<u>Resistance Time: An Atlas of Conflicted Temporalities</u>

D i s s e r t a t i o n

zur

Erlangung des akademischen Grades

Doktor der Philosophie

in der Philosophischen Fakultät

der Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen

vorgelegt von

Diego Granja do Amaral

aus

Recife / Brasilien

2020

Gedruckt mit Genehmigung der Philosophischen Fakultät der Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen

Dekan: Prof. Dr. Jürgen Leonhardt

Hauptberichterstatter: Prof. Dr. Dr. Russell West-Pavlov
Mitberichterstatter: Prof. Dr. Fernando Resende

Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 15.05.2020

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ABSTRACT

Despite 70 years of conflict and international pressure which, restricts the circulation of Palestinian narratives and memories globally (Said 1984), Palestine became a symbol of struggle and resistance to colonialism. From a collection of contemporary (audio)visual documents, this study seeks to identify and systematise impressions of time on images of these conflict zones, especially in Gaza and the West Bank. More specifically, the research aims to elaborate an approach to elucidate the peculiarities of the temporal experience in political regimes ruled through necropower (Mbembe, 2003). Facing the occupation of the territory by the State of Israel, the Palestinian politics relies in objects of memory to preserve the Nation under a regime of systematic fragmentation. The corpus of analysis consists of contemporary films on the question of Palestine and posters archive from the Palestinian resistance. As a hypothesis, the thesis claims that the Palestinian archives unveil a temporality based on resistance, namely "resistance time". Resistance, in this context, refers to the exercise of survival, preservation of memory and a sense of "revolution" with the back turned to the future. With this peculiar temporal experience in mind, the investigation will address a myriad of mediums looking for traits of resistance and the patterns emerging from it in a quest for a preliminary vocabulary on grassroots resistance and temporalities.

Key-words: Palestine. Temporality. Image. Visual Archives.

RESUMO

Apesar de 70 anos de conflito e pressão internacional que restringem a circulação de narrativas e memórias palestinas em todo o mundo (Said 1984), a Palestina se tornou um símbolo de luta e resistência ao colonialismo. A partir de uma coleção de documentos visuais contemporâneos (áudio), este estudo procura identificar e sistematizar impressões de tempo nas imagens dessas zonas de conflito, especialmente em Gaza e na Cisjordânia. Mais especificamente, a pesquisa visa elaborar uma abordagem para elucidar as peculiaridades da experiência temporal em regimes políticos governados por necropoder (Mbembe, 2003). Diante da ocupação do território pelo Estado de Israel, a política palestina depende de objetos de memória para preservar a nação sob um regime de fragmentação sistemática. O corpus de análise consiste em filmes contemporâneos sobre a questão da Palestina e arquivo de pôsteres da resistência palestina. Como hipótese, a tese afirma que os arquivos palestinos revelam uma temporalidade baseada na resistência, a saber, "tempo de resistência". A resistência, nesse contexto, refere-se ao exercício da sobrevivência, preservação da memória e um senso de "revolução" com as costas voltadas para o futuro. Com essa experiência temporal peculiar em mente, a investigação abordará uma miríade de meios em busca de padrões que apontem para a noção de resistência no imaginário político. Assim, pretende-se identificar um vocabulário preliminar sobre resistência e experiência de tempo a partir de movimentos populares.

Palavras-chave: Palestina. Temporalidade. Imagem. Arquivos visuais.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is not about memory, visual culture or cultural media studies. Nor is it strictly about politics. If a definition is required, the viable description for this work is that of an attempt to connect sparks spread across vulnerable territories. To find and contrast these manifestations, I shall look at different sorts of images interrogating them about the political implications one might find by looking at them as an incomplete whole. This work focuses on the negative dimension of social processes. Death, dispossession, forgetting and absence are discussed in their appearances: embodied in whatever is left. Following this line of thought, past and memory are here instruments for an analysis of the present as the time of politics.

These discomforting thoughts and others that motivated the present research had their original spark in two poems written by the legendary Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish. The first poem was *In Her Absence I Created Her Image*. In the text, Darwish (2007) claims the importance of cultural history in the struggle against the political oblivion by declaring that "there is enough of history to liberate unconsciousness from its ascension…". In the case of Palestine, the fight for remembrance and recognition against planned disarticulation and colonial appropriation of the culture is a key aspect of the resistance.

The same poem underlines the negativity in the Palestinian struggle; negativity turned into creation as suggests the verse that names the poem: "In her absence, I created her image". Palestine, then, as any other territory under permanent attack, is created out of absences (e.g. deaths, exile). Along these lines, the images in this research are ways of combating such lack.

The second poem from Darwish deals with temporality and inspired this thesis' central theme: resistance time. Describing Gaza, he creates a picture of an unattractive yet fierce full territory. More importantly, in Silence for Gaza, the poet describes a place where time is "something different. Because, in Gaza, time is not a neutral element" (2007, online)[1]. Darwish argues that time in Gaza "explodes" and this is "neither death

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[1] Originally published at Hayrat al-'A'id (The Returnee's Perplexity), Riyad al-Rayyis, 2007]. The excerpt quoted is the translation from Sinan Antoon and is available at https://mondoweiss.net/2012/11/mahmoud-darwish-silence-for-gaza/

nor suicide. It is Gaza's way of declaring that it deserves to live". For the poet, time in Gaza is inherently intense (explosive) and has resistance ingrained in it.

In this vein, the notion of a resistance temporality departs from the premise that Gaza its most paradigmatic territory in Palestine, to reach areas such as the Ramallah depicted in Elia Suleiman's filmography. In this trajectory, the cartography of time changes according to the landscape. If in Darwish's Gaza time explodes, in Suleiman's Ramallah numbness replaces fire. Notwithstanding this, the same sense of ancestry is present in each of the images. Moreover, they reveal a re-appropriation of icons that have been floating around Palestinian culture since the occupation of the West-Bank, in the aftermath of the six-day war (1967).

Following Darwish's footsteps, this study is divided into four parts opened by a fragment of the poet's oeuvre. These epigraphs aim to guide the reader through texts inspired by Darwish's imagination of Palestine. Similarly to a digital Atlas, in this research, moving and static images are combined in an open archive. The most important aspect is to understand the images in relation with each other, a relationship which is both endogenous to the objects analysed and exogenous, in the sense that the politics surrounding the production of such images provide hints on the political atmosphere. Therefore, the images will be interpreted in terms of an archive of violence, emotions and politics.

In the same vein, this is not an introduction. It is the first gesture of an argument which starts in February 2019. A few minutes past two in the afternoon, a conversation takes place in one of the tables of the extravagant Walled Off hotel in Bethlehem, Palestine. Trying to clarify the political dimension that slips in one of her movies, the filmmaker Jumana Manna looks around, raises her hands with the palms up and states: "…[because] everything here is political". A panoramic look around the room reveals artworks from the world-famous (once) street artist Banksy.

A peek at the window shows the wall that separates the West Bank from Israel. By looking around and saying: "everything here", Jumana synthesised something that can hardly be described. The atmosphere of oppression, with the inherent sense of rebellion it brings along, the irony of the luxurious hotel, filled with British porcelain, which criticises and profits from the conflict, that very conversation. Palestine is political. Furthermore, to evoke the notion of Palestine is to be entangled in politics and temporalities.

The original title of this work referred to a narration of ruins. Throughout the process of writing, however, a different gesture emerged: contemplation. In this, frequently silent, form of assimilation lay the cues to the exercise upon which this research embarked. To be immersed in certain space-time relations. Walls, artworks, Graffiti, protests, conversations. The land in Palestine requires a contemplative observation from a stranger[2]. Its political intensity does not indulge neutrality.

Thus, this research tries to make sense of a multiplicity of "impressions" in a myriad of mediums. Throughout this process, documentary and fictional films, architecture and photographs will be gathered as clues for an understanding of a Nation undergoing a constant process of material ruination and symbolic production mostly through visual culture.

Looking at images of and from Palestine, this research aims to identify and reflect upon temporal issues which might be extended to several other regions under the pressure of a violent police state or military intervention. Adopting a deliberately abstract (and polysemic) terminology (see Koselleck and Richter 2006), I argue that these areas are undergoing a long-lasting state of crisis. More specifically, I will depart from the hypothesis that the emergence of necropolitics entails a specific experience of time. The temporal implications come along with the a. rewriting/erasing of the symbolic realm as well as the b. physical segregation of populations and c. Violence against vulnerable bodies.

All these manifestations of necropolitics imply in new forms of resistance, as suggested by Mbembe (2003), as well as they affect the quotidian and the social structures of the conflicted areas. As an outcome of such relations, a permanent struggle for survival would be established. In this context, a teleological view of the future becomes not only unrealistic but also methodologically pointless. In other words, the linear orientation of time which characterises the common-sense Western perception of temporality, and even critical approaches developed in dialogue with a notion of eschatological/revolutionary future, are inadequate to describe such realities. Conversely, Benjamin's concept of now-time is a point of departure for the discussion on resistance time in Part IV.

In this vein, the thesis proposes the notion of resistance time, a temporal regime marked by the disruption of routine by violence and based in a stubborn insistence in the survival. The term survival, in this context, refers both to the defence of life against the

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[2] A mix of familiarity and estrangement is present in the Elia Suleiman's filmography and Handala cartoons', analysed in this study.

killing apparatus of the state as well as to the preservation of memory and cultural heritage of a people. Necropolitics is heron understood in relation to neo-colonial practices and the marginalisation of vulnerable populations.

Bearing that in mind, the centrality of the image is critical for two reasons. Firstly, because of the staggering amount of news evoking or constructing a notion of Palestine. Palestine is a paradigmatic case not only because it has been suffering from a colonial occupation for decades. It is emblematic because the Palestinian identity develops around the notion of resistance.

Thus, the first premise of this work and a working hypothesis is that in the verge of the ruination of the physical territory, the Palestinians and those involved with their struggle are carving out space and temporality in the symbolic realm. More specifically, in the images. Secondly, this research resorts in the images as a means to understand the articulation of time in Palestine. The visual realm is a crucial battlefield in the dispute for the land.

The objective of this research, thus, is twofold: on the one hand, it suggests that the visuality in contemporary Palestinian films articulate resistance territories out of the necessity to arrange a common language and space from the exile and the distinct areas which remain Palestinian (Gaza and the West Bank). On the other hand, it suggests that the compound of images around Palestine challenges the notion of the archive as a classificatory unity based in stable territories. Notwithstanding this, it still asks for a sense of integration and harmonisation. To address this issue, the notion of creole archive, or queer archive, emerges as a form of cataloguing this constellation of images. The images, thus, are a crucial element to the configuration of such collections, since they favour multiple interpretations beyond a strictly normative orientation based on socially fixed categories.

This proposition contrasts with the idea of a nation developed and imagined within national borders (Anderson 2006). Inspired by Édouard Glissant, a creole archive would be that sparked by the dispossession of a people from its memories and goods, yet capable of connecting and rearticulating identities. In this context, to contemplate the ruins is a gesture that combines observation and emotion. As such, it is also a metaphor for space-time relations as interrelated. Finally, it is a gesture beyond the articulated, structured, or rational, vocalisation.

Agreeing with Rancière, for whom even the muted things speak (2009), I consider the relations between memory, power and history through images of the Palestinian

struggle. Photographs, documentary films, and urban spaces, as archives, provide substance to this endeavour. Looking at the images, I pursuit traces of resistance. Some of these traces are more evident than others, some of them lying beneath Zionist national footage as pointed by Rona Sela in her *Looted and Hidden* (Israel 2017).

This research elaborates an approach to better describe the temporalities in conflict zones, with a focus on Gaza and the occupied territories in the West-Bank. More specifically, the study will cover different territorialities and, consequently, different expressions of time throughout the area, which was once Palestine. In this sense, the intensities how the marks of time investigated shall vary according to the geographies, insofar each of the regions (Jerusalem, West-Bank, Gaza) present different infra-structural and historical peculiarities.

This research floats through different areas of knowledge according to the necessity posed by the analysis. Notwithstanding that, it draws upon emblematic works from overlapping fields such as visual culture History of Art, History, Memory, Film and Media studies. The research shall look at documents with historical relevance, such as images, footage, and testimonies. On a more general note, it is a research on visual culture and, as such, an investigation on power relations and their implications in the visual realm.

In other words, this compilation of theories and methods entails a look into the anthropological and historical dimensions of the problem, which in the case of this dissertation shall support a media-oriented analysis. In the process of collecting shreds of evidence and analysing symptoms, the research aims to cast a light on the traits of resistance that seems to characterise Palestine in the contemporary imaginary. This exercise will be divided into four parts which can be connected like a puzzle.

The first piece, *Geographies are calendars*, presents an overview of the Palestinian struggle from the ground. In other words, this section will address structural issues regarding the architecture of the occupation of Palestine with attention to the visual and temporal implications of this reality. It aims to cast a light on the power regimes implicated in the occupation, which will be addressed in a discussion on necropolitics. Complementary, photos, maps and testimonies from Israeli soldiers are incorporated throughout the text to illustrate the argument.

Closing part one, I undertake an analysis of the film *Your father was born 100 years old, and so was the Nakba* (USA, Lebanon, Palestine, 2017). The objective here is to discuss the implementation of a colonial structure in Palestine and its temporal

implications. From a theoretical standpoint, the chapter builds upon the notions of space of experience and horizon of expectation (Koselleck 2004), *Necropolitics* (Mbembe, 2003) and Weizman's (2007) discussion on the architectural elements of the occupation of Palestine.

