palestinian government was formed. When Dr. Attallah Abu Asabh was appointed as the Minister of Culture, a new Director General of the minister's office was also appointed. After the ministry employees refused to work under the Hamas government, the archive remained under the ministry's control and I assumed responsibility of it. The archive was not destroyed but it was not stored properly".¹⁰⁴

Bader continues, "In 2009, the state of the archive was at its worst following the Israeli war on the Gaza strip which lasted 22 days. Consequently, the decision makers in the Ministry decided to move the archive to multiple undisclosed places.

¹⁰³Ibid , Bader, Liana

¹⁰⁴Al Massri ,Izz El Deen, office director for the minister of culture 2004-2008, Telephonic Interview,20\11\2017.

I am confident that they moved it randomly without paying any attention to preservation standards and conditions. It remained in its covert locations until 2016. By the start of 2017, the director of Cinema department Roka was informed that the archive was now stored in a small studio run by a follower of Hamas. He was also informed that they tried to digitize it in order to save what it was left of it”.¹⁰⁵

5.1.2 Palestine T.V.

This is what an American director Goodman told me during his visit to the archive of Palestine T.V while searching for images of Yasser Arafat {this is your context start with it and state “Through your work, you are participating in building the Palestinian national identity. You are doing a great job. You remind me of what I used to do with my children, taking photos of them, and putting them in albums. These photos will be their memory of the past. This is what they will remember. The stories around these pictures will be in their mind; these memories are their past, present and future. This is what forms their personal identity.” He asked for images that reflect his personality and heroism. He went on telling me that he had access to several important archives like the White House archive and Bill Clinton’s archive, but none of those images of Arafat reflect his needs and

¹⁰⁵Roka, Mahmoud, The director of Cinema department, MOC, Telephonic Interview, 1\10\2017

meet his expectations. He continued to say that the images that he saw had been taken by an American photographer, representing his point of view and his perspective. The images that he saw had been taken from an angle or a position that represents the power and narrative of its creator.¹⁰⁶His explanation and words motivated me to keep going on, despite all the obstacles that I face in my daily work. His words sent me back to the beginning when I started my work in the PBC as director of audiovisual archive in 2009 after the coup in the Gaza Strip. The PBC started broadcasting from the Ramallah office, which became the PBC's main quarter. PBC had to fill the gap in the public media that was left after Hamas took over the PBC quarter in the Gaza Strip. The Ramallah office had to provide full broadcast with 24-hour coverage. As a result, the office went through a process of development that entailed all sections of the PBC, including the archive, with several directors changed and several strategic plans proposed for the development process of the PBC.

In 2009, a presidential decree was issued appointing the Secretary of the Executive Committee of the PLO Mr. Yasser Abed Rabbo as the general supervisor of official media. From the start, Abed Rabbo realized the importance of the archive materials for improving the presentation display and the program quality. I was nominated to lead the Audio Visual archive file. I started my work in

¹⁰⁶Goodman, Sol, film producer, British Film production company, THE HUMAN FACTOR film Project , 5/3/2017.

2010, when the storage space of the archive was a messy place; it did not meet any preservation standards. The archive contained thousands of tapes in several formats inside hundreds of closed boxes. My first impression was as Foucault saw them "as refuges, spaces for experiment and experience, a place where time and space are organized differently".¹⁰⁷ There was no computerized database, and the materials added to the archive were manually registered with very basic information available on each tape. There was no system organizing the borrowing process, the raw materials, the produced programs, and accessibility to the archive.

The story of the T.V's visual archive began with the establishment of the Palestine Broadcasting Corporation in 1994. There was a branch in Ramallah that only had four broadcast hours. All the produced materials in the Ramallah branch were packed in boxes and shipped to the Gaza strip to the main quarter of PBC, and archived there. Tareq Abed Rahman, one of the oldest employees in the T.V archive library in the Ramallah branch, said "I used to go to the cabinet office in Ramallah to get some tapes that contained films, documentaries and programs. These materials were bought from some Arab countries like Egypt and Jordan. I used to pack these materials and send them to the main quarter to Gaza"¹⁰⁸. In Ramallah T.V office, we only preserved the materials that were internally

¹⁰⁷Knut, Ove Eliassen, The archives of Michel Foucault,p6

¹⁰⁸ Abed Rahman, Tarik, Personal Interview, 17/9/2017

produced since the archive was a small library. The problem was in the budget allocated for buying the raw materials; the tapes are expensive and not available all the time so we often had to use the same tapes more than once in to record our programs. A lot of material was lost this way.¹⁰⁹

The effort and work were mainly at the PBC in the Gaza branch as it was the main office. The archive in the Gaza quarter was divided into three sections: films archive news archive, and the library that contained all the programs. In addition, there is a Yasser Arafat's archive that contains his diplomatic visits, and speeches. Moreover, the archives covered the Israeli incursions of Gaza with all its details from house demolishing, extirpation of trees, the martyrs...etc.¹¹⁰

In the Gaza office, the archive department had all the materials that can be preserved under appropriate conditions. Abu Jarada continues, "I remember how we started to use (VHS) tapes and two years later we started to use Beta cam. It was very difficult in the beginning; we believed at the time that we must have a TV for the whole Palestinian Homeland and for all Palestinians wherever they are. This is what the martyr President Yasser Arafat wanted".¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Turkieh, Ihsan, a program and film director, interview, PBC,12\11 \2017

¹¹⁰ Al Frah ,Hassan, archive director,Gaza,interview,2\11\2017

¹¹¹ Abu Jaradeh, Fayek, film director ,PBC ,12\11\2017.

Both Al Frah who was an archivist in the archive library, and Abu JArade a film director in the Palestine T.V -Gaza assert that the situation continued in the same manner until the Hamas coupe. Hamas forcibly took over the Gaza strip, and controlled all PNA institutions; one of those institutions was the T.V building. Hamas army forces prevented the T.V employees from entering their offices, even to collect personal possessions. Hamas military forces controlled the archive section. “I remember very well those moments when we left the Broadcast building at Al Muntada and how people raided the building and stole the archive right under the nose of those who were in control, namely Hamas and its military.”¹¹² The archive was looted and the tapes were distributed between the public; it was a big loss and no investigation was conducted to recover the stolen materials.¹¹³

Azzel Deen Masri, a Hamas officer and the office director of Minister of Culture Atta Abu Al-Sabh during Hamas government, Al Masri told me that he in charge of guarding the archive. He said, “Hamas transformed Al Muntada to a ‘Military Training College’. Nothing was left in the building; all the equipment and the archive were stolen and given to Al-Aqsa T.V channel affiliated with Hamas”.¹¹⁴ Also al Buri a photographer at Palestine T.V -Gaza asserts ‘I once saw images that I took with my own camera displayed on their T.V; I can recognize