These aspects, along with testimonies from soldiers of the Israeli army, lay the ground for a reflection on the quotidian in Palestine. Thus, departing from this contextualization, the events will be analysed under the light of the concepts of "horizon of expectation" and space of experience. This analysis aims to draw attention to the conditions of possibility of what will be described in this research as "resistance time", a concept to be developed throughout the thesis. Part one, thus, more than a piece of the puzzle is the table upon which the rest of the pieces will be laid.

The second part, *Sewing time*, is dedicated to a reflection on the formation of an archive. From a chronological standpoint, this section is organised around the events in 1982, when Israeli forces invaded the southern part of Lebanon to attack PLO offices. Despite this, the footages and photos in this part cover most of recent Palestinian history, from the foundation of Israel to war in Lebanon.

Throughout the text, this notion will be addressed primarily through an analysis of the documentary film *Looted and Hidden* (Israel 2017). The film raises a discussion on the question of Palestine anchored in historical photographs value intermingled with personal memories. The chapter digs into the issue of the archive to discuss the relations between history and memory in this conflicted geography drawing upon works from the field of memory studies (Halbwachs 1992; Derrida 1995; Brunow 2015).

The main question is how the Palestinian memory is rearticulated in response to the occupation and systematic ruination of the territory. Under the same light, the notion of sewing time refers to a form of imagination of the present connecting threads of the past to overcome the gaps left by the violence and forced dispossession. Considering Warburg's *Atlas Mnemosyne*, the study will collect images to create a cartography of the experience of time in the media representations of Palestine. The conception of the archive will depart from Derrida's (1995) "archive fever" towards a discussion on Israeli and Palestinian national archives (Sela 2015), postcolonial archives (McEwan 2003).

Departing from the Zapatist motto describing their cause as "a struggle of geographies and calendars" the first part of this research, *Geographies are calendars*, discusses how the occupation of the land creates conditions of possibility to the experiences of time addressed in chapter one. The second part is dedicated to a discussion

on the ways how time is configured in the artistic expressions. In this vein, I propose the notion of "time sewing" to discuss the imbrication of memories and fiction in the constitution of Palestinian archives. The process of sewing time would be a political and aesthetic response to the territorial partition caused by the necropolitical operation on Palestinian territory. The proposition of sewing time aims to describe artistic works (films, books, installations) which contribute to (re)arrange the Palestinian collective memory. In this vein, part two provides the backbone to the interpretation — an archive, or an Atlas, which develops as new information appears.

Despite discussing a single case, the logic of time sewing serves the entire thesis, in the sense that it is an idea that provides an approach towards the understanding of Palestinian visual history in the thesis. This approach, which is less than a framework, intends to bring together pieces of a non-absolutist account of events embracing different time frames and corpus. Not coincidently, this second section is concerned with a foundational moment of Palestinian visual aesthetics of resistance, the third wave of Palestinian cinema and the Palestinian Cinema Institution.

The third part, the emergence of memory, discusses the materialisation of the Palestinian resistance iconography through an analysis of a Posters collection form *The Palestine Poster Project Archive* (hereafter PPP). This section, which is composed in for the most part by posters sponsored by the PLO, cover the period from 1968 until 1999. From a historical point of view, it includes the period of the occupation of the West-Bank, immediately after the six-day war (1967), until the year before the second Intifada (2000-2005).

In this sense, some of the corpus appeared in parallel with the footages and photos from part II. In terms of method, this part represents a leap to a different medium from films to posters. However, in terms of content, these posters contribute to filling more specific gaps in our puzzle. This part alternates its attention from the broader realms of the Palestinian and Zionist discourses on the land to the distinct icons which permeate these discourses, with emphasis on the Palestinian liberation movements. Part II, thus, offers the corners (discourse) and the smaller pieces (icons) to this uneven puzzle.

More importantly, what the posters show is a society that, on the surface seems to be insisting in the repetition of the same "old" icons. In this work, however, I argue that the issue in Palestine is not the repetition of symbols but the permanence, and deterioration, of the underlying political conditions. In this context, the same icons not only make sense but become more and more relevant and accumulate relevance over time.

In other words, the issue is not that the figures are being "repeated", but rather the fact that the political experience imposes a deepening of the same "old" problems. For this reason, notions such as "survival" of the images would not make sense. Instead, the collection of symbols in the PPP archive, suggest a resistance of these very elements due to a continuity in the temporality that did not "progress" as it presumably would elsewhere.

The last part (IV), *Conflicted temporalities*, focuses on contemporary Palestinian films released between 2002 and 2012. The filmography selected to compose this section departs from the Second Intifada (2000-2005) and covers the increased tensions of the occupation during the construction of the Separation Wall and the Palestinian reality after the work was finished. The section aims to sketch out the notion of resistance time, which permeates the entire research.

Unlike the previously mentioned sections, part four deals with minor forms of resistance in shorter periods. With a focus on contemporary films, the section addresses the resistance in quotidian life depicted both in fiction and documentary films. Such a lack of distinction between formats comes from the fact that both forms of narration unveil cultural elements of political life in Palestine. Moreover, all the cases are revealing of the author's personal experiences in a semiautobiographical manner in the case of Elia Suleiman in *The time that remains* or deliberately biographical sense as it is the case in *Five Broken Cameras*. Moreover, as Abu-Remaileh (2008) observes, Suleiman's cinematography blurs the boundaries between fiction and documentary film with its account of Palestinian history.

On a more general note, it is possible to argue that Palestinian fictional cinematography shares traits with documentary film making due to its commitment to the political struggle. If, in Suleiman´s oeuvre, these characteristics are especially evident, the entanglement between social and personal memories and fiction in Palestinian cinematography is a pattern since the third wave of Palestinian cinema (1968–82), discussed in part II.

Thus, this last part suggests how the same icons and temporal experience referred in the anterior chapters can be rearranged. Unlike part I, which draws the occupation with broad strokes and parts two and three, which aim to provide a historical context, part IV focuses on the very personal accounts of history. Nevertheless, as it should be, these personal accounts are revealing of the larger pattern designed by history.

Like the object investigated, this research is fragmented, inconclusive, and haunted by absences. On the flip side of this very coin, it seeks to present alternative forms of political mobilisation through the realm of aesthetics. From a methodological point-of-view, this study draws upon the following theoretical framework divided into a triple-axis: the territories, the visual representation and the archive. Each of them will be briefly addressed in the next section.

FOREWORD

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON METHOD

This research builds upon three fundamental notions: that of the archive, mainly building upon Derrida´s archive fever (1995); the survival of images, from Didi-Huberman´s (2017) reading of Warburg; and the necropolitics (Mbembe 2003). If necropolitics is adopted to contextualise the socio-political background of the study, the concept of "archive", and archive fever provides a theoretical footing for the organisation of the research in a comprehensive whole. Conversely, it will also be the point of departure for the contestation of colonial forms of archivization, such as the one referred by Derrida (1995). Looking closely to each fragment of this whole, the reader will find references to the problem of temporality and image as proposed by Didi-Huberman. Thus, the next paragraphs provide a brief theoretical and methodological exploration of the topic – that of Temporalities in Palestine.

Bearing this in mind, one shall start with the archive, which as Derrida (1995) once suggested, is a place of beginning(s). According to the same author, it is also a place of order. It is thus, departing from the notion of archive proposed by the French philosopher that this study articulates its premises. The archive thus, is material, a spatial formation governed by general laws. Not too far from Derrida, Allan Sekula argues that the archive is a "territory of images" whose unity (order) would depend directly on ownership (Sekula 2003: 444). The problem of ownership of the archives will be crucial for the second part of this research, specifically in the analysis of the documentary film *Looted and Hidden* (Israel 2017).

As Sekula (2003) underlines, the archive is never neutral or exempt of power relations. More specifically, it produced as a reflex of the labour-capital relations which are crucial for the very constitution of the archive. These very relations, as the author points out, are connected to the "inherent power to command a lexicon and rules of a language". In this vein, to think about the issue of "the archive" requires a critical stance towards geopolitics involving processes of accumulation, curatorship, storage and visibility.

It is not a coincidence that a great deal of the photographs, films and documents are in the hands of the Israeli government. Not too far from this reality, artworks from all formerly colonised countries are displayed in museums in Europe. If, as Benjamin suggests, "documents of civilisation" are indeed "documents of barbarism", a

postcolonial theory should consider as moral imperative the necessity to question not only the ways how knowledge is organised and develops abstractly (epistemology) but it should also regard the material ways how such objects are brought together.

This research aims to cast light on the relationship between time, memory and archives by curating its own set of visual materials. It is a (re)collection of images, thoughts and memories which aim to constitute an argument on politics and temporality. The notion of recollection serves a dual purpose. On the one hand, it refers to the gesture of bringing together pieces that have been kept separated by space and time, but that would belong together. On the other hand, more than a simple collection of terms, the elements hereon gathered are part of an exercise of remembrance. An attempt to remember Palestine from the outside, as an outsider. As a museum visitor imagines a non-lived past, this effort counts with the support of those who contribute to maintain, defend, recreate, or challenge the notion of Palestine.

Still following Derrida, for whom the archive comes into being at memory´s "point of breakdown", this first chapter will address the territory, or specifically the cities, as an archive (1995:14). After all, the urban spaces are one of the main areas of tension in the discursive dispute. It is the land, which, according to some, was promised, that the many strata of the dispute are sedimented. The land hosts not only urban spaces with architectural traces which serve as a ground for Jewish and Arab claims to the territory but also archaeological ruins, affects, a landscape ingrained in the global imaginary. It is also in the urban space where the Palestinian cities and their memories are being demolished and covered by new layers by the occupation.

 In this sense, the cities in Israel and the occupied cities in the West-Bank are tipping points of Palestinian ruination. Simultaneously, a carefully designed occupation establishes Zionist territories in the Palestinian homeland. Ironically, for Derrida, the archive´s vocation is to work "against itself" (Derrida 1995:14), since the strategy that allows it to exist, repetition, is also driven by a desire of destruction.

Here, two perspectives on the archivization process come to the fore. The first, refers to the consistent efforts of the Zionist movement since before the foundation of Israel, to catalogue, collect and preserve objects, files and data around the Zionist presence in the region where Israel and Palestine are (Sela 2015). Secondly, there is an effort from Palestinians, and non-Palestinians, spread throughout the world to narrate and talk about their struggle. An effort that does not happen without much resistance (see Said 1984). In a postcolonial context, an archive is not simply a collection that works against

itself. It is an endeavour against colonial forces, since a fundamental trait of colonization is the erasure of the native culture.

Seeking to lay the ground for the understanding such complex scenario from the outside, this dissertation resorts in the idea of survival, particularly the survival of images to identify the political/affective strategies supporting the Palestinian resistance. In a theoretical leap, the research shall look at the Mnemosyne Atlas gathered by Aby Warburg and analysed by Didi-Huberman to discuss images from and about the question of Palestine. Refusing the classic logic of classification that rules over most of the museums – and prisons – Warburg gathers images based on their affective appeal. His criteria, thus, is primarily guided by the pathos and challenges the normative logic keeping an inherently open end in the interpretations.

SURVIVING IMAGES

The concept of survival here is borrowed from Didi-Huberman´s reading of Warburg´s afterlife/survival (*nachleben*). Reading Warburg, Didi-Huberman highlights that survival "is a notion that cuts across any chronological scheme. It always describes another time, and thus it disorients history and opens it up, making it more complex. In short, it anachronizes history" (2017:48). Beyond that, he argues that "survival anachronizes the present, it violently contradicts the obvious facts presented by the *Zeitgeist*, that 'spirit of the age'" (2017: 49).

A merit of the Warburgian conceptual and methodological model is precisely to turn to the objects in hand to discuss the issue of temporality. In doing that Warburg, and afterwards Didi-Huberman, reorients dogmatic notions such as present and past towards a physical reality which cuts through such abstract temporal markers. Time in Warburg (2015 [1929]) is revealed in the cues left by each of the pieces analysed. It is immanent rather than an exogenous homogeneous force.

The challenge of the researcher, thus, would be to understand the symptoms in search of a broader sense. Inspired by Warburg Didi-Huberman underlines that history "is to be a symptomatology or even a pathology of time" (2017, 65). Reading similar footsteps, Carlo Ginzburg defended the necessity of an evidential paradigm. Not coincidently, the notion of symptom connects both Didi-Huberman (2001), in his comments on Warburg, Ginzburg and the evidential paradigm.

In his evidential paradigm, Ginzburg looks at distinct fields where inductive reasoning is manifested. Navigating from Sherlock Holmes´ investigations, Medicine,

Psychoanalysis, and History of Art, the theorist recognises the use of cues as a pattern connecting these fields. From cues to symptoms, the attention to the small details would connect Freud, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle with Sherlock, and the art critic Giovanni Morelli. Following this light of thought, this research shall collect images, cues, that might help to see Palestine in its past struggles against coloniality. From the peasants' revolt against the Egyptian ruling in 1832 to the present illegal Israeli occupation of the West-Bank and Siege of Gaza.

If not by resorting in the survival of images and the anachronism of time, how else to talk about a settler colonial occupation which had as a justification and, in a sense, its foundational event, the horrors of the World War II? The very creation of Israel as a response to the genocidal persecution of the Jewish people in Europe marks the reinvention of a system which characterised Modernity (Mignolo 2003) in its earlier years. Interestingly, the end of the colonialism was celebrated after the liberation of the last colonies in Africa; and the end of the Apartheid. Once again, the pattern seems to rewind time. The segregation regime, which characterised part of South African colonial history was also, yet in a different fashion, implemented in Palestine (Falk and Tilley, 2017).