¹¹²Ibid

¹¹³ Ibid

¹¹⁴Ibid

those images among thousands of other materials'.¹¹⁵ AL Musri explains, "I preserved it with force of arms and prevented any interventions or attempts to steal it". However, as a result of some changes in the tasks, a media committee was formed, led by the Minister of Interior Affairs Mr. Said Syam who offered the archive to Al Aqsa TV with the remaining equipment. Al-Aqsa channel reviewed the archive and seized the news materials, as well as moved the remaining programs, movies, concerts, and local program produced by the PBC to a storage space that was previously located in the security headquarters. It was later thrown away in Sheikh Radwan graveyard.¹¹⁶ Upon contacting staff members of Al-Aqsa TV, this claim was totally refuted by a photographer Tamer Labad who said that all archive images used in the TV are taken from international agencies and internet websites.¹¹⁷

The Presidential approval issued on 2009 that considered the PBC archive as a national visual archives a strong indicator of President Mahmoud Abbas' extreme awareness of the visual archive as a mean for preserving the Palestinian collective memory and building the national narrative and identity.

Assaf claims "the PBC has taken some practical steps for implementing this decree, yet it's not enough. As a high-ranking official of the PBC, I do believe

¹¹⁵ Al Buri, Mohamed, a program photographer, PBC, interview, 12\11\2017

¹¹⁶ Ibid , Al Massri , Izz El Deen, office director for the minister of culture 2004-

¹¹⁷ Labad, Tamer, a photographer at al Aqssa T.V channel. interview, 7/12/2017

that the visual archive represents the Palestinian past and history. Our strategies aim to upgrade the status of the archive to show its importance and value, not only regarding its functional role in PBC, but also its political and national values."¹¹⁸

In responding to Assaf, I clarify that all the developments that have been taken to improve the archive came as a pre-condition for developing other sections in the T.V, and dealing with the archive as a department that has limited mission and functional role.

5.1.3 Palestinian National Archive

The National archive is a governmental institution established officially by a Palestinian Cabinet's decision on 7/6/2004. However, preparations to establish the national archive goes back to the year 1997. The National archive assumed responsibility of archiving all types of documents, regardless of their nature. Visual archive is definitely part of the National Archives.

As any other national archive, the Palestinian national archive strives to uphold records and archival material related to the Palestinian people and government. Therefore, the national archive is playing a central role in developing a unified life cycle management system for public records through introducing modern technology and developing public awareness of the archive.

¹¹⁸ Ibid

The first decision regarding the archive was issued in 2004 by the Palestinian Prime Minister Ahmed Qurei. The decision made it clear that the General Secretariat of the Council of Ministers is responsible of the archive. That remained unchanged until Dr. Salam Fayyad became the Prime Minister.

On 16/5/2010, a decision was made to establish a National Archive as part of a centralization process that will reduce the expenses of maintaining it, particularly since archiving was managed within each institution separately, requiring purchasing expensive electronic archiving systems for each institution. These factors advanced the idea of establishing a National Archive. The law was approved by the ministerial committee at the Council of Ministers and referred to the Office of President Mahmoud Abbas to be endorsed. Nonetheless, the law was met with the opposition of the Legal Department, which insisted that the National Archive should not include the archive of the Security Services. Therefore, the law was not submitted to the President and remained suspended despite a suggestion to delete the article related to the Security Services.¹¹⁹

On December 24, 2013, the Cabinet led by Dr. Rami al Hamdalla decided to correct the status of the Palestinian National Archive by transforming the subordination of the National Archives to the Palestinian Ministry of Culture to

¹¹⁹Salameh, Fawaz, General director of the national archivediroctorate,interview,16\11\2017.

form a General Directorate of Archive within the Ministry. This decision had a negative impact on the administrative, financial and legal status of the archive, it changed the vision and the strategic mission that the national archive has been established for as Salameh asserts, the researcher attempts to investigate the reasons behind this decision I approached the Cabinet several times and through different persons however; it was not possible to find any response or cooperation.

Hence, the decision of President Mahmoud Abbas to establish the Palestinian National Library on 27 August 2017, provided a glimmer of hope for the National Archive to be the core of this library which will be expanded to include all documents and institutions, becoming a sovereign national institution with a sovereign role.¹²⁰

From my point of view, dealing with the national archive in such a way and to restrict it on national institutions, and deal with it as a main source for collective memory is a problematic point, and a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it's part of our history that forms our national identity, and our collective identity.

On the other hand, the selectivity in dealing with the materials that the archive contains, makes the archive a selective custodian for preserving what is deemed important by the authority. These results in basing what must be part of the

¹²⁰ Ibid

Palestinian collective memory is problematic in my point of view. Palestinian national archive should include similarities and differences that forms the holistic representation Of the Palestinian totality.

5.2. Archive - The Role of Civil Society

Palestinian civil society has played an active role in several stages of Palestinian modern history which flourished after the Oslo Accord as part of nation building, and as a component of a democratic state. Tocqueville, a French theorist, examined the nexus between civil society and democracy, finding that any democratic state should have an accomplished relationship between the citizens and the state. However, this is not the case for Palestine, since it has been under occupation for around five decades, the role of civil society changed in parallel to the political developments, with the relationship becoming more oppositional according to political developments in recent times.

In this part I investigate the role of civil society in forming and preserving the Palestinian visual archive as a safeguard to collective memory after the Oslo Accord, during the process of building a nation state. I also study and the awareness of Palestinian civil society and its importance to Palestinian collective memory and the preservation of a national identity. Furthermore , I explore the role

of civil society institutions in creating a narrative that engages with the present and reflects their past.

For exploring how much the Palestinian civil society has participated in preserving their collective memory, I conduct several interviews with a number of representatives of the Palestinian civil society institutions from the field, some of which concentrate on preserving visual memory. These institutions are the institute of Palestinian Studies (IPS), Yasser Arafat Museum, Palestinian Museum, Mahmoud Darwish Museum. In addition, I interviewed professionals like Emily Jacir and Yahya Barkat who were part of the cinema group foundation, whose work forms an important part in recollecting memory. From the Gaza strip I interviewed Rashid Mashharawi film director, Mohamed al Burei, Osama and other professionals whose work is related in a way or another to the visual archive, I have also reviewed literature that has been written about the subject of visual archive and civil society.