TOWARDS A CREOLE ARCHIVE

Finally, the last methodological leap suggests the dispossession of Palestinians from part of their official documents as a constitutive element of the archive. Hence, the study shall resort on the notion of creolization as proposed by the Caribbean theorist Édouard Glissant. Coined by Glissant (2008), the notion of creolization is a linguistic artifice which characterises the Caribbean language creole but goes beyond it describing a mode of being triggered by the dispossession. In Glissant, the term describes the experience of the descendants of the African diaspora in the Caribbean who had to rebuild their cultural heritage connecting sparse scraps of memory, language and cultural references. The proposal of a creole archive refers to two main characteristics.

a. DISPOSSESSION

Similarly to the Creole subjectivity (Glissant 2008), whose condition of possibility was the brutal dispossession of the African migrant, these archives are based in the deprivation of Palestinians. A large portion of these archives was seized by the Israeli

Forces during the occupation of Palestinian territories and the invasion of Beirut (Sela 2017).

Therefore, a creole archive is a composite of images and interpretations which work in relation to each other. Each image presented in this tentative atlas is a node in the network that composes the archive. Furthermore, the interpretation of each of the images, or sequence of images, aims to offer insights which are directly related to the argument developed in this research. Nevertheless, these perspectives might be challenged by a reader who establishes a different relationship with the pictures presented. In this sense, my argument is twofold: a theoretical analysis and a curatorship of images about conflicted geographies. If the first part of the postulation is based on reasoning, the second leaves room for a contact of a different order. It is an appeal to the pathos and its

b. QUEERNESS AND OPENNESS TO CONTINGENCY

If the slave trade converted the Caribbean islands in a hub for multiple manifestations of the colonial power, it also created a zone where notions such as language, culture and race were remarkably challenged. In Glissant's words, creolization "… is not merely an encounter, a shock (in Segalen's sense), a métissage, but a new and original dimension allowing each person to be there and elsewhere, rooted and open, lost in the mountains and free beneath the sea, in harmony and in errantry" (1990, p. 34). Thinking along the same lines, Paul Gilroy describes creolization as a process of "mutation and adaptation" (1993: 209). In both definitions, two characteristics seem to be fundamental to this conceptualization: movement and contingency. Equally important is the fact that, as Glissant suggests in the excerpt above, the notion of creolization allows a sense of stability amidst the diversity. The stability can be identified, for instance, in the application of the language in a practical situation, as opposed to the fixed norm prescribed in dictionaries and manuals.

In these terms, the creolization cannot be detached from a lived reality or, in other words, from the performances. A creole archive, thus, should challenge normative classification. In other words, the archive suggests ways to look at the issue but tries to avoid pre-established categories. Inspired in Warburg's pathosformel (*pathosformeln*) this study will collect images and propose a look towards them, connecting these different forms of loss, survival and resistance. In a similar vein, this "creole archive" is an attempt to gather different manifestations provoked by a similar spark: the rise of necropolitics. Considering the slave trade in the Atlantic as a landmark of the modern/colonial world-

system, this archive focuses another vector of systematic dispossession in a global range: necropolitics.

Part I - Geographies are calendars

> […] I don't walk, I fly, I become another,
> transfigured. No place and no time. So who am I?
> I am no I in ascension's presence. But I
> think to myself: Alone, the prophet Muhammad
> spoke classical Arabic. "And then what?"
> Then what? A woman soldier shouted:
> Is that you again? Didn't I kill you?
> I said: You killed me ... and I forgot, like you, to die.
> ---
> In Jerusalem
> Mahmoud Darwish

OPENING

This chapter explores how historically and geographically situated categories such as the Apartheid, in South Africa (1948-1994), and the settler colonialism (Australia, USA, South Africa etc.) are revamped in Palestine, originating anachronistic spatial and temporal configurations. In other words, Palestine preserves spatial traces of colonial presence in the 21st century along with cutting edge military and neo-colonial occupation apparatus (see Weizman 2010). It is equally important to acknowledge the multiple temporalities of that space.

Due to the various forms of the occupation, from the West-Bank to the extreme Gaza, the notion of occupied Palestine will vary according to the context. Even though for the sake of this research the area covered by Israel is to be considered occupied land[3], the focus of the critic here will be on the territories occupied after 1967, in direct or indirect disrespect to the international law (such as the Oslo Accords).

As Eyal Weizman observes, the flexibilisation of borders emerge with the occupation of Palestinian territories after the six-day war and has transformed Palestine in a "laboratory of the extreme" (2007: 9). Still according to him, the occupation is sustained by high-end technology developed throughout the many years of the Zionist occupation. Defending that the Israeli occupation is not an isolated case, but rather a spearhead, Weizman declares that "the architecture of Israeli occupation could thus be perceived as an accelerator and an acceleration of other global political processes, a worst-case scenario of capitalist globalisation and its spatial fall-out" (2007: 9,10).

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[3] On this topic, the Palestinian filmmaker Elia Suleiman establishes a difference between the physical occupation, ongoing in the West-Bank and the "psychological" occupation. According to Suleiman: the occupation of 1948 [when Israel was founded], is no longer militaristic, there's no longer a military government with tanks and soldiers in the streets and all that. It's become *psychological*, economic, denial of rights, humiliations in all its forms, and it's manifested in the film [Divine Intervention] by the ghetto atmosphere. [...]" (Suleiman 2003:70).

Following Weizman, Achille Mbembe has expressed his concern with the methods developed and perfected by the Israelis in the occupation of Palestine in his necropolitics (2003) and, in an indirect reference to Weizman´s *Politics of verticality* (see Weizman 2002) and to the drone attacks, mentions the verticalization of the battlefield in his *Critique of Black Reason* (2017).

In this context, the situation in Palestine is a glimpse into a potential global future. Moreover, to discuss the articulation of the temporality/ies in that area is to cast a light on a less explored, yet crucial, aspect of such laboratory of exploitation and resistance. In this vein, the visual archives created after the Palestinian diaspora (The Nakba / *Al Nakbah*) are key tools for the comprehension of this conflict and the articulation of time in a political fashion.

In this spirit, the first part of this work is divided into two chapters. Chapter one shall provide an overview of issues related to daily life under occupation. The second chapter unfolds the discussion into the symbolic realm. Thus, the first chapter deals primarily with journalistic reports, and the second focuses on films that provide an auctorial version of the conflict.

Chapter 1 - The territory as archive: survival of the homeland

1.1 THE LAND, THE CITY, THE HOME-LAND: TIME UNDER OCCUPATION

A Palestinian lady smoking her water pipe at home had her house invaded by Israeli Defense Forces (IDF). She looked at the soldiers, told them to "fuck off" and continued smoking. Displaying confidence, she humorously claims to have prayed to be killed while smoking, so that she would have her story added to *The Guinness Book of Records* as the first woman to die smoking a water pipe.

The anecdote, told and enacted by a Palestinian lady about her personal experience, is part of Al Jazeera's TV documentary *Rebel Architecture - the architecture of violence*. In the context of the film, the lady's story is part of Eyal Weizman's explanation on how the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) operated by drilling holes in Palestinian houses turning them into public spaces of a war zone. As Weizman clarifies, this strategy "turns public and private spaces upside-down" in a process where 'the private space becomes a space of circulation and the public space, the space of the street, is the place where the resistance fighters are being killed" (Al Jazeera English, 2014). According to Weizman, the operation allows the army to create new channels through which they move within the cities. It establishes a whole network of perforated houses which combined, reconfigure the city's map (Al Jazeera English, 2014).

Moreover, according to Weizman (2010: 196) "when soldiers blasted a hole through a wall, they crudely sprayed 'entrance', 'exit', 'do not enter', 'way to…' […] on a wall in order to regulate the traffic of soldiers and to find their way back through the labyrinth they carved out through the bulk of the city". The strategy of using houses as tunnels crossing the city illustrates what specialists from the IDF, inspired by Deleuze & Guattari, describe as smoothening spaces[4]. Regarded the sophistication of the warfare tactics perfected by the IDF in occupied Palestine, which challenges and shapes the very notion of space as fixed, the temporal dynamics in this context must also be examined through a specific framework.

Beyond direct violation of human rights[5], such practice suggests an emblematic rupture in a person's first refuge: home. At least three consequences might be pointed out

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[4] A reference to the notion of "striated" and "smooth" spaces, from *A thousand plateaus* (1987).
[5] The tactic adopted by the IDF violates almost every item concerning the right to adequate housing as understood by the UN Fact Sheet No.21 on "The Human Right to Adequate Housing". According to the

from that. Firstly, it suggests a somewhat ironic connection in the precariousness. As the holes create a path through the houses, the inhabitants have their privacy denied in favour of a composite structure in the service of the IDF. Secondly, the houses and their inhabitants are submitted to a potential invasion from a hostile army at any moment. With houses turned into pipes for the army, the category of routine is challenged. This is not to say that it does not exist, which would require research of a different nature. It is rather clear that in zones where the enemy can drill a hole in a person's house, the structure of the quotidian is severely affected. Thirdly, with the brutal disruption of the quotidian, comes a different experience of time, if compared to a situation of minimum stability. Stability here being the condition where basic human rights principles are respected. Thus, the network of houses connected by holes drilled in its inner walls is an emblematic example of the profound rupture caused by the occupation in the experience of time.

The scenes unveil more than the hostile use of architecture by the IDF and the disruptive capacity of the state violence. The sequence is a vivid illustration of the conflict in some of its most emblematic signifiers: the resilience of the Palestinian woman, the assaulted home, the confrontation between the individual and state, and lastly but more importantly, the gesture resistance – "fuck off". Continuing to smoke her pipe, or at least by telling such story, the lady insists on the preservation of her home despite all. While telling the anecdote, she laughs and seems to enjoy her time, regardless of the outrageous circumstances.

Figure 1 - Rebel architecture (film still, 00:16:31s)

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document, every person has the right to "adequate privacy, adequate space, adequate security, adequate lighting and ventilation, adequate basic infrastructure" among other elements of a decent housing condition. The Israeli government's actions in that case, thus, are a glaring example of disrespect of the international Human Rights legislation.
The sheet is available at <https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/FactSheet21en.pdf>. Access in jun. 2019

The hole in the wall of a Palestinian house is a recurrent image in the filmography of the conflict. Frequently filmed from the outside, it denounces the stranger's look at someone's home. Not coincidentally, it also appears in Rona Sela's description of the occupation of the formerly Palestinian village of Aqir. In Sela's work, the ruined house is displayed as a melancholic sign of the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homes, as it becomes evident by the presence of two empty beds in the frame.

Figure 2 – Looted and Hidden (2017). Film Still (00:04:07s)

More than casual vestiges, holes are visual traits of the occupation. To look at the houses from the outside through the holes is to behold the invasion of a territory which cannot be detached from the notion of home. Such markers indicate the brutal violation of privacy where homes are brought to the heart of the invasion.

The spatial disruption of private space into a corridor for an army to navigate through the city indicates more than a violation of privacy and freedom. It establishes a regime of constant vulnerability beyond the simple panoptic surveillance, which institutes a permanent sense of surveillance. Such holes force a radical transformation in the routines. On the one hand, it allows some houses to continue to exist, and therefore people to have some sense of belonging, quotidian and privacy. On the other hand, it violates these very notions of routine and privacy submitting households to a permanent state of alert, since the boundaries between the quotidian and the war have been cracked.

The ravaged walls frame the interior of different buildings suggesting a sense of resistance and lacunarity. Resistance as a building that insists on witnessing the horror of the occupation even if not whole. As the lady who continued to smoke her pipe in the

presence of a foreign body. The lacunarity is manifested not only in the material realm. It becomes evident in the shadowy figure of a boy inside a house about to be occupied, as a lost body wandering around a space to be ruinated. Altogether, these elements compose a kind of sculpture within the filmic body — a trace of time, a postcard from the ashes, a stubborn reminiscence.

A similar feeling is aroused by the beds left behind by the expelled family in the village of Aqir (F.2), the impression of a house without a soul. In both cases, the traces indicate what Resende (2017) describes as "violated geography". In the case of Palestine, it is a geography where the occupying state disrupts any claim for sovereignty from the occupied people. This process leaves, as traces of its presence, ruined homes and an exhausted land, a process broadly illustrated by the debris of houses and uprooted olive trees.

The invasion and demolition of buildings, however, is a small piece of evidence of an even more significant issue. For instance, Israel has been described by Pappé as a "hybrid between a settler colonialist state and a secret-service (Mukhabarat) regime" (2011: 266) whereas in Mbembe (2003) the situation in the West Bank is described as a "late-modern colonial occupation" and is more commonly qualified as "settler colonialism" (Zureik, 2015; Weizman 2007; Lloyd 2012, Shihade 2012).

Beyond any theory, it only takes a walk on the streets of Jerusalem, divided in the Arab East and Jewish West to notice the brutality of the occupation. If in the Western neighbourhoods are connected by a tram and filled with fancy restaurants, cafés and museums which remind one of any European city, those in the Arab area are undoubtedly poorer and less privileged. These differences can be illustrated with Fanon's description of an occupied country. According to him, "the settler's town is a well-fed town, an *easygoing* town; its belly is always full of good things […] is a town of white people, of foreigners" (1968:39, *emphasis added*).

Defining the "settler's town" as an "easygoing" town, Fanon reveals the temporal dimension (rhythm) implicated in the space. The reader might imagine a town where "foreigners", circulate calmly and safely in contrast with the town where black people, the indigenous, strive to survive since they are not "well-fed". In comparison with the typical cities in the former "third world", these towns do not present a sense of urgency (is "easygoing") or precariousness (is "full of good things").

Thus, the patterns in the settler's colonial occupations connect Africa and Palestine and become especially evident in the aesthetical realm. Not coincidentally, further

in the same text, in an excerpt which could describe Israel, he states that "the settlers' town is a strongly built town, all made of stone and steel". Stone and steel, walls and fences, long-time symbols of occupation sophisticated by the Israeli state.

More than simple barriers or borders, these apparatuses disrupt time. Every border, as every gate or door, requires a change in movement, a new ritual to cross from one place to another. These rituals and their temporal structure will vary according to the identity of that who makes the crossing. Not coincidently when discussing Khalidi argues that "the quintessential Palestinian experience, which illustrates some of the most basic issues raised by Palestinian identity, takes place at a border, an airport, a checkpoint: in short, at any one of those many modern barriers where identities are checked and verified" (Khalidi, 1997:1).

Mentioning border areas to describe the experience of being Palestinian, Khalidi casts light on the intersections between time, space, identity and sovereignty. Borders, thus, are not mere points of identity checking and demarcation. They are also liminal territories where the power relations reveal themselves the concrete forms of documents checking, biometric scans, segregation. Such lines also demarcate different temporal regimes (e.g. in each side of the borders) and experiences of time (e.g. anxiety vs relaxation). Still according to Khalidi (1997:1), even though borders and checkpoints might be merely inconvenient for someone holding a "first world passport", for a Palestinian, they are the cause of "profound anxiety".

The difference in terms of passports, and surnames in the case of Palestinians with "first world passports", cannot be reduced to an identity or a mobility issue. Combined, both elements pointed, identity and mobility, constitute a relevant part of the quotidian experience of a Palestinian. Admitting the neo-colonial nature of the Israeli occupation of Palestine, control over the territory becomes a central issue. In the West Bank, the number of Israeli settlements has grown exponentially over the past years. Gaza, in its turn, is isolated under a state of Siege. Territory, not religion, is the central element of the Israeli Palestinian conflict.

Discussing settler colonialism, Patrick Wolfe underlines that "whatever settlers may say — and they generally have a lot to say— the primary motive for elimination is not racial (nor religion, ethnicity, etc.) but access to the territory. Territoriality is settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element" (2006:388, emphasis added). Furthermore, with the Israeli colonialism in mind, he also stresses the importance of "renaming" as a

central tactical action in the process of erasing an indigenous culture and replacing it with the settlers' symbolic and concrete presence (Wolfe 2006).

To understand the strategic relevance of the occupation of the territory is relevant to demystify religious justifications or discourses such as the one which romanticizes the Palestinians attachment to the land to the one of a peasant and its farm. The control of the soil, in Palestine, is a matter of survival and resistance to the settlers ongoing occupation. Moreover, the relationship between the people and the territory is also one of a temporal nature. It is a bond with a soil which has been nurtured, cultivated, build upon and buries the dead. It is the ground for expectations of future and the archive of an ancient past. In this sense, it cannot be regarded simply as some neutral piece in the geopolitical puzzle. However, as stressed by Wolfe, this relationship has in the material occupation of the land its crucial element. Conversely, its occupation by the indigenous population is primarily an act of survival and resistance.

Aware of the necessity of occupying the territory to control it stimulated the foundation of settlements which functioned as part of a broader surveillance apparatus (Weizman 2007). Located on hilltops, with façades turned to the Palestinian territories, they provide an ideal outlook of the surroundings. Similarly, roads, tunnels, and walls are part of an urbanistic design planned to facilitate the circulation of Israeli citizens and army. The same design mitigates or renders the mobility of Palestinians in their lands unfeasible. According to Weizman, the occupation goes way beyond the surface. It includes archaeological excavations which ruined Palestinian neighbourhoods, the uneven distribution of water, and the aerial control of the occupied lands, based in the use of drones.

Figure 3 - Film Still, Rebel Architecture - The architecture of violence (Al Jazeera, 2019)

The film still above illustrates how roads, fences, wall and settlements are combined in one structure to strangulate the circulation of Palestinians (Al Jazeera, 2019). In the picture, the settler highway connects Israel to a Jewish settlement (in blue) dividing the territory into at least two zones where Palestinians would have the right to circulate. In addition to that, the fences prevent the Palestinians from reaching the highway on one side and isolate the settlement on the other. Another aspect highlighted by Weizman (Al Jazeera, 2019) is the fact that the settlement is strategically located in a hill with the houses facing the occupied land. This configuration, according to Weizman, would favour the surveillance of the territory.

Not coincidently, Foucault (1995) claims that fragmentation is a strategic technique for the management of bodies. The atomization of the individuals would allow simpler management, reducing the unpredictability of large groups, and reduce political articulation in the form of protests and assemblies. Naturally, a higher control and decrease in the unpredictability also imply in a different temporal relation. In the disciplined environment, time is structured, regulated by a higher authority, easily measured. Contrarily, in the mutinies and collectives time acquires more unpredictable traits, it depends on negotiations and is more susceptible to contingency.

Differently from the disciplinary power analysed by Foucault (1995), which was oriented to the analysis of populations within a sovereign state, the situation in Palestine requires the understanding of the double standards inherent to any settler-colonial occupation. The structure of the settlements and the fashion by which they operate are an illustration of Wolfe's analysis of colonial societies. For Wolfe, "settler colonisers come to stay: invasion is a structure, not an event" (Wolfe 2006: 388). It is precisely the case here. Through the combination of ground-breaking architecture, urbanism, and military technology, Israel redefines the notion of colonial occupation stressing its structural character and leaving an indelible mark in the experience of space and time in Palestine. In doing so, the contemporary Israeli state symbolises a bridge between the traditional settler-colonial society, which characterised the "colonial world", and the so-called post-colonial world and the necropolitical occupation of space.

This process is responsible for installing, on the one hand, the best living conditions possible for the Israeli settlers in Palestinian territories and, on the other, to fragment and disturb the Palestinians routines. Such strategies, extensively documented by Eyal Weizmann in his *Hollow Land* (2007) demonstrates a tactical use of architecture

and urbanism as disciplinary tools[6]. The land, thus, is transformed in an emblematic extension of the Foucauldian prison.

It is precisely in the observation Weizmann's analysis of the use of architecture as a domination tool along with the Foucauldian notions of biopolitics and disciplinary power that Mbembe develops his notion of necropolitics. In the essay, necropolitics is described, among other features, as characterised by the "contemporary forms of subjugation of life to the power of death" (2003:39). Among such "forms", one might list the uncrewed vehicles (drones), hostile urbanism, among other pieces of evidence of the uneven power relations in the contemporary world. The definition then, marks a transition from the disciplinary society and the biopolitical power (Foucault 1997, 2003), to a darker economy, that concerned with the management of life through deaths.

It is in the coexistence of disciplinary power, biopolitics and necropolitics that Mbembe recognises the difference between (2003:27) "late modern colonial occupations", such as the one in Palestine, and early modern ones. As Mbembe acknowledges, biopolitics and necropolitics, are non-exclusive, instead they coexist. However, still according to this reasoning, the necropower "profoundly reconfigure the relations among resistance, sacrifice, and terror". With that sentence, extracted from the last paragraph of the essay, Mbembe seems to leave a cue for further interpretations of his provocative piece. As the phrasing suggests, "resistance, sacrifice, and terror" are somewhat intermingled and need to be discussed under the lenses of the macro-power relations which are provoking their existence.

In the same sentence, an escalation in what could be considered forms of resistance seems to be identifiable. In other words, resistance might lead to (or imply) sacrifice, and terror might be the ultimate form of sacrifice for a cause. Here, of course, neither of these notions is defended. Nevertheless, by contrasting these ideas with the panorama of necropower, which according to Mbembe (2003:27), finds its most accomplished form in the occupation of Palestine, one must think about the forms of resistance to the conflict having the brutality of the state apparatus in mind.

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[6] Ratifying concreteness of the notion of "politics of verticality" coined by Eyal Weizman, and the discriminatory nature of the Israeli urbanism in the West-Bank Saree Makdisi underlines that "For example, where the West Bank's unlit, broken, potholed, or altogether unpaved Palestinian roads cross the well-lit, well-paved, and vigilantly patrolled Jewish bypass roads they plunge beneath them into tunnels. Jews traverse the landscape *above*; Arabs, *below*" (2010:535, emphasis in the original).

One of the crucial distinctions between the disciplinary and the necropolitical regimes concerns the treatment of the human body. If the disciplinary power analysed by Foucault aims to instrumentalise the body in a productive object, the necropolitical power operates by the extermination of life. By eliminating the very notion of hope from the individual's life, and replacing it with a foreseeable death, the power structures operate a change in the temporal horizon of the individuals submitted to such reality.

The issue of necropolitics, if Palestine is to be considered as a point of departure, cannot be detached from the neo-colonial practices and racial discrimination that comes along with it. In the same vein, the change in the mechanisms of control which characterises the transition from the disciplinary society, in Foucault, to the society of control, in Deleuze, or the necropolitics cannot be overseen. If in the first cases (disciplinary and control societies) the transition in the power relations happens within the national borders, in the latter case, it refers to a change out of the borders of the nation-state. Once again adopting the case pointed as the state of the art of the situation, in Mbembe, the cutting-edge warfare technology and surveillance apparatus in Israel is, mostly, applied in Palestine or against Palestinians. More importantly, it has been developed to support the neo-colonial occupation of Palestine by the Zionist regimes. Such peculiarities present implications which must be examined and that have not been fully addressed in Mbembe's seminal essay.

Firstly, the exercise of necropolitics has at its core the notion of otherness, which is reinforced by the very technologies adopted. As an example, one might think of the uncrewed war vehicles (drones) used by Israel in operations in Gaza and by the United States in overseas operations. Even though non-weaponized drones are used as surveillance apparatuses within these state's national borders, lethal force is applied in interventions outside of their territories. If this is the case, necropolitics should not be understood not merely as a technology of power applied by a given state to control its population. On the contrary, it speaks of a form of the population control beyond national borders and, perhaps, mainly outside of the national borders. This logic would also apply to territories somehow excluded from the nation's symbolic territories, such as the slums, *favelas*, ghettos, *barrios* and off-sight areas such as the prisons of Guantánamo and Abu Ghraib under the control of the United States military.

At this point, this reading of Mbembe's theory meets the Deleuzian notion of control societies (Deleuze 1995). As the French philosopher predicted in his post-scriptum on the control societies, a very significant part of the world's population is now

secluded to precarious territories where the state violence, or a foreign state´s violence, is performed in a much more intense level as in the lower-class suburbs and neighbourhoods. Throughout this dissertation, all these relations shall be addressed with an emphasis on the notion of resistance.

The duplicity pointed out by Fanon, describing the "settler's city", and that of the indigenous people can also be verified in some areas of Palestine and Israel. As an emblematic landmark of the conflict, Jerusalem is a place divided among other layers, by a geographical division which establishes two clear sides: East and West. Covering the Western part of the city, a tram line moves along the imaginary line dividing the two cities. The tram, thus, establishes a physical border drawn upon the imaginary one. This border, of course, shall not be reduced to its symbolic or material importance. From a temporal perspective, at least two aspects need be underlined. Firstly, the apparent difference in terms of mobility, which allows some citizens to circulate comfortably and relatively fast throughout the city over others who do not have this option in their neighbourhoods. Secondly, there is the symbolic importance of the tram line.

Regarded as an emblematic element of the European Modernity and linked to a sense of "acceleration" (ROSA, 2013), the train, in this case here the presence/absence of the tram, is a divide between temporal regimes. On one side, the Modern, accelerated and "Westernized" West Jerusalem, whereas on the other the Arab-Palestinian Eastern Jerusalem were the maintenance of the past is a survival tool to avoid eradication. In Rosa (2013), the progress, Modernity and the sense of social acceleration presuppose some stability from the institutions. A characteristic of the Global South, a less privileged end of the power spectrum is the lack of institutional, and structural, stability. In this sense, as I will suggest throughout this work, time needs to be conceived within its inherent radical contingency.

This is a fundamental difference between the modern "Western" countries and Palestine, which here could represent territories under the conceptual umbrella of the "Global South". It is by looking at the temporality in Palestine and its processes that one might better understand how Modernity was never a condition fully achieved by the underdeveloped (and formerly) colonised, countries.

The coincidence between Palestine and Algeria, in this regard, is confirmed by Jabotinsky's *Iron Wall* (2003). There, he states that the colonisation process could "proceed and develop only under the protection of a power that is independent of the native population – behind an "iron wall", which the native population cannot breach"

(2003, emphasis added). The excerpt, from 1923, seems even more relevant nowadays due to the reference to a "wall" separating both peoples, an idea eventually literally carried on during the second intifada (2000-2005).

The same document has another statement of prophetic lucidity: "as long as the Arabs feel that there is the least hope of getting rid of us, they will refuse to give up this hope in return for either kind words or for bread and butter, because they are not a rabble, but a living people" (2003). The second fragment brings a hint about the very foundation of the Palestinian-Arab resistance, as well as the concerns of the occupiers: hope, in Jabotinsky's terms or Reinhart Koselleck's words: a "horizon of expectation".

For Koselleck, the categories "horizon of expectation" and "space of experience" are inherently connected between themselves as they are to the historical experience. As he puts it, there is "no expectation without experience; no experience without expectation" (Koselleck, 2004: 257)". According to him, these two categories are crucial, and without them, history would not be possible. The same author emphasises that "concrete history" happens in the realm of a space of experience which is intermingled with a horizon of expectation. The individual and social expectations for the future also play a role in the experience of the present. In other words, the real-world situations are inevitably embedded in a historical context which plays a decisive role in the ways how future will be interpreted, and therefore, how politics is performed and experienced presently.

In a similar direction, one might think of Halbwachs (1992) teachings according to which the physical space is not only crucial for the development of collective memory but also a kind of last resort for the remembrance when the mind fails. In this sense, space is both a point of departure and recollection for the collective and individual memories. It is also, here in Koselleck's terms, the arena upon which the political and the historical experiences are formulated.