5.2.1. The West Bank

One of the institutions that was established after the Oslo Agreement, and which had played a critical role in collecting the archive was the Palestinian

Cinema Group. This was established by Mustafa Abu Ali who was also a founder of the Cinema Unit in 1973. Yahya Barkat and Buthyna Khoury, members of the Cinema Group stated that Abu Ali, after his return to Ramallah, called on all who had similar experience in The Palestinian cinema in Beirut, to re-form the group in Palestine as a non-governmental organization, and register it officially in order to achieve its main goals, which was collecting the archive.

In an interview with Buthyna Khoury she asserts : “We started to contact international institutions to raise fund for the archive project, but it was useless, despite a small fund given to us from the Ministry of Culture, to find a proper

In the following chapter, I bring on the Palestinian visual archive to location for the new cinema group, then Abu Ali got very sick and died. Some members tried hard to continue what Abu Ali has started, but we didn't succeed in collecting any film. We failed in achieving any goal, due to the lack of financial support. That made it hard for us to establish our films archive”.¹²¹

Emily Jacir a Palestinian artist and archive collector explained “as civil society members, we are the ones that are the preservers of our collective archive. Look for example at a very recent project I undertook to digitize and preserve all the PLO film unit archives in Rome, 33 rolls 2013. This was done independently

¹²¹Koury ,Buthyna, Barkat, Yahya, interview, Ramallah ,12\5\2017

with no help from anyone, that is because I believe that collective memory is everything for us, it is what remains for the future generation, unfortunately; we have no successful national archive or institution to protect the archive".¹²².

Contrary to Jacir, Salem Tamari the director of Institute of Palestine studies (IBS) confirmed that civil society institutions are not making enough effort to collect and preserve the visual archive, however; the IPS successfully started collecting photographic images as part of its permanent collection in 1976, and more recently, films, but the archive is still not digitalized and not easily accessible.¹²³

Individual memory for some Palestinian figures like Yasser Arafat¹²⁴ and Mahmoud Darwish¹²⁵ are very important in forming Palestinian collective memory, through preserving their history and stories. The Yasser Arafat Museum documents the collective memory of the Palestinians during the twentieth century. Mohamed Halyka, Director of the Yasser Arafat Museum put his hand on the

¹²²Jacir ,Emily, interview, Ramallah,20\5\2017

¹²³Tamari ,Salim , Director of institute of Palestine Studies,interview,Ramallah,25\5\2017

¹²⁴Yasir Arafat was elected chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1969. Though originally in favor of an all-out war to end Israel's occupation of Arab lands in the Middle East, from 1974 on he and the PLO claimed to be interested in a peaceful resolution to the Palestinian problem. Read more: <http://www.notablebiographies.com/An-Ba/Arafat-Yasir.html#ixzz4jVeFveDp>

¹²⁵Mahmoud Darwish (Arabic: محمود درويش) was a Palestinian (March 1941 – 9 August 2008) (13) (poet and author who won numerous awards for his literary output and was regarded as the .Palestinian national poet. Read more <https://www.poemhunter.com/mahmoud-darwish/biography/>

wound by highlighting two critical issues. He explains "first, some of the individuals who worked with Yasser Arafat as photographers keep the materials with them, and dealt with it as a private collection belonging to them - through this behavior the archive transformed from public issue to private one, this is contradictory to the public nature of archive. The second problem relates to the archive collectors who deal with their task as a business and a source of gaining money which makes our work too complicated".¹²⁶

Sameh Khader, Director of the Mahmoud Darwish Museum emphasizes the importance of collective memory and civil society's role. In his own words; "archives can be seen as one of the sources that form collective memory, as they help to transfer information from one generation to another". Khader affirmed that Mahmoud Darwish has played a vital role in forming the national awareness among Palestinians, attaching them by his poems to their homeland and by focusing on the human values. The museum, by preserving Darwish's archive, will help the next generation to reinforce Darwish's national enlightening values that he expressed through his practical stands and through his overall creative works.¹²⁷

¹²⁶Halayka , Mohamed, Director of Yasser Arafat Museum ,interview,Ramallah,26\5\2017

¹²⁷Khader, Sameh, Mahmoud Darwish museum ,interview ,Ramallah,1\6\2017

A final example is the Palestine Museum located in Birzeit which still is searching for funds to start working on the visual archive project. They have a very promising agenda, and are in the initial stages of achieving their goals.¹²⁸

5.2.2 The Gaza Strip

The situation in the Gaza Strip regarding the role of CSOs in collecting and preserving the visual archive is totally different and more complex, in an attempt to search for individuals or institutions working in the field, I discovered there is only one civil institution which is "the Palestinian Cinema Forum".

The Forum had tried to collect a film archive, but they failed due to the lack of fund and because of the political situation in Gaza strip, which makes the collecting and preserving process more complicated. Furthermore, people who are working on this subject are questioned by the ruling authority who expects coordination with them. This behavior reflects the power relation between the civil society and authority. Foucault explains the complicated relationship between power and the archive for Foucault, "power and knowledge are not seen as independent entities but are inextricably related-knowledge is always an exercise of power and power always be a function of knowledge".¹²⁹ Based on Foucault's argument, it can be viewed that the government in Gaza, as the dominant power

¹²⁸Disi, Nida, Fund Raising department, Palestine museum,

¹²⁹ Foucault ,Michel, Power/knowledge, <http://routledgesoc.com/category/profile-tags/>

wants to keep the archive only under its control. This will certainly allow the government to own the truth and create its own narrative.¹³⁰

Interviews from the field have confirmed that the archiving process has accrued only on local TV and radio stations and production companies that preserve the materials only for their interest and need. However; some materials are intentionally destroyed after the producers' finish using them in order to reduce the preservation costs and the space.¹³¹

Rashid Mashharawi, a Palestinian film director, claims that preserving our collective memory is the responsibility of all. The Gaza Strip is unique – unlike any other situation in the world. Through the destruction of the physical, social and cultural environment - along with the killing of the population through wars and other means in Gaza, collective memory has been severely and negatively impacted. Preserving the history and collective memory of the Gaza Strip is a task for CSOs, the ruling authority and individuals.¹³²

After what I mentioned above, it is clear that CSOs are playing a role in preserving collective memory. Therefore, the centrality and the amount of this role was a point contradiction between my interviewees. Also there is no serious

¹³⁰ Ibid

¹³¹-El Buri, Muhamed, director of Palestine Cinema Forum ,Gaza Strip, Phone call interview,5\6\2017.