1.2 LIVING UNDER AN APARTHEID

As outlined in the previous topics, the understanding of the ongoing necropolitical occupation of Palestine is a crucial step for an understanding of its forms of resistance. As Koselleck underlines, "the conditions of possibility of real history are […] conditions of its cognition" (2004: 258). In referring to conditions of cognition of history, the author stresses the importance of the "space of experience". In other words, history develops in a material context which must be considered as a crucial actor in the power relations.

It is precisely the physical dimension of space (territory), along with its temporal traits, that makes the situation in Palestine emblematic. If the rise of necropolitics in that region raises attention to a potentially global phenomenon, the situation in Palestine is still unique, and perhaps a cue to understand the necropolitical regimes (Mbembe 2003). One aspect to be stressed in the paradigmatic situation in Palestine is the military ruling of one state (Israel) over a foreign population (Palestine). Unlike most cases of state violence, in the West Bank, the violence comes from an alien agent who exercises a military ruling over the land. Gaza, in its turn, despite not having a direct presence of Israel is under siege of the Israeli government, is a target for their attacks.

Yet, the Israeli military presence is characterised as an occupation; it cannot be regarded as a war. Among other relevant distinctions, the notions of "occupation" and "war" hold diverse horizons of time. A war, might even include an occupation, but that is supposed to end at some point; whereas the occupation, like the one in Palestine, is an ongoing process of territorial dismembering with no foreseeable or expected end.

The word commonly used to describe the situation, thus, is conflict. The term, also adopted in the title of this work also holds a semantic trick. From a distance, the notion of conflict implicates in a battle or a disagreement between, at least, two parts. Despite holding some truth, the case here is that of an absolute inequality of forces and subjugation. In this sense, the term conflict hides underneath the shadows of its highly political umbrella the destruction of a people.

The combination of this detachment between occupying state and occupied people and the condition of permanent occupation makes of the occupied areas of the West-Bank an area where the programmed death is in the horizon whereas in Gaza it becomes a daily reality. Internationally known as the crime perpetrated by white settlers against the native South African population, the crime of apartheid became notorious as a crime against humanity, therefore also applicable to other countries. One of the decisions to include apartheid in the hall of crimes against humanity comes from the United Nation's international convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid which establishes that

> […] the term "the crime of apartheid", which shall include similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination as practised in southern Africa, shall apply to the following inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them (UN, 1976: 245).

Under this general definition, the convention lists several acts, two of which deserve our attention due to its direct relation with the practices described in this topic. Item "b" refers to "deliberate imposition on a racial group or groups of living conditions calculated to cause its or their physical destruction in whole or in part" (1976:2); whereas in item "d", the convention lists "any measures, including legislative measures, designed to divide the population along racial lines by the creation of separate reserves and ghettos for the members of a racial group or groups, the prohibition of mixed marriages among members of various racial groups, the *expropriation of landed property belonging to a racial group* or groups or to members thereof (*emphasis added*)" (1976:2). If the item b seems to describe the general mode of operation of the Israeli state towards Palestine, when referring to a "calculated" structure which has as its goal the destruction of Palestinian population, item d allows a pragmatic analysis to point at the architecture of the occupation as an exemplary case illustrating the item, and therefore, a direct violation of the convention.

Resonating with these statements, Richard Falk and Virginia Tilley, in a report for the UN, underline that the "strategic fragmentation is the main method by which Israel imposes an apartheid regime" on the people Palestinian. According to the authors, this division of territory is part of a strategy aimed at weakening political articulation in Palestine and favours the regime of "Israeli racial domination over the Palestinians" (Falk and Tilley, 2017: 3-4).

The report concludes that the primary method for achieving this apartheid regime is precisely the division of Palestinian territory through different regions governed by different laws. Through these practices, Israel would hope to weaken the Palestinian capability of a unified resistance (Falk and Tilley, 2017). A similar argument can be found even among the ranks of the Israeli army as it becomes clear in an anonymous soldier's testimony about his period serving in (the occupied) Hebron:

> You're asking me where I saw violence in Hebron? That's like asking where I saw Hebron in Hebron. It's really at every corner. You just leave your post and you're already on the street that separates people according to their ethnicity or nationality, or whatever whitewashed language is used to justify what's going on there. […] It's very clear who the army is working for, and it's not for the Palestinian population. The mission there is not to maintain order; the mission there is to enforce Jewish supremacy in the city of Hebron. It's not that we soldiers

are between a hammer and an anvil, [but rather] we are the hammer being hurled at the Palestinians by the settlers (Breaking the Silence, 2014: 9, emphasis added).

The testimony was given by a lieutenant of the IDF to the Israeli organisation *Breaking the Silence* in 2014. In the analogy curved in the last sentence of the statement, the soldier makes a relevant point about the nature of the occupation. Firstly, it is relevant to notice how the army's presence in Hebron is described as a tool (hammer) used by the settlers against the Palestinians. Indirectly, the statement, point to the fact that the Palestinians under occupation are under Israeli military law, whereas this does not apply to the settlers, who are regarded as citizens and, therefore have their rights protected by the state. Secondly, the metaphor of a "hammer being hurled at the Palestinians" indicates a trace of the city's quotidian. In other words, the IDF is a tool constantly beating the Palestinians, both literally and figuratively. To imagine the pace of a hammer beating a nail might help to understand the metaphor drawn by the Lieutenant.

Corroborating with this argument, in the same document, another former Lieutenant explains the differences in the treatment of Palestinians and Israelis. According to the testimony, in Hebron, to enter an Israeli house, a soldier need well-grounded reasons to do it, following the Israeli jurisdiction. The situation with the Palestinian houses, however, is entirely different. As the Lieutenant clarifies, "in Hebron, if you're a Palestinian, I'll enter your house whenever I feel like it, and search for whatever I want and I'll turn your house upside down if I want to", without any court order or justifiable reason except for his own desire (Breaking the Silence 2014: 40). Here the pace acquires a new trait, and it is not rhythmic, it does not follow a steady beat. On the contrary, it is unpredictable and even illogical, since it does not obey strictly rational parameters. The home invasions might be motivated by reasonable suspicion or a whim.

Following the pattern of arbitrary violence, a First Sergeant, stationed at the "Worshippers' route" in 2012, makes very clear his discomfort with the unreasonable treatment of the locals. The violence can be observed in the statement where he describes an event at his post. There,

When Jews pass through, the Palestinians have to pass via the other side of the wall. They know on their own, most of them do it automatically. There's no path, it simply means walking in diagonal [on] a levelled, very narrow and very inconvenient section [of the road]. Only after they pass the area where the Jews come from, can they go out onto the road. It was night time, and there was this family of a father, a woman, another woman and three kids, and they wanted to

vertically cut across the route. They said, "Our house is just across the way," And instead of circling the entire dirt road, they wanted to cross. My Company Commander said, "Have them go around," and the father tells him, "I'm from here, this is my home." [The Company Commander] tells him, "Nothing to be done, these are the regulations, cross from around." He (the Palestinian) tells him, "These are little kids, with open shoes, let us through." My Company Commander starts yelling at him, "Yalla, go, get going, this is a waste of time." We escort them – we're walking on the street and they're walking on the other side, and as they're walking the girl falls down and starts bleeding a bit. She started crying for real. Everyone stops, and the father looks at the Company Commander and asks him, "Sir, are you happy now?" (Breaking the Silence 2014: 56,57)

He concludes the testimony saying that in the end, he felt that "really wanted to throw up" (Breaking the Silence 2014: 56,57). These testimonies orchestrate a chorus of voices from the soldiers pointing at the systematic oppression of Palestinians in Hebron and the permanent disruption in their quotidian. These disruptions may be perceived in their circulation, as stated in the previous testimony or in the legal parameters adopted in their treatment, as demonstrated by the first excerpt or by the very presence of a foreign army in the city's street. Altogether, these issues play a crucial role in the experience of space and time.

Firstly, it imposes a dual spatiality, one of the colonies and that of the indigenous people. Consequently, the fruition of the city is stained by several points of tension throughout the city, humiliation and by the physical limitation of space. Secondly, the experience of time becomes less predictable, given that the indigenous people do not have control of the space and, therefore, are not able to have a structured routine. For the same reason, they do not know when or if they will have their private spaces raided by the military and their beloved ones checked and arrested.

This permanent state of oppression can be better described with the words of an IDF commander. According to a first Sergeant, when interrogated about the reason for their presence in Hebron, his Platoon Commander said the following: "[our purpose here is] to demonstrate presence, to show deterrence, to show the Palestinians *there's someone ruling over them*" (Breaking the Silence 2014: 68, *emphasis added*).

In the italicised sentence, the commander stresses the asymmetric power-relations which do not have strictly to do with a military or legal issue. More than physical oppression, as in "someone ruling over them", the excerpt points at a permanent state of exception under martial law. In such a condition, notions of future and past are jeopardised by the constant state of alert required to cope with the hostile ruler's presence.

It is thus, a state where the ability to respond to an imminent threat becomes more important than that to plan the future. A future that is, in any space under the ruling of an unstable or hostile regime, subjected to a high level of uncertainty.

The notion of violence as ingrained in the space-temporal relations in the occupied territories evokes the broader pattern of constant terror against most the Hebron's population. This pattern can also be identified in other fragments such as the idea of violence "at every corner" or the mention to places where "Jews can pass" and Arabs "cannot pass". From this brief excerpt, it is one might extract many illustrations about the organic integration between urbanism, disciplinary power, biopower, necropower, and its implications on daily life. Even if hesitant about the use of the word "apartheid" the Lieutenant is blunt when describing the IDF's racially-based discrimination.

From a broader perspective, the testimonies illustrate the lack of sovereignty of the Palestinian people translated in the hostile presence of the Israeli state in the form of its "Defence Forces". Moreover, each of the cases demonstrates in its own way the transition between a biopolitical logic, in the state's power to let die (Foucault 2003), to a necropolitical operation. In the latter system, an entire population, in this case, Palestinians in Hebron, is ruled by fear and by a foreign state's armed wing.

It is not a coincidence that these elements resonate with Mbembe's claim that the occupation of Palestine is the "most accomplished form of necropower" (2003:27). To come to this conclusion Mbembe contrasts the modern colonial occupations which according to him was "a matter of seizing, delimiting, and asserting control over a physical geographical" and therefore defining "a new set of social and spatial relations". What Mbembe describes as a "new set of social and spatial relations might as well be understood as a reshaping of the space, not only in its material but in its immaterial, relational dimension.

This perspective, then, raises a problem: once occupied by the settlers, it is no longer possible to talk about the Palestinian territory as crystallised in time. As Mbembe (2003) suggests, the colonial presence "rewrites" space. Still according to the same author, an essential characteristic of the necropower is the fragmentation of the territory, which is divided into cells to a point when the movement of the indigenous population becomes impracticable.

Symptomatically enough, to illustrate his argument Mbembe (2003) resorts to Eyal Weizman (2002) and his *Politics of verticality*, a theory on the use of militarily oriented architecture, urbanism and surveillance methods by Israel in Palestine.

Necropolitics, thus, is not strictly a concept from which to depart to understand the Palestinian struggle. On the contrary. It is from the observation of the new colonial presence in Palestine that the notion derives. Beyond the previously mentioned excerpts, this affirmation can be confirmed by multiple statements in the essay where Mbembe defends for instance that "the late-modern colonial occupation in Gaza and the West Bank presents three major characteristics in relation to the working of the specific terror formation […] called necropower" (2003:27).

The necropolitical operation and its temporal consequences are evidenced by the process of systematic ruination of Palestinian territories, specifically through the destruction of its architecture and land. Perhaps one of the most iconic representations of this project of systematic ruination is the pile of debris named by Eyal Weizman as "Pyramids of Gaza". In the following topic, I shall depart from a photograph of debris from Gaza to open the discussion on the visual traces left by the necropolitical project in Palestine.

1.3 PYRAMIDS OF GAZA AND THE VISUAL TRACES OF THE OCCUPATION

The "pyramids" are an emblematic example on the "translation" of the struggle from the material level to the symbolic realm. They are described by Weizman (2010) as the "new signature of Israeli aggression". According to the architect, these ruins are visible in all of Gaza's territory as the result of the operation of Israeli Caterpillar D9 Bulldozers which demolish Palestinian houses from the sides leading the upper part of the structures to fall apart over the central columns. In this vein, the photo below is not a mere accident, but as Weizman would claim, it is forensic evidence of structural violence.

Figure 4 - Pyramids of Gaza (photo: Eyal Weizman)

They are also a reminder of the fact that most of the aesthetic productions coming from Palestine are profoundly rooted in a fight for survival which includes the preservation of physical entities such as houses, roads, and cultivated land. More than an architectural pattern, these ruins can be understood as a crucial element linking the material to the symbolic realm. Within the debris, lie a cue for the understanding the Palestinian resistance.

After all, the "pyramids" are perhaps the most recognizable symbol of antiquity and resistance to time. They are also a reminder of the presence of the past in the present. The past there is distorted, torn down, yet meaningful. If pyramids are icons of civilisation, in Gaza, all these qualities seem to be revisited and reversed. There, antiquity is substituted by contemporaneity whereas civilisation is replaced with barbarism. Notwithstanding all that, the pyramids are still a powerful symbol, and a symbol of resistance not to the violence of time, but to that of men.

A symptom of the IDF's practice of demolishing homes in a large scale, these ruins are connected to an ideology of destruction and death, necropolitics. In this vein, the images of such "pyramids" are an emblematic document of their time. As a cue, these inverted monuments, suggest that the landscape of Palestine, like any other, must be read not only in its concrete dimension but also understood in its symbolic domain.