¹³²Mashharawi, Rashid, Film Director and Archive collector, interview, Ramallah ,7\6\2017

initiative taken by any CSOs to support the endeavors to establish a Palestinian films archive. In addition, some of the initiatives are based on personal awareness, without any strategic planning or clear agenda, which is an indicator on the lack of awareness towards visual archive and memory.

5.3. International figures

Over a period of fourteen years, the PLO Film Unit documented the Palestinian past through films, recording military actions, the Palestinian struggle, as well as everyday life in the refugee camps. Some of the people who have done documentation and recording were international actors, aiming to promote the Palestinian national cause to an international level. PLO organizations and offices had filmmakers and writers from all over the world; for instance they had visitors from Argentina, France, Chile, Cuba, and Italy, in addition to other directors and activists from Arab countries.

In this section I attempt to analyze the role of international figures in preserving and protecting the Palestinian visual memory to this day. For this reason, I investigate the experience of Monica Maurer, Kais AL Zubiedi and Kasim Hawal. These three, film directors, were part of the Palestinian liberation movement through their work on documenting and recording, or by being part of the cultural scene. Through interviewing them I intend to explore their individual

motivations in being part of the PLO cultural work; when and how they were involved. I also aim to shed a light on their continuous work on searching, collecting, preserving, and digitizing Palestinian visual memory.

5.3.1. Motivations and justifications

Monica Maurer is one of the international figures who came to show her solidarity with the Palestinian liberation movement. Later on, she decided to start documenting life inside the camps in cooperation with other Palestinian directors like Mustafa Abu Ali and Kadija Abu Ali. Most of the international directors were surprised by the Palestinian cinema movement as Monica stated: “It was amazing how Palestinians were in the middle of a revolution, of a struggle, and they had cinema.”¹³³ Unlike other national cinemas that appeared after the Cuban Revolution, and after the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the Palestinian resistance Cinema- as Abu Ali calls it- was created and documented life during the revolution.¹³⁴

Maurer explains; “As a German, I have established contacts with migrant workers. Germany after the Second World War needed a labor force to rebuild itself, so they imported manpower from abroad. There were Italians, Greeks and Spaniards, as well as Palestinians, who were categorized as the most organized by

¹³³Maurer, Monica .Film Director. Interview, Palestine,4/10/2017

¹³⁴Ibid, Murphy, Clare Maureen.

the Palestinian Workers' Union. During the 1967 war, there was a kind of pro-Israel hysteria in Germany, but I heard about 1967 war not through the media, but through the families I knew, so my views were quite different, and that was the beginning of my engagement with the Palestinian people. There was another central experience in my life: the Algerian revolution. When I was very young there were many exiles from different oppressed countries; some of them Algerian. There were demonstrations against torture practiced by the French authorities against the Algerians.”¹³⁵

Monica worked with the Film Unit from 1978 to 1982 in Beirut. She met many film directors and watched the films of the Palestinian Film Foundation at the Leipzig Documentary Film Festival, the most important documentary film festival of the time. She came to Lebanon for the first time in the context of medical solidarity with the Palestinian Red Crescent.

Iraqi film director Kasim Hawel had a different experience that reflects his deep awareness toward the value of the collective memory. His point view was "In the Arab world, due to lack of cultural, historical and national awareness, state institutions do not pay due attention to the cinematic document. With the recent political upheavals and the fall of regimes marked by dictatorship, the archive offices were looted, either deliberately burned or destroyed by the indiscriminate

¹³⁵ Ibid, Maurer, Monica

shells that hit Archive stores causing the loss of archival materials and consequently a loss of history that added to the loss of geography! Since then, I began to take care of the Iraqi and Palestinian archive.”¹³⁶

Hawal continues “On another level, in 1973, during a visit to the former People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Minister of Culture Abdullah Batheeb invited me to see a large storeroom, a basement under the Ministry building. I entered the store and was surprised to see a large number of boxes of cinematic 16mm films stacked on top of one other. I picked one and inserted it in a projector that was also thrown inside the store. I was surprised to see very important and serious documents that were photographed by the British colonial power which left the archive documents after the success of the Yemeni revolution and were unable to take the boxes with them. I found out that these were positive films “reversal”?(not all understand, explain briefly). I emphasized to the Minister the importance and seriousness of what they have in the store and he asked for my opinion. I suggested transferring the films to a country where these films can be made negative films after washing and cleaning them. The minister asked me about the cost which I estimated to be \$20,000. The Minister told me that this amount is the whole budget of the Ministry of Culture for one year. I contacted George Habash (the leader of Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), noting that the

¹³⁶ Hawal, Qasem, Interview, 1\10\2017

Yemeni revolution at that time was the movement of Arab nationalists founded by George Habash, who was considered the spiritual father and political teacher for the Democratic People's Republic of Yemen. I explained to him the importance and seriousness of their archives, which represent the whole period of the Sultanate and the British occupation of Yemen. George Habash decided to pay \$20,000 to repair the films and print the negative ones. I collected the films and flew to Lebanon. Members of the organization waited for me at the airport and took out the large quantity of the films to a Lebanese Studio in Baalbek to make the negative ones. They were washed in complex operations and then the negative films were developed. They were put in new boxes and were sent back to Yemen to the Ministry of Culture. This was my first interest in the archival documentation. During my time with the Palestinian resistance, I was working with an international organizations to preserve the Palestinian documents, but the accelerated events and the civil war that broke out in Lebanon made me deal with the issue by my individual efforts and simple available resources.

Hawal affirms that the Palestinian liberation movement was not merely an anti-colonial or national liberation movement. Comprising the disenfranchised and the dispossessed, and driven by a determination to return home, and to rely on themselves alone meant that the Palestinian cause was not national, nor leftist, but instead, of the whole people. The culture of return and the armed struggle at

the heart of the revolution brought common cause to a people whose country had been destroyed by the Nakba.”¹³⁷

Meanwhile, Syria also had become a center for Palestinian refugees. The Iraqi filmmaker Kais al-Zubaidi was there working in the cinema sector. He made his first film “Far from my Homeland”, which showed the Palestinian children living in exile and documented their suffering and dream of return. The director focused his lens on the socio-political circumstances of the Palestinians in refugee camps.

In his book “Palestine in Cinema” quotes the French critic Serge Le Biron who famously said, "Cinema is an integral part of the Palestinian memory. A memory exploded in time and place, leaving small and unrecognizable shrapnel of films, pictures, and voices in boxes and labeled by other people. Snapshots of stories recorded on tapes, they must be compiled, classified and stored because they are evidence on the past and a sign of identity and history on its own".¹³⁸ Al Zubadi said, “My interest toward the Palestinian cinema was the translation of my ambition to create an alternative cinema in the Arab world that can face the Western and American cinema. In the meantime there were cinema movements in the third world attempting to establish a new cinema that reflects the oppressed

¹³⁷Ibid, Hawel,Qassem, Email, Interview.

¹³⁸Al Zubeidi, Kais ,Palestine in Cinema, institute for Palestine Studies (IPS) ,2006,

narrative and give voice to the voiceless, as both Solanas and Getino clarify.¹³⁹ Zubeidi continues "Third cinema seems to me a very necessary product, since film might be the best way to convey messages and ideas to the others. The third cinema is a language for the ones who experienced experiencing racism, colonialism or any other kind of oppression to speak out. It is not likely that every oppressed can speak out for himself so then the third cinema makers seems to be very important to be the representative who speaks out for them, or at least, conveys sympathy."¹⁴⁰

Al Zubaidi adds "I made more than twenty films documenting the Palestinian struggle because I believe that films in that time had a political message. Through these films, Palestinians were able to promote their political discourse to most countries of the world".¹⁴¹ According to Al Zubaidi, these films participated in constructing and reflecting the Palestinian national identity. When we talk about the Palestinian cause, we definitely talk about the identity of the Palestinians; when we talk about the Palestinian photographs, films, and books, we are talking about the component of their cultural and national identity.¹⁴²

¹³⁹Solanas, Fernando, and Getino, Octavio "Towards A Third Cinema ", Tri continental. N.14. October de 1969. P.107132

¹⁴⁰Ibid

¹⁴¹ AL Zubeidi, Kais, Personal Interview, 20\10\2017.

¹⁴² Ibid

5.3.2. Current Role and Achievements

After more than thirty years, Maurer, who is in her 70s, still has the same energy and interest in preserving, collecting and digitizing Palestinian visual archive, Through her recent project “Shooting Revolution,”. She aims to transform and digitalize thirty-three reels of film dating from the 1970s that document the Palestinian liberation movement in Lebanon. These films are currently being digitized in Rome to make these testimonies of the "Palestinian Revolution" of the 1970's accessible to a new generation. These rushes had been preserved for nearly four decades, untouched and largely forgotten in the Audiovisual Archive of Workers’ and Democratic Movements (AAMOD outside of Rome. Starting from this point, Maurer decided to digitize these materials. She said, “So that was the challenge and well, if you want, the duty — as an homage to the people who had suffered and who died there. I felt that it was part of the collective Palestinian memory and that is why it should be made accessible for everybody.”¹⁴³

I wondered why such a woman was doing this work when Palestinians are supposed to do it in order to preserve their past and collective memory. She

¹⁴³Ibid, Murphy, Clare Maureen.

spontaneously answered my question, saying “this passion toward Palestinian visual archive comes as consequence of what I was doing all my life, starting from my work with the Palestine Liberation Organization’s and Palestine’s Film Unit in Lebanon in the 1970s. During the period between 1958 and 1982, I made 8 films about Palestinians.

Maurer continues to say I kept all the raw materials for almost for 40 years, because I do believe that one day there will be a PNA to give it to them. I kept the materials of audio-visual memory because it's a documentation of the history and an element of resistance. Also, it's a part of the national identity. I feel it's my duty (political and cultural duty) to make it accessible for a new generation who has no idea of the history of the Diaspora. This new generation needs more than ever to enhance and reconstruct its national identity through deepening its roots with the past.”¹⁴⁴

Maurer repeated several times that in order to understand our present we should know and understand our past. For instance, the new generation should be aware of the huge infrastructure that the Palestinians created in Lebanon, which Maurer describe as “the embryo of a future state.” She added, “This infrastructure is exactly what the Israelis in 1982 wanted to destroy; they wanted to physically

¹⁴⁴Maurer, Monica, Personal interview, Palestine 1\10\2017.

eliminate the people, through stealing and capturing the Palestinian archive”¹⁴⁵, the Israelis attempted to erase the Palestinian memory like Edward Said’s famously said "The destruction and concealing of archives is meant to convey power over truth, but it also betrays deep insecurity”¹⁴⁶ . Part of the Israeli strategy is to erase; to uproot the Palestinian people, and erase their memory and their roots, their cultural and national identity as Sela asserts several times. And this is why the conservation of oral history and audiovisual testimony is so important.

Nowadays, no one can discuss the Palestinian visual archive without considering the role of Al Zubaidi in collecting and preserving the Palestinian memory. Al-Zubaidi had actively searched for lost films for many years and managed to locate a few, keeping them in an archive in Berlin. This achievement was the outcome of a project funded by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the supervision of the Palestinian Ministry of Culture. The objective of the project was to collect the Palestinian films scattered across many countries and then present them to the Palestinian Authorities, and thus assist in safeguarding the Palestinian heritage. Through this project, the whereabouts of these films and the

¹⁴⁵Ibid

¹⁴⁶Edward W, Said, *Palestinians in the Aftermath of Beirut*, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 12 No. 2, Winter, 1983; (pp. 3-9) DOI: 10.2307/2536410,<http://jps.ucpress.edu/content/12/2/3>.

chances of obtaining them and making copies of as many films as possible at a later date should be determined. The copies shall then be temporarily and professionally stored in the Bundes archive in Berlin followed by creating a detailed list of all Palestinian films (places, conditions, content... etc).

These films that were produced since 1968 first in Jordan and then in Lebanon, under complicated conditions, present the complicated situation that Palestinians lived through that period of time. They also document history, culture, and daily life of the Palestinians who were living far from their homeland. The film archive is now an integral part of the Palestinian memory; a proof and a sign of their identity. For al Zubaidi, the historical archive reveals a narrative of exile and fragmentation that reflects the Palestinian experience itself. For this purpose, the collection project started to reconstruct the journeys of these archives across the Mediterranean, connecting locations including Beirut, Haifa, Algeria, Cyprus and Italy. The project explores how much of these archives materials have been lost, why the remaining fragments are yet to be repatriated, and the ramification of an archival absence on the Palestinian narratives of the past, present and future.¹⁴⁷

Kasim Hawal narrates, "When Israel invaded Lebanon, and the Palestine Liberation Organization left the Lebanese territory. I found myself responsible

¹⁴⁷Ibid

for the destiny of the Palestinian memory, which has been neglected by all"¹⁴⁸. Therefore, motivated by the fulfillment of the Palestinian part of my identity, I carried these hundreds of kilograms from Beirut to Damascus, Greece, and Malta where I took a temporary station waiting for the overthrow of the dictatorial regime in Iraq in order to return, but it did not fall, and I kept these materials for ten years. In the Gulf War they took us out of Greece, and I carried them to Libya. And then they allowed me to return back to Greece, so I prepared the materials and took them with me. I stayed for a few years and managed to reach the Netherlands.” He added, “I always kept my rare books in the dustbin and maintained the Palestinian films, and all these hundreds of kilos that hurt me psychologically and financially. In the end I decided to keep them in a store that belongs to a filmmaker in Germany.