The notion of symbolic territory, according to the geographer Rogério Haesbaert (2004), refers to a territory as a symbol not necessarily linked to a material space and a functional character. Still, according to him, these territories are opposed, in an ideal

formulation, the functional territories which in their turn would be characterised by control, the capacity to harbour material resources and "absence of territoriality", which, as the author admits, is empirically impossible.

Damaged walls board

Figure 5 - Images board, damaged walls. Photo credits from upper left to right clockwise: Looted and Hidden, film still; Rebel Archtecture, film still; Middle East Monitor; Mahmoud Hams/AFP)

Still according to Haesbaert (2004), territories can be functional and symbolic, and any territory has its inherent symbolic meaning. Hereon, I argue that in Palestine, the progressive erosion of the physical territory and, consequently, of its functional dimension, has been a push towards the expansion of symbolic territoriality. In other words, the systematic control and strangulation of the Palestinian land by the Israeli army has not only the devastating consequence of the erasing of Palestine as territoriality.

This process led to the creation of a nation divided into multiple territorialities Gaza, West Bank and the occupied territories, within the borders of the West Bank. In addition to this already complex situation, the Palestinian diaspora is responsible for a massive number of Palestinians born outside their motherland who maintain a sense of belonging towards Palestine.

One of the consequences of this long-lasting occupation, and consequently partition and occupation of the territory, is the dissemination of Palestinian culture and their struggle beyond the West-Bank and Gaza. Through this process, symbolic territoriality is curved out of the struggle. In order to address these issues, the study undertakes an analysis of a film which discusses Palestinian memories while recording and inventing them. In such a process, a possible exit emerges, the rupture by creation. It

is through plasticity before the abyss of contingency that politics configures new practices, new ways of being, and seeing, new bodies, and affections. In the case of Palestine, memory is invented to re-signify ruins and absences.

This study points to visible traces of a nation woven from multiple territories, corroborating the idea that visual narratives are capable of articulating difference and multiplicity, including times and spaces, in favour of political and aesthetical unity. The exogenous reference of these lines deserves mention also for the universality of the problem and for the challenge of articulating this same movement from the Palestinian territory, which is divided in the middle and isolated from the rest of the world by colonial forces.

Facing a scenario of this planned disarticulation, this research seeks narratives that try to sew memories to restore a ruinated geography. After all, Palestine is already reborn in the contemporary imagination as territory mutilated by the creation of Israel in the year 1948. With the end of the British mandate in the region, that nation comes to exist as a denial: that which is not Israel — or Jordan, or the sea. As it will become clear in the analysis of the filmic material, the sea is a kind of last resort, last frontier for the Palestinians in the pursuit of their homeland. Differently from the land, it has not yet been dominated by the colonialists. Or has it? With this question in mind, I shall proceed to the analysis of the docu-fiction *Your father was born 100 years old, and so was the Nakba* (USA, Lebanon, Palestine 2017).

Chapter 2 - Roundabouts of history: the entangled temporalities in Palestine

2.1 ARRIVING IN HAIFA

History in Palestine is a hank of threads held by several groups both in exile and in the lands of the former British mandate Palestine (Israel, occupied West-Bank, Gaza). Looking at a short film *Your father was born a hundred years old and so was the Nakba*, directed by the Palestinian filmmaker and media artist Razan AlSalah, this topic takes a further step in the understanding of Palestine after the Nakba. Hence, I would like to explore the relations between new-media technology, memory and affect in the filmic body.

This journey starts a sudden movement. Over a Google maps image, a female voice calmly explains: "We must throw ourselves in. Otherwise we´ll never make it". This statement is a key hint in the gesture the film represents. It is necessary to throw oneself in, to force the entry, which would be otherwise denied. The voice comes from the character Oum Ameen, a Palestinian grandmother, who undertakes a journey to return to her hometown Haifa.

On the screen, the anthropomorphic icon is thrown in a certain point of Shivat Tsiyon street, near a roundabout. As the icon seems to fall into the map, the spectator observes the transmutation of the bi-dimensional map into a filmic representation of the city, still provided by the same software. Instead of blue lines representing streets and grey city blocks the filmic body progressively mutates into a city filled with palm trees, blue sky, cars and people. This strategy allows the filmmaker to explore the territory and extend her affections to this unreachable, yet so present land. It is somehow, an act of invasion.

Exhilarated with the transition from the bi-dimensional map to a three-dimensional environment, the voice exclaims: "Haa! Yes, this is the street!". The cheerful reaction suggests a long-waited reencounter. After a short reconnaissance move, the camera is directed to the floor revealing an X. Dispossessed from her physical body, she states "and this is me. Anonymous X". Albeit the human body is prevented from reaching Haifa, the memories embrace the computational simulation the medium for its journey. In an attentive use of the language, the narrator identifies itself not by its female voice, but firstly as "we" and now as "Anonymous x". It follows the pace of a walk in the city of Haifa.

Ironically, right next to the "X", marking the position on the ground, or the anonymous identity, Google´s copyright slips in. There it reads "@2016Google". In this perhaps unplanned sign, three elements catch the attention of the attentive spectator: the property of the image, which belongs to the multinational group; the date when the record was made, 2016; and the brand, Google. This combination, even if blurred, leave a footprint in this artistic work of imagination. Perhaps an impression of the very time when the security cameras and satellites are remapping not only Israel and Palestine but the whole world.

Symptomatically, the body performing the walk does not belong to the grandmother. It is the walk of a digital spectrum, a phantasmatic presence controlled by Ameen´s consciousness from far away – a cyborg. Part of it is momentarily in Haifa, the other part in some undetermined place, away from home.

It is also noteworthy that the voice narrating the film, attributed to an older woman is a young one - presumably from the director herself. This split between body and memory manifests a symptom the film is playing with: the impossibility of the older woman to visit her homeland and the attempt of her granddaughter, born in exile, to honour her wishes with a film about their family's homeland. In the film, this partition, complemented by that between the human and the digital apparatus, appears as one more consequence of the Nakba.

The sequence synthesises at once the experience of exile and the fragmentation of the territory, as well as the subjective fragmentation which comes along. Both create amputated bodies. In the filmic space, this ethereal entity seems to wander with a mind full of memories but deprived of a body. In this sense, the film reverses the dilemma of many forcibly displaced Palestinians secluded from their homeland where their memories and stories remained. In lending her voice to her grandmother memories, however, Razan performs a gesture of resistance denying the silencing and the imposed distance separating her family memories and their home. This dual body maps Palestine through the composition of images and the use of digital technology. Here, a digital walk through the city of Haifa, suggests one of the possible Palestinian experiences towards that territory.

Already in the new environment, the narrator continues its exploration. Once the memories become clearer, an old photo of the area overlays part of the Google Street View frame. She seems surprised: "there used to be a well here, a deeeeeep [sic] well... where your father was born. We had to pull him out. He was born 100 years old. Like the

Nakba. It was already 100 years old in 1948". By combining an old black and white photo with the Street View sight, the documentary emphasises the inherent presence of affections in the space.

Overlaying an old analogical photo upon a digital capture, Razan raises questions on the rights to the land and its temporalities. Who is entitled to walk in those roads and why? When is now? Does time depend on the beholder? Is there not an inherent memory in things? After all, that was not simply an old photo. It is the register of a different space, of another temporality. This difference is stressed out by the director who emphasises the well, one of the very few differences between the old record and the contemporary landscape. The addition of a photo in the almost invariably instantaneous/memoryless Street View is to insert memory and, therefore, affect, in the computer code.

The well, however, is not merely a concrete structure. It is a place of gathering, the trace of a lifestyle. Its presence, in the picture, suggests that it was a point where people would meet, collect water for animals and fields, a landmark in an early 20th-century agricultural society. To bring the well, and the photo, it back to the 21st century Israel thus, is a sort of emotional remapping of the territory. It is also an exercise of remembrance in which the street, which seems to have been numbed by the layers of time, is reminded of its erased history.

Figure 6 – Well in Haifa (Film still, 00:01:12s)

The superposition of images might suggest that the past was transported towards the present. However, in the image, there is no contradiction between both points in time. The chronological demarcation, which can be spotted in the image by the frame and colours, is blurred by the almost perfect match between the two layers through which the street is depicted. In the end, what can be perceived in the still are not two, but one intricate image. In this sense, another way of understanding the image is to admit that

instead of distorting or changing the city's "real image", the technique unveiled presence (or survival) of the Arab-Palestinian Haifa in the contemporary Israeli version of the city.

Almost as if the colours from the Street View snapshot were a curtain of dust which could be waved out by a simple gesture, the juxtaposition offers a breeze of fresh air into the "digitalscape". Moreover, these initial moments provide a hint on the film´s main message: affective cartography of Haifa will be undertaken with the aid of Google Maps and old photos. Throughout this process, the claim for the city will also be laid out.

In its journey through time, the camera approaches a crossroad sign with a close shot when a voiceover says: "This is the crossroad of British Colonel William Stanton Street and Burj Street". The emblematic intersection reflects the intertwined temporalities and geographies of the region. In the film, it is described as "the crossroad of history", a point "between colonialism and Palestine".

In the juxtaposition between the Google Street View image and the centralised black and white photo of Haifa, the documentary suggests a reconfiguration of the temporal experience. There, time acquires a physical dimension; it is embodied in the image along with the new and old memories of the city. Moreover, this reconfiguration of time is expressed in duplicity images, such as crossroads, overlapped photos, and the binary gaze established between the human and the mechanic eye of Google Street View.

For this research, the most relevant of these ambiguities is the patent suggestion that Palestinian history is marked by a phantasmatic presence of the past into the present. The present, in its turn, is filled with absences. Aesthetically, this presence is identifiable in the character of the (possibly dead) disembodied grandmother as a narrator, in the black and white photos, both as figures of the lasting-past and, on the other side, the streets of Haifa where most Palestinians are not allowed to walk. Such stylistic options are also revealing of the temporal relations entangled in the film. After all, as Didi-Huberman underlines "the very choice of grisaille as a colour expresses a form of time" (2017: 63). In this vein, the coexistence between black and white photos and Google Maps captions underlines the temporal tensions involved in the director´s gaze.

The name of each of the roads in the intersection evoke pillars of the colonial history in Palestine. If the British Colonel William Stanton road indicates British legacy, which layered the foundations for the creation of Israel via the Balfour Declaration, the Burj street bares an ambiguous and ancient heritage. It might refer to the Burji (or Circassian Mamluk) dynasty, which ruled Egypt from the 13th to the 18th centuries (Aharoni 2004). Another possible reference, however, seems to be to the conquer of

Palestine by Muhammad Ali, the Egyptian ruler who rebelled against the Ottoman Empire.

In December 1831, Muhammad Ali's son Ibrahim Pasha occupied Haifa using the city as a military base. In 1934, in a revolt against the Pasha's ruling, various strata of the Palestinian people gathered in what became known as the peasant's revolt in Palestine (Rood 2006). Despite being portrayed in the film as lost opportunity contrasting with the colonial ruling, the peasant's revolt is considered as a formative event of the Palestinian Arab identity (Kimmerling and Migdal 2003). If it represented a loss in terms of the short term political horizon, it also became a milestone for the Palestinian-Arab identity, as opposed to an Ottoman-Arab identity. A bit more than a hundred years before the Nakba, Haifa, and Palestine, were returned to the colonial rule of the Ottoman Empire in 1840. Perhaps thinking about the rebellion, the narrator suggests that point, the moment of the reinstallation of the Ottoman control in the city as the road of colonialism.

From a historical point of view, the crossroad points at the films' central argument: that the Nakba was born 100 years old, presumably in with the loss of the peasants the revolt in 1834. Under the tutelage of the Ottomans, Palestine returned to the road which continued with the British mandate and more recently with the Israeli occupation of Gaza and the West Bank. Ultimately, it is possible to affirm that despite being a nation with broad international recognition, the Palestinian people has never achieved full sovereignty over its territory. Not by chance, the very notion of "Palestinian nationalism" according to Said (1984) was developed in exile.

2.2. HACKING THE WAY INTO THE HOMELAND

The usage of technology is a key element for the narrative in *Your father was born.* By allowing the return of a grandmother which would be impossible otherwise, technology along with fabulation appear as tools to challenge the official history. Alluding to historical landmarks, the film indicates the crucial role of time for the unfolding of the storyline. Not that time here can be comprehended in a linear fashion, but rather as a gesture of rupture that breaks into the present to rescue an imagined past. An example of this is the use of historic photographs of the city overlapping the Google Street View shot. This affective and political tactic speaks to the regime of representation and experience of time.

Here, she hijacks the memory of the city, adding it to the viewer idea of Palestine. Borrowing Koselleck's terminology, one may say that the gesture is an invitation to

provide a space of experience. In these terms, the film is more than a protest on a space that can no longer be occupied by the Palestinians but contrarily, it is an act of occupation. Beyond a mere fabulation of the territory, it consists in a virtual raid. This hunt of a phantasmatic body for its homeland results in the simultaneous creation of a liminal space.

A strategic move considering that one of the issues the Palestinians must deal with is the lack of or limited access to their motherland and the land of their ancestors. Appropriating the technological apparatus, the film curves a space where every viewer can reach Palestine, and more importantly, question the current portrayal of the landscape by Google and Israel. Once again, the addition of an old archive photo is not a simple gesture of remembrance. It is instead an act of contestation.

The film, then, offers an aesthetic experience which provokes the viewers to rethink their way of looking. With its B&W photos mixed with Google's technological apparatus, the movie opens a fence for the eruption of the abstract elements which constitute the city: remembrances, sorrow, absences, power-relations.