Hawal asserts I still keep these materials with me as they became a part of me. These materials, if properly archived and computerized, will constitute an important reference to the Palestinian identity and "part" of its features, in image and sound. Cinematographic films or photographs will form an important part of the archive that shall help to know history, to know all the details of the stories and daily events, the nature of Palestinian costumes, the nature of singing, the

¹⁴⁸ Ibid

music, the songs and the culture of food and culinary.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, it will help to understand what the Palestinians took with them on the day they evacuated their homeland. In each house there is a story and in every story there are endless details.¹⁵⁰

5.4. Challenges and limitations

Despite all attempts carried out by all parties to found a national archive, none of these attempts received the support and fund requested to be carried out, even at the level of a small project. For instance, in the beginning of the work at the cinema department at the Ministry of culture -Gaza, there was an attempt to digitize the archives, but it was faced with technical and financial obstacles. We managed through some small projects to digitize some important materials. mainly films. Unfortunately, the rest faced damage from the bad archiving conditions, as we always face financial problem when it comes to the archive.¹⁵¹

There were difficulties that obstructed any improvement in establishing the visual archive. For example: Bader claims that she founds a proper places that can be transformed into an archive or a museum several times. However, all those

¹⁴⁹Ibid

¹⁵⁰ Hawal, Qassim, Email and Telephonic interview, 5/7/2017

¹⁵¹ Ibid, Roka, Mahmoud.

attempts were hindered with the policies and agendas of changing governments. The ministerial instability and different agendas and priorities of culture ministers, who are often replaced by other ministers within short periods of time, were the main obstacles.¹⁵²

From my observation and work in the Ministry of Culture for twelve years, from 1997 to 2008, that were mostly spent in working, and training on maintaining the visual archive, there was always a good tendency toward establishing the visual archive. We did some improvements on capacity building and collecting, as well digitizing some materials. all those attempts did not reach the required level that showed the value and significance of archive. For most decision makers, archive was not a priority; they always had an alternative project to spend fund on but never the archive. Comparing the Palestinian approach in dealing with their archive and the Israeli side as a colonial power, one can notice a big difference. Israelis work on their collective memory at top governmental levels, to impose certain memories on their citizens by through state apparatus, colonial powers, religious institutions, or ruling elites. By doing this, the authority is indoctrinating its people with the myths, narratives, and interpretations of history, aiming to eliminate other memories or narratives that contradict its own perception, in order

¹⁵² Ibid, Bader, Liana

to create and unify their society around one national identity, and to foster commonly shared interpretations of history.

At the Palestinian level, the deterioration was interpreted by the current Palestinian Minister of Culture Dr. Ehab Besaisso who accounted the dereliction of the archive issue to the lack of fund located by the Ministers Cabinet. The MOC operating budget does not exceed two and a half million dollars, which amounts to .013% of the PNA general budget which is equal to two millions and a half Shakels. This is the main obstacle that prevents us from establishing the national archive. Consequently, the last Presidential decree to transform Surda's presidential palace to a national library reconsiders the archive's importance.¹⁵³

The situation following Hamas coup was the worst time for the PNA employees, Hamas controlled the ministry, with the new administration taking control of the work of the Ministry, including the archive. We were prevented from entering the place. With time we lost part of our archive as a result of the improper storing conditions and lack of use which caused the deterioration of the tapes. This deterioration increased after Israeli forces aggression the Gaza strip for several times, and demolished most of the PNA buildings.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³Besaisso, Ehab, Minister of Culture, Personal interview,12\11\2017.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, Roka, Mahmoud,

On the other hand, the general director of the national archive in the MOC traces the reason behind not establishing the official archive to the lack of awareness of the importance of this archive among decision-makers. Evidence of that can be seen in the 2004 decision which confirmed the subordination of the archives to the General Secretariat of the Council of Ministers. The decision weakened the role of archives and limited the possibilities of their work. In addition, the weakness of the specialists and cadres in this area reduced our work to conducting studies and surveys of administrative archives in ministries and National Authority institutions, as well training employees on these archives.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵Salameh , Mohamed, Personal Interview.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

the last provides a brief summary of the main points of the thesis. Based on the thesis outcome, I highlight the steps required for a better dissemination of the value of audio visual archive.

Visual memory is an essential element within cultural heritage, and has achieved prominence in the twentieth century; visual memory has gained huge importance as an art material that carries information and entertainment, history and representation of the past.

In the Palestinian case the visual memory has played a very important role in promoting Palestinian resistance and documenting its past. The story of the Palestinian archive is not so different from the story of the Palestinian people, who hugely suffered from dispersion and loss. When the Palestinians were suffering from being forced to flee their land, hopeless and lost, they used those images and films for unifying the Palestinian people, through reflecting their struggle, and national symbols that unified them and enhanced their national identity

Lack of awareness on the importance of a document has led to the destruction of many historical facts that featured Palestinian life and national cultural identity. For instance, one painful example Hawal mentioned to me that clearly marked irresponsibility and negligence was in relation to the Popular Front

for the Liberation of Palestine's decision to allocate a large storage space in a house in Germany to use to store Palestinian films whether produced by the Popular Front or produced by other Palestinian organizations. All produced films were sent to that house, which was inhabited by a member of the Popular Front; this method of preservation is certainly not systematic but there was a huge set of films stored. The man died, and his wife did not know what to do with those films so she contacted the Palestinians to come and pick these films. She waited for about six months; when nobody appeared, she left the house and the films remained inside. Other tenants who rented the house got rid of the films gradually by throwing them in garbage containers for weeks until they got rid of them all! Is that not a painful incident that reflects low national consciousness? What was on those films? What facts did they include?

The previous example is a real indicator that proves the Palestinians' inability to establish their national state on the ground. National archive is a component of national state intuitions as it is needed for protecting the legal, financial, and historical foundation for the state and its citizens. With the previous examples, the Palestinian incapability to preserve what J. Assam refers to as the "potential cultural memory", i.e. the materials preserved in the archive, has become clear. Consequently, Palestinians are unable transform the archive into an actual

cultural memory that represents all citizens in the nation state by giving a new meaning in new social and historical contexts.

Throughout my research and while exploring different experiences, it became clear that the real interest and commitment to the archive project came mainly through personal ambitions and interests, which has been asserted by Al Dabg. “When it comes to the archive, we should recognize the role of the head of culture department in Tunisia, Abdallah Hourani who was the director of the Syrian Public T.V. He is the one who insisted on establishing the archive and supported its work all the time”.¹⁵⁶ On the national level, the archive was massively disregarded as a collective memory. The issue was neglected, devalued, and didn’t receive its much-deserved attention. Nonetheless, there were some initiatives that took the responsibility of collecting and preserving the collective memory despite the absence of a national body.¹⁵⁷

At the civil society level, there are no serious initiatives taken by any CSOs to support endeavors to establish a Palestinian films archive, with the exception of the UNRWA. The UNRWA’s archive is a good paradigm for a digital archive that contains all Audio-Visual materials produced by them. The UNRWA website states that "UNRWA takes full responsibility for its protection and conservation,

¹⁵⁶Ibid ,Al Dabag, Omer.

¹⁵⁷Abed Raboo, Yasser, The First Minister of Culture, General supervisor of PBC (2008-2012). Interview,28/11/2018.

and for making it available to all those who are interested"¹⁵⁸.The competition between the civil society institutions and the official institutions limited the achievements in the archive field, as well as prevented coordination and collective work. The duplication and conflict of interest between both prevents the Palestinian society from moving forward with the establishment of a visual archive. In addition, Aded Rabbo notes that "the negative image that the civil society and private sector have towards the PNA institutions prohibits any cooperation at the cultural sector; however, it exist on the economic level"¹⁵⁹. I think this competition is understandable in a way or another as it relates to power; through owning the knowledge, they can dominate as Foucault argued about archive and power.

From my opinion I think the three international figures Maurer, Halwal, and Al Zubaidi, who all managed to collect and preserve part of the Palestinian collective memory, participated in keeping this memory alive. They were motivated and encouraged by their consciousness and awareness toward the value of these materials. I also believe there is a personal concern prompting this interest. Taking control over these materials allows them to enhance their power and affirm their presence in the cultural scene through participating in cultural events, film

¹⁵⁸UNRWA Photo and Film and Archive for the Palestinian Refugees, <https://www.unrwa.org/photo-and-film-archive>.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, Abed Rabboo .

festivals and conferences, leaving them satisfied with their past decisions. The memory they preserved reflects their personal memory and history; by keeping this memory alive, they are feeding their inner feeling of continuity and identity enhanced by strengthening the individual ties with the group as Halwach asserts when he talks about the formulation of the collective memory and how it consists of social interaction between individuals and groups. These three directors left their homeland because of the dictatorship regime, and decided to become a part of the Palestinian liberation movement due to the common principles they shared with the revolution. Through being part of the Palestinian community, they were able to reconstruct their social and personal identity, in line with Assman and Halbwach on collective memory theory on interaction between members of any group.

The presidential approval helped push forward collecting the archive. Although it has not been translated into real practices on the administration level, it has an influential role in helping with the collecting process. This decision was utilized as a tool to convince film directors and institutions to donate their archive and materials to PBC Archive. I used this to justify my request to have a copy of historical archives from different locations, from Germany, Algeria, Tunisia, to France, preserving them in PBC archive to be accessible to all. Now PBC archive has a digital system that preserves the current archives, and gradually transforms the old materials into digital format.

Today, a continuous searching process is carried out by some filmmakers, civil society institutions and national institutions that are trying to recollect those films and establish the Audio-Visual Archive. I believe that the process is inefficient and flawed for several reasons. First, the collection process is far more than collecting as many movies as possible. It rather includes setting a work plan and a scientific study of the methods of collection and archiving of documents in accordance with international agreements. Second, each document should be specially illustrated in an unconventional way so that the researcher can know each of the features of Palestinian life by clicking on the title; this is not an easy task. However, all attempts made to collect these documents cannot achieve any scientific and systematic results because each one works randomly, individually, and not according to a scientific standard methodology. In addition, the geographical political division between the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip and the Fatah-controlled West Bank continues to present an obstacle to the collection process.

I believe the Palestinians' inability to establish a national archive that includes cultural products is a conclusive evidence of successive governments' failure to adopt the concept of "archive" in a comprehensive and deep sense. Throughout these years, the prevailing view of the archive stems from its

functional significance; for instance, in television buildings, archives are seen as a repository to provide materials for programmatic and film productions only.

Finally, in my opinion, even if the Palestinian Authority declares the establishment of the national library, one is skeptical that the archive has not will contain all the truth. The National Archive by definition is there to help construct and preserve materials most relevant to national identity and national narrative. However, in the Palestinian case and based on my observation, visual archive is a selective institution, that preserves only what it deems important to the official ideology and perception, and not what historians might think is important and reflecting of the collective memory as Nasser affirms “most of the time the narrative contains only what the official institutions want us to believe as the national narrative. Of course there are exceptions, but that is the general rule”.¹⁶⁰

Visual Archive; like poetry and novels is crucial in forming the collective memory which has a central role in shaping and forming the Palestinian narrative and Preserving the Palestinian national identity. In this thesis, explore the relationship between archive, collective memory and collective identity. Also, investigate how much power the archive has. Furthermore, I explore the extent to which the Palestinian visual archive has shaped the Palestinian memory, enhancing the construction of national identity

¹⁶⁰Ibid , Nasser, Issam

In this thesis, I present A historical background to the development of the Palestinian visual archive while investigating the role of national and civil society institutions in collecting, preserving and promoting a visual archive that has been executed as a part of the Palestinian collective memory. I give an overview of the efforts that have been done in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and shedding light on the achievements and the failures to reach neutral assessment, and drawing attention to the importance of the collective identity.

Israeli occupation has destroyed the Palestinian collective memory several times as it is explained in the research which showed clearly how the occupation policies and systematic .practices tend to loot the Palestinian archive and erase the Palestinian collective memory.

Over the past thirty years all the concerned Palestinian parties were concerned in relation to the Audio-Visual archive has been only attempting to collect, preserve and digitize it, however none of those initiatives has achieved its goals which reflects the extent to which the archive is neglected. all parties, including official institutions, civil society organizations and individuals bear the full responsibility for this negligence and the lack of awareness.