In a sense, by using Google Maps to slip into Haifa, the filmmaker is hacking her way in the historical and geographical discourse. She does not only represent a city or an idea of the city but constructs it. In doing so, the idea of what the territory is, both in the symbolic and material levels comes into play. The apparatus, however, has its limitations. It allows the filmmaker and its character to depict and symbolically enter the city, but not the houses; not the grandmothers' old house, nor any of the shops in the neighbourhood. Neither is she able to complain or interact with the passers-by. It is, thus, an invisible form of the fruition of the public space which is not made available for these Palestinian women, both filmmaker and character (the grandmother).

Also, importantly, such experiences provide the basis for a Palestinian experience of past and an imagined Palestinian future, something that the political scenario can hardly offer. One of the tactics adopted by Razan AlSalah to articulate the complex temporalities of the city is to portray movement. As the camera quickly moves forward onto the street, the old and contemporary Haifa seem to blend into a blurred memory as if time were reversed, responding to the camera's advances. Perhaps suggesting that movement through space is inextricable from dislocation in time. With the camera, the virtual body of the Palestinian grandmother digs deeper into the city. Her movement, though, is not straight forward. Her mind travels through memories scattered throughout the city.

The computational body, however, has its limits. Or so the film suggests. The grandmother moans: "if I could walk here… I would find it. Even if it's not there anymore". The virtual body misses the physical presence. It's a body without legs. Thus, it cannot touch the land or walk. This impression is confirmed by her frustration after finding an old house which could be hers: "We can't go inside either?". Even if equipped with a new body capable of navigating through the streets of Palestine, she is not indulged the full extent of her affects. The remembrance is indulged to her, but not in its whole corporal dimension. The body is a ghost travelling through Haifa, never visible and only identifiable for its voice and the appearance of movement dictated by the camera.

From a media perspective, these scenes also provide an insight into the limitations of the medium in the conflict. The filmmaker operated a "virtual smuggle" of Palestinian memories to Haifa, overcoming the Israeli border policies and creating a field for the experience and fruition of the territory. Notwithstanding that, this outcome is unsatisfactory. The digital city cannot be touched, has no smell, and it is not entirely available for the senses. If the film is, on the one hand, a tool that allows an approximation and manipulation of the homeland, it is also the register of a brutal distance. It is an archive of loss, more than one of creation.

Relying on the ambiguity of this condition, the director plays with the tools at her disposal. The film thus admits its documental nature. However, it is not a historical document but rather an attempt to represent a form of violence impossible to avenge. The powerlessness of a body which is not allowed to enter its homeland is reflected in the wandering memory on the screen.

The problem here is not strictly one of access to the territory. The physical space has also changed. Or rather, it has been changed, and so has time. She explains: "They demolished 112 houses only one day after they forced us out". In the statement, the material realm of the city and the chronology of the Nakba are intermingled. The camera turns around the street as she continues: "What about today…?", a sign denounces the new times: "They've erased everything and changed all the names". The sign has an English inscription under the Hebrew characters informs "PEDICURE". There is no room for Arabic in the small blackboard. The Arab presence has been erased whereas the names, which give objects and beings an identity, a place in the discourse, they have been changed.

Continuing her quest, which includes the search of a boy called "[Abu] Ameen", she says: "it's good Ameen is still called Ameen". Certain things have not changed. As

the phantasmatic figure of Ameen indicates, the Arab-Palestinian identity was preserved. They were removed, many were killed, but they cannot be renamed or forgotten.

In a paradigmatic scene, the grandmother highlights the entanglement of space-time relations by replacing a spatial expression (where) by a temporal one (when). She then asks: "Did you bring me back here? When I cannot feel this place. I can't even see it. They are showing it to me. Take me to the sea" (emphasis added). As the statements suggest, Haifa is not only a where, but rather a when. It is the encounter of a location in space and time via a corporeal experience. Haifa becomes a point, or perhaps place in time. A place further in the life-line of the woman who was forced to leave Palestine during the Nakba. Despite being the future, it is a place/time where she returns to. Time is entangled with space in a way in which history cannot be told in synchronic terms.

In this "when", Palestine cannot be felt or even seen. Not necessarily because it is not there, but rather because it is being shown, presented as something else. This, of course, from the perspective of the grandmother who lived in Haifa and is no longer allowed to go back with her own body. Ultimately, Ms Ameen does not recognise Haifa anymore, or more specifically, she does not recognise the temporality in that familiar space. For instance, she acknowledges the place (here) but not the time (when) which does not allow her to feel the city. The lack of synchrony between space and time pointed out by the grandmother stresses the ultimate dilemma concerning the Nakba and the violence of the occupation.

The sequence provokes other interrogations. Who brought her "back"? Before that point, the grandmother appeared to be fully in control, exploring the city according to her own will. When is "now"? Is it the moment in time when the visit took place, or she is referring to the entire period after 1948? Is she unable to see it because her eyes are being replaced by the camera and her consciousness detached from her physical body? Can she not feel it because she is not materially present? Or this would be because all that was presented to her does not correspond to what she believes to be Palestine, and what her memory suggests as Palestine? Despite leaving these questions unanswered, the film seems to make a point regarding the lack of recognition. Not only the recognition of the person concerning the land (when is here?) but also the other way around, the land, at that moment (now), does not seem to admit the narrator. This lack of recognition, which goes far beyond the remembrance of a specific spot, denounces the violence operated against those who had their origins and memories denied. People who were dislocated not only territorially, but displaced in time.

Arriving at a harbour, the grandmother spots a cruiser in which she sees the English ship that took their family to the exile in Beirut. Once again, time and space appear as intermingled in the images, which mix a black and white photo with the Street View shot. Meanwhile, a voiceover interrogates the spectator: "what's wrong with them, we are being killed and displaced, and you are taking pictures?". Intentionally ambivalent, the figure of the grandmother emphasises the indifference of the tourists towards the violence against the Palestinian people; a reminder of the Western silence with regards to the Palestinian catastrophe. A silence that has lasted for the past 71 years in 2019 and, in the film, is represented by the cruiser ship crowded with tourists alienated from, or indifferent to, the local struggle.

Figure 7 - Overlapping ships. Film still, Your father was born... (00:04:49s)

Not without a certain irony, the director focuses on a contemporary image of tourists, with caps and cameras, in contrast with the absent image of someone who is about to the sent into the exile. The juxtaposition of images, allows the storyteller to entangle two threads of history: the forced exile, in the past, and the tourism industry, in the present. Lying underneath these images are two crucial elements of Palestinian history: settler colonialism and necropolitics.

The colonialism appears in the allegory of the displaced grandmother in a ship, pointing directly to the Nakba. In its turn, the necropolitical operation against Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank is evoked: "we are being killed", claims the voiceover. The adoption of the present tense by the old woman who sees the world both in the present and past (British ship to exile/Cruiser ship) emphasises the duality of the temporal experience is glued by the permanent violence.

In any case, the anachronism of the image is symptomatic. Adopting the perspective of a pre-1948 Palestinian grandmother, Razan relies on her gaze to narrate. Here the term impression is adopted with a deliberate reference to its Latin root, regarding

a form of stamp or mark left upon something. Here, a mark, a printing left over the images, which in their turn are ambivalent registers of history and present, as are the memories.

As the reader might observe, the film stills in this chapter are impressions displaying distinct vestiges of time. Some of these traces, or visual layers, deserve special attention. The first can be identified in the use of old black and white photos evoking personal memories of the grandmother and collective memories of Palestinians. The photographs are adopted to evoke the narrators' gaze, which builds upon her remembrance, in contrast with the city presented in the Google Street View imagery.

The second trace comes in the references to the Google technology, which can be noticed in the light arrow within a white circle in the bottom of the image over the sea (Fig.7), or the traits of the same vestiges of the same icon in the bottom left displayed in the roundabout image (Fig.6). Other traces, such as Google's trademark, are evidenced and incorporated as crucial elements to the narrative, as is the case of the opening sequence when the grandmother is thrown in the virtual Haifa. At that moment, the mediation of the Internet company plays a significant role in the sense of estrangement raised by the image.

2.3 VISUAL TRACES OF THE TIMESCAPE

Following the trail of the visual cues left by the film, the street signs deserve a more detailed comment. From modern street signs (crossroads), the street names which appear as part of the experience of navigating through Google Street View's digital map, several elements reinforce the virtuality of the narrator's experience and the Israeli presence and conversely the exclusion of the Palestinian beholder. On the other hand, features such as the fabric of the city, its roads and buildings, landscape (hills, sea, etc.), all this seem to indicate that Palestine is still there. In this sense, the indigenous population and the landscape cannot be separated in the symbolic realm.

The historical photos reinforce the integration between the Palestinian people and the imagetic memory of the land. More than evoking personal memories or an indicating the existence of a past, the photo montage demonstrates that the place cannot be detached from its historicity and affects of those who see such images—this process of sewing past and present shapes the narration. An example is a scene where the camera focuses on a tourist taking a picture of a sailor, and the grandmother asks herself "why is this woman taking photos of the army?!". Where an unaware spectator will see a harmless sailor in a cruise ship, an old Palestinian grandmother sees a soldier. The comment reveals a much

broader trend than what is shown in the film.

As a brief walk on the streets of Jerusalem can demonstrate, the Israeli army and their recruits seem to be integrated into the life of the city to a point when they became a touristic attraction. The sight for a postcard or a travel photograph. The tourists' serenity taking pictures are reminders that Fanon's (1963) settler city is not something of the past. It is an accurate description of sights such as the Haifa depicted in this film or many other venues in modern Israel such as the Dead Sea and its resorts or West Jerusalem and its cafés.

Travelling back to the traffic metaphors, one might suggest that time, perhaps unlike history in Haifa, and Palestine, does not operate in terms of crossroads but roundabouts. It flows, allows continual movement, has several points of entrance and exit. Differently from what the film seems to suggest, the presence of Burj Street does not simply indicate a loss. It is a reminder of a future that never came to be, but it is still a concrete present upon which the film develops. So is Colonel William Stanton Street. Instead of being mutually exclusive scenarios they coexist, which is the reason why the allegory in film's title may assert that the first (Palestine/Burj Str.) is suppressed by the second (Colonialism/Col. W. Stanton Str.).

Hence, to look at the photo over the Google Street View frame is also to be challenged by the presence of the modern Israeli Haifa. As Ann E. Kaplan (1997) suggests, to look is a relational practice. Willing to find Palestine one stumbles upon an image of Israel, which does not contradict or deny, but rather suppresses, builds over that of Palestine. Perhaps an archaeological process is required of the spectator. It is necessary to excavate, to observe the details, the allegedly lost traits to recompose the trait of history without disregarding the materiality of these temporal relations which is identified in the buildings, bodies, in the impossibility of entering a family house.

The film insistently unveils the imbricated relation of multiple temporalities in the city of Haifa. These temporalities can be perceived in strategies such as the overlap of B&W photos over the Street View shots. Such recreation reveals more than coincidence of spaces and objects, such as the streets, or ships. The tactics expose the contrast between the exile and suffering of a people and the touristic exploitation of the landscape. More precisely, it points at the normalisation of the catastrophe (alNakba).

The past is presented as a spectrum, or rather a phantasmatic image that refuses to leave. The grandmother who is never seen, only heard as memorial whispers; the well, returned in the form of a historical photo, as a gesture of historical justice, the

reconstitution of a missing piece, a source of water in a dry land surrounded by a group of Arab men. Such signs reintroduced to the city through the artifice of the film screen, contrast with modified street names and other visual traits indicating not only a change in time but a change in the right to the city.

Not casually, the film establishes a dynamic pace since its beginning. Camera, time and space are continually moving through a territory which can never be grasped. In this process, the filmmaker undertakes a "sentimental cartography", a process that combines a performative experience of a city and artistic intervention on the landscape (Rolnik 2006). More importantly, the sentimental cartography is performed by a determined body.

In the film, the trajectory of the grandmother, an archetypical Palestinian figure, who wanders around the city accumulating experiences of remembrance, denial and ultimately rejection. Not coincidently, movement is imperative to the camera due to the permanent negativity the experience imposes. "Take me from here", says the grandmother. The exclamation comes to confirm that every personal memory is contrasted with a violent social reality. Moved by disappointment and pain, the character symptomatically performs the trajectory of the Palestinians who left the country in the Nakba.

Since the first scene where she faces the well to the walk, through several streets of Haifa, the film is a marching recollection of losses which finds its end in the sea, the last resort of those expelled from the land. Evoking the ocean, the images leave the spectator with this ambiguous archive of memories and oblivion, home and cemetery for fantasies of refuge and exile.

In one it is most elusive, and yet emblematic, scenes the film the narrator suggests that "the sea is broken" when referring to a bug in the software which freezes half of the screen dividing the image of the sea into two frames. On the right side of the film screen, the live stream remains functional and presents a fluid, vivid sea, whereas on the left the sea appears as a photo, a nostalgic and crystallised memory - a broken memory. The feeling then is not only that the sea is broken but rather that even the sea is "broken". Without the water, the trajectory is destined to failure.

However, another look is still possible. The binary division, moving/still, left/right, ours/theirs, is also an indicator of the complexity of that spatiality which does not seem to admit a singular gaze. Both gazes are present on the screen — the one who perceives the fixed form and that which admits the fluid one. Perhaps the screen mirrors

the observer. As in the old photos of the period before the Nakba Palestine contrasted with the contemporary images of Israel, the temporalities are engaged in the visuality. Equally, the images are responsive to those who look. As Ann A. Kaplan (1997) suggests, look, differently from the gaze, is relational. It is a process of exchange, a trip towards the uncharted territory of otherness.