The negligence of establishing a Palestinian national archive is a result of the overall deterioration that prevails in the Palestinian Authority institutions. Moreover, the inability to create a national archive, which is a major component of democratic countries, is a conclusive proof of the failure of State institutions building. So for the Palestinian people and through the related institutions, it's time for working on preserving their collective archive, especially that they are living in the digital information age which decrease the challenges that faced the traditional archive collection and preservation. It provides more choices for digitalizing and preserving the visual archive in more systematic and organized way.

6.1 Recommendations:

In this thesis it is obvious that the Palestinian failed in protecting and preserving their collective memory. After Oslo agreement the Palestinian started new history, without continuation. They didn't enhance their connection with the past, however their national identity had different definition, the culture of resistance dramatically shifted towards the culture of peace, their narrative was totally changed to meet their new political identity.

Now a days there is a need for the Palestinian National Authority along with the civil society institutions in cooperation with individuals to call for forming an independent archive commission that can collect and unify all the Palestinian

memories in one place. This archive should eliminate differences, understand various ideologies and serve as a real inclusive national archive. This commission should have the power and resources to that support its ability to search, collect and preserve the Palestinian memories. It is very important to issue a new legislations that systemize and organize the archiving process, and creates methods for collecting , preserving and protecting the archive in all its forms.

In addition, it is important to support and fund researches that concentrate on the relationship between Palestinian memories and national identity particularly since the political process has reached a dead end. it should also awareness among the new generation through including courses in the Palestinian universities Curricula that concentrate on arc hiving, documentation and bond it with collective memory and national identity.

In the end without a real cooperation between all the Palestinian society components, and without locating a real budget for establishing, running, digitizing and back up archive our collective memory will continuing its lost and destruction.

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم



دولة فلسطين
مجلس الوزراء

قرار مجلس الوزراء رقم (16/12/05 م.و.ر.ح) لعام 2013م
بشأن نقل مركز الأرشيف الوطني إلى وزارة الثقافة

بناءً على الصلاحيات المخولة لنا قانوناً
وتسيب وزير الثقافة
وبناءً على مقتضيات المصلحة العامة

ويعد الاطلاع على القانون الأساسي المعدل لسنة 2003م وتحديثه؛
وعلى قانون الخدمة المدنية رقم (4) لسنة 1998م المعدل ولوائحه التنفيذية؛
وعلى قرار مجلس الوزراء رقم (13/115/05 م.و.س.ق) لسنة 2011م؛
وعلى قرار مجلس الوزراء رقم (24/19 م.و.أ.ق) لسنة 2004م؛
وعلى قرار مجلس الوزراء رقم (09/53/08 م.و.أ.ق) لسنة 2006م؛

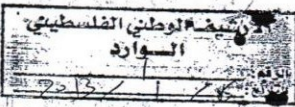
قرر مجلس الوزراء في جلسته المنعقدة بمدينة رام الله بتاريخ (2013/12/24م) ما يلي:

المادة الأولى
تؤول جميع الصلاحيات والاختصاصات المنوطة بمركز الأرشيف الوطني كإدارة عامة في وزارة الثقافة، وينقل جميع موظفي مركز الأرشيف الوطني إلى وزارة الثقافة كل حسب درجته الوظيفية والمالية، وينقل كافة الموجودات والحقوق المالية والعينية العائدة لمركز الأرشيف الوطني إلى وزارة الثقافة.

المادة الثانية
يلغى كل ما يتعارض مع أحكام هذا القرار؛

المادة الثالثة
على الجهات المختصة تنفيذ أحكام هذا القرار كل فيما يخصه، ويعمل به من تاريخ صدوره، وينشر في الجريدة الرسمية.
صدر في مدينة رام الله بتاريخ 2013/12/24م -
الحادي والعشرين من صفر لعام 1435هـ.

رئيس الوزراء
مختفب الله



النسخة الوطنية الفلسطينية
السوارد

L.D

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم



السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية

مجلس الوزراء

قرار مجلس الوزراء رقم (13/49/02 م.و.س.ف) لعام 2010م
بشأن إحالة مشروع قانون الأرشيف الوطني الفلسطيني إلى فخامة رئيس دولة فلسطين

بناءً على الصلاحيات المخولة لنا قانوناً
وتنسيب أمين عام مجلس الوزراء
وبناءً على مقتضيات المصلحة العامة

وبعد الاطلاع على القانون الأساسي المعدل لسنة 2003م وتعديلاته؛

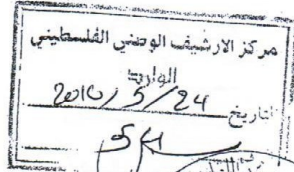
قرر مجلس الوزراء في جلسته المنعقدة بمدينة رام الله بتاريخ (2010/05/16م) ما يلي:

المادة الأولى

إحالة مشروع قانون الأرشيف الوطني الفلسطيني إلى فخامة السيد رئيس دولة فلسطين لإقراره وإصداره
قرار بقانون.

المادة الثانية

على الجهات المختصة تنفيذ أحكام هذا القرار كل فيما يخصه، ويعمل به من تاريخ صدوره، وينشر في
الجريدة الرسمية.



صدر في مدينة رام الله بتاريخ 2010/05/16م
الثاني من جمادى الآخرة من عام 1431هـ

L.D

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

The Palestinian National Authority
Palestine Broadcasting Corporation



السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية
هيئة اذاعة وتلفزيون فلسطين

PBC

التاريخ: 2011/1/12

خزينة / المناقشة
بدر طلال رولا شومان

السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية
هيئة اذاعة وتلفزيون فلسطين
القسم الفني

17 01 2011

1431

سيادة الأخ الرئيس / محمود عباس حفظه الله
رئيس اللجنة التنفيذية لمنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية
رئيس السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية

تحية طيبة،

يرجى قرار سيادتكم باعتبار أرسيف الهيئة العامة للإذاعة والتلفزيون هو أرسيف
(سمعي بصري مركزي) وذلك لتسهيل عملية حفظ وجمع الأرسيف الفلسطيني.

وتفضلوا بقبول الاحترام والتقدير،

ياسر عبد ربه

أمين سر اللجنة التنفيذية ل(م.ت.ف)
المشرف العام للإعلام الرسمي

17/1/11



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الهوى - استوديوهات غزة - هاتف: 97282825814/24/34 - فاكس: 97282833040 - Gaza Tal El Hawa - Gaza Studios
E-mail: rbc@palnet.com



picture (1.5) 161

¹⁶¹ - Jaradeh, Fayk, Afilm Director, Archive of Palestine, T.V, 2009, Gaza Strip. Hamas Coup.



Picture (3.5) 163

¹⁶³ Ibid



Picture (4.5) 164