CODA

Part I departs from the entanglement between the urbanistic character of the occupation and its visual traces in daily life. Throughout chapter one, the experiences of ordinary Palestinians displayed in photographs and testimonies overlap that of soldiers from the occupying forces. This preliminary overview aims to introduce the reader to the territory upon which the temporal relations in this thesis take place. A look at the infrastructural layer of the conflict (roads, walls, settlements) also provides a hint on the depth of the psychological consequences of the occupation. In this spirit, the chapter aims to cast light over an Apartheid state designed to make the life of Palestinians, in cities such as Hebron, unbearable. Such a system, however, has implications to all involved, as it becomes clear in the testimonies of the traumatised former Israeli soldiers from *Breaking the Silence*.

The second chapter in this section continues the discussion on the occupation taking the discussion from the material to the symbolic realm. This transition, however, aims to blur the frontiers between these two flanks. The symbolic and the factual are blended in the constitution of the same territory, as discussed in chapter two. Analysing the film *Your father was born 100 years old, and so was the Nakba*, I explore the association between the memories the Nakba against the backdrop of contemporary Israel. This discussion explores the right to the land and the problem of prosthetic memory and fiction and technology as a supplement to a lacunar social history.

The chapter also lays the ground for an argument on an extended present experience beginning with the Nakba. In *Your father was born…* this traumatic temporal experience is underlined by the conjunction between the phantasmatic character of the (author´s) "grandmother" re-inserted through a technological device into her hometown. In this spirit, the discussion on technology, lacunarity of memory and fabulation will be continued in the next part, which also explores a semi-biographical account of the Nakba and the years that followed such event.

Part II - Sewing time: 1982 and other temporalities

OPENING

In the summer of 1982, the IDF invaded Lebanon triggering a series of events that culminated in the Sabra and Shatila genocide, in September of the same year. In Beirut, the IDF raided the Cultural Arts Sections archive. A day earlier Sabri Jyiris removed its most valuable documents in a hurry before he and other PLO activists escaped from Beirut. Amidst the documents left in the archive, many were footages from the third period[7] of Palestinian cinema, which Khadijeh Habashneh spent years trying to gather in one archive. On the opposite side of the front, a Jewish boy in his 18 or 19 years[8] took part in the looting. Years later, Rona Sela[9], an Israeli professor and curator decides to dig into the IDF archives in a quest for Palestinian documents. The result of the encounter of these characters is the Israeli production *Looted and Hidden* (Israel 2017), directed by the visual historian and curator Rona Sela. The film is the result of years of research to locate and access the materials which were kept in the Israeli military archives since their looting in Lebanon.

In the present section, I elaborate on the notion of sewing time to describe the formation of a kaleidoscopic archive of Palestinian history. The idea of a kaleidoscopic archive aims to describe the multiple configurations of memory in the long-lasting conflict between Israel and Palestine. It also comprehends the multiplicity of perspectives embedded in the term "Palestinian", some of which are present in the documentary. This effort builds upon a reading of the notion of archive (Derrida 1995) and Benjamin's doctrine of the similar (1933). From a methodological perspective, the proposition here is that in bringing together photos and footages from Palestine the film *Looted and Hidden* (Israel 2017) connects scattered memories, embodied in different media formats, composing a peculiar documentary film archive.

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[7] The history of Palestinian cinema has four major phases. The first phase developed in the pre-Nakba period (1935–48), whereas the second from 1948–67 happened between the Nakba and the six-day war. The third period encompasses the post-six-day war period until the invasion of Lebanon in 1982. This is an especially prolific phase of Palestinian film due to its political engagement and close relationship with the Liberation movements. The fourth phase, which is still ongoing, is the cinematography of the period after the war.

[8] Extracted from testimony from the film. The former soldier claims to be 18 or 19 years old when he joined the IDF´s forces in the invasion of Lebanon.

[9] Rona Sela, is a visual history researcher with an extensive list of works on Palestinian archives in Israel (see Sela 2013; 2016; 2017)

Looted and Hidden explores Palestinian visual archives captured by the Israeli entities and concealed from the public in an artistic and political gesture of reparation. The author, Rona Sela explains that the Palestinian archives were acquired via plunder of "dead Palestinian soldiers (during battle), to guerrilla forces, private homes, photographer's studios […], official archives and institutions" (Sela 2017: 85). A wide range of sources which reveals the complexity and depth of the violence perpetrated.

Playing a crucial role in this argument is Walter Benjamin's proposition on constellations (1933). According to Benjamin, reading is an analogous process to that of looking at the starts for the reading process requires a mimetic capacity, which leads to the interpretation. To interpret, thus, would be to find similarities. In this sense, reading would be much like looking at a constellation of stars.

Still following the same author, the gesture of looking at the starts involves at least three elements: the stars/planets, which are continuously moving; the viewer, who also holds a unique position of observation and another critical element: the moment. For Benjamin, these perceptions are "bound to a time-moment (*Zeitmoment*)" (1933: 66). Following the same logic, reading is an inherently creative process in which "the literal text of writing is the sole basis on which the picture puzzle can form itself" (1933:68).

Thinking of the mimetic gesture of looking at the stars, which is both visual and temporally localised ("bound to a time-moment"), the proposition is of sewing time refers to the capacity of some narratives of providing a historical account of events. In *Looted and Hidden* the multiplicity of narrators, their origins, and the very format of the film, divided into six different sections, contribute for an open interpretation of the Palestinian archives. This, however, happens despite an attempt from the director to guide the viewer throughout the narrative didactically.

Still on sewing time, three characteristics are decisive to fit into the concept: 1. to be grassroots, brushing history "against the grain", in contrast with institutional archives and hegemonic history which relies on an abundant number of legitimised sources; 2. to connect (patch) scattered memories, and therefore be an attempt to compensate the previously mentioned lack of documentation; 3. aim to provide an account of historical events in the absence, or insufficiency, of official sources.

Considered these criteria, *Looted and Hidden* appears as an exemplary case due to its most critical characteristics: a) The film itself is an act of rendering public documents concealed from the public sphere, especially from Palestinians; b) In terms of

format, the film is, for the most part, composed by pieces of footage seized by the Israeli army. These files, however, are not always complete and are dislocated from its original context – a symptomatic aspect that underlines this lacunar nature in the film is the usage of photographs. In most cases, the photos are not used to describe singular moments or scenes. Instead, they function as a way of patching the footages together, adding a sense of legitimacy to the scenes and enhancing the historical value of the sequence. Adding to the kaleidoscopic character of the work, are the multiple testimonies, who present a myriad of perspectives of the conflict; c) Once again, on the insufficiency of official sources, the documentary is a gesture of compensation. It takes advantage of the filmmaker's privileged position in an apartheid society, to provide the public opinion with some access to files concealed by an authoritarian State.

Beyond that, as an outcome of years of research in archives, many of which acquired as products of war pillage, the film presents a twofold contribution. In the first layer, it returns part of the archives to the public debate. Adding to the first contribution, it offers a primarily affective organisation of the historical documents. In other words, it brings the images to light, through a broad circulation which includes online platforms as YouTube and Vimeo. The production also counts with interviews from key characters linked to the PLO archives in Beirut, which allows it to weave personal memories and documents, creating a new whole out of the fragments. This totality composes the documentary, which then becomes a filmic archive[10].

Moreover, the transposition of films and photos to a digital medium implies in a transformation in the archive's structure, which favours longer-term storage. Agreeing with Brunow (2015) photos and documentaries, as well as other mediums such as YouTube videos, have similar importance to the transmission, constitution and interpretation of cultural memory as written sources.

It is the intersection between these two aspects by the hands of the film director characterises the gesture of sewing time. In other words, the attempt described here is that of bringing together temporalities along with their affects and territories. Such a mechanism is structured in the film through a moving catalogue of images, resembling a moving Atlas. To sew time, thus, is to connect, rearticulate, re-signify memories. Weaving images which suggest the home building, expulsions, destruction and happiness,

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[10] For Brunow (2015) documentary film can play the role of an archive. This proposition will be adopted as a premise guiding the analysis of *Looted and Hidden*.

the film offers a testimony of the multiple events around the Israeli Palestinian conflict. In other words, the gesture of sewing, in this context, is both a gesture of historical reparation and production of a narrative.

To publish part of these archives, Sela produced a documentary film based in six chapters. Each of these chapters counts with the deposal of one of the characters mentioned before, with an emphasis in the perspectives of Sela and Khadijeh Habashneh, who present two parts each. This strategy follows the film's kaleidoscopic nature, which allows the viewer, and in the case of the thesis, the reader, to decide where to start and how to follow the narrative. In this vein, albeit having a narrative structure that departs from Sela's deposal on her motivations to organise the documentary, *Looted and Hidden* is an open work. In this spirit, part II will be divided into four chapters, all addressing the same broader topic: the problem of Sewing time through an analysis of *Looted and Hidden*.

Hence, I shall address a feverish archive. A compound of repressed images which were stolen, hidden, manipulated and, notwithstanding, resisted and re-emerged as a documentary film. In this vein, *Looted and Hidden*, more than a collection, which it is, is an eruption. An outburst of memories, objects, and relations covered for a long time by the occupying powers. Conversely, as a filmic production, it is a structured narrative, articulated according to the inclinations of the film's director. For this reason, the theoretical discussion and the empirical analysis transposes the limits of each chapter. The thematic approach in each of them, however, will be guided by the characters in the film.

Chapter 3: Sewing time: a patchwork of memories

3.1 CURATING AN ARCHIVE

Released in 2017 as the outcome of Rona Sela's[11] academic research, a lecturer of visual culture in the Tel Aviv University, *Looted and Hidden* (Israel 2017) explores Zionist photos and videos and Palestinian documents captured (looted) by the Israeli army and concealed (hidden) both from the Palestinians and the Israeli public opinions. The archives are not only part of institutional archives but war pillage in many levels, including that of personal memories, in the case of the invasion and stealth from "private homes". Collectively, these visual documents present transversal imagery of Palestine from multiple perspectives. Among these points of view, there is that of the professional photographer, the ordinary citizen, the political groups, soldiers in their duty. Each of these actors provides an input on the imaginary gathered by the film.

In this context, the documentary operates the function of a provisional and precarious archive. According to Derrida, more than just fulling the function of remembering (as the *anamnesis* and *mneme*), the archive as an idea that accumulates the role of representing or complementing memory. For the author, the hypomnema, whose operation is analogous to that of the archive, would characterise a "surplus of memory". This is precisely the basis of the argument which will be further developed by Derrida leading to the notion of "archive fever". The archive fever, in its turn, would be linked to a death drive (*pulsion de mort*) and suggests a destructive tendency in the archive.

In addition to Derrida's proposal, it is relevant to notice that according to Foucault the hypomnema appears in ancient Greece[12] as a term to describe a notebook for "personal and administrative use" (1997:272). It was, therefore, a supplement to the organic, personal memory, an extension to the human capacity to remember and preserve thoughts. Thus, hypomnema would have a prosthetic function[13], that of extending the

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[11] Rona Sela has extensive research in the field of visual culture having specialised in photography, archives Israeli Palestinian conflict and other topics related to visual culture and several other issues addressed in the film. According to her biography, available in her website: "Sela exposes the various means of force used by Israel to seize/loot Palestinian archives/treasurers, the way Israeli national/colonial archives have become a large reservoir of knowledge and information about the Palestinians, and Israel's control over knowledge and the writing of history". More information about her is available at <http://www.ronasela.com/en/details.asp?listid=52>. Last accessed in Jul. 2019.

[12] The Greek concept of hypomnema referred by Foucault is a comment on Plato's *Phaedrus* where the notion appears.

[13] Besides the debate on the hypomnema and archives, for Landsberg (2004) memory itself is regarded as prosthetic.

bodily functions. However, more than merely prosthetic, the hypomnema also seems to have a social capacity, albeit these notebooks were initially meant for personal use. Since it was a medium for written language, it was configured in a specific shape for the external world. Following this reasoning, the very nature of the hypomnema is that of a bridge between the Self and the others. It requires, for instance, a language, a set of codes which could, in theory, be deciphered.

According to this reasoning, the prosthetic memory also requires a reader, an audience, for it is not embedded in the individual. Hence, the advent of external memory is also a deep connector between the Self and its political life. With this breakthrough, the public life becomes capable of thinking its memory from a point which is neither strictly individual or collective. Examples of that are family albums, diaries, home footages which portray the quotidian life from an intimate point of view. More than private objects, they are sewn threads connecting individuals to history.

At this point, the metaphor of Palestine an amputated body, already mentioned in the first chapter becomes vital. Understood as prosthesis, and not merely as an "external" device or "supplement", the hypomnema is then regarded as an apparatus which extends the body. Not coincidently, for Foucault (1997) the hypomnema is a constitutive part of the Self. From this point of view, the archive acquires a different role, especially in the context of the territories undergoing conflicts and colonised nations. Palestine, thus, is an illustration of both cases. It has been going through a conflict for over 70 years and is presently affected by the illegal presence of the Israeli State.

In this context, elements of external memory, and more importantly, of a collection of documents, footages, photographs, around topics concerning the territory, the people and the culture in Palestine have crucial political importance. The very remembrance, in this case, is an act of resistance. It is the preservation in the outside, of something that is being eradicated both in the inside and out. It is the preservation in the exterior, of something that is being eliminated both in the inside and out.

Plato's hypomnema refers to scrapbooks, collections of thoughts, reminders and notes. If compared to the archive, the hypomnema, lacked the premeditated categorisation, the order established by a curator, or to borrow Derrida's terminology, it lacked a general "law"[14]. Another interesting aspect of these "books" is the presumable

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[14] As Derrida points out, the term archive derives from *Arkhe* a notion that "names at once the *commencement* and the *commandment*" (1995: 9, *my emphasis*). It is, therefore, a place of *beginning* and *law*.

mobility inherent to their physical constitution. Unlike the modern archives, understood as spaces containing catalogued information, the hypomnema is a mobile object which travels with its owner accompanying it in every change of scenario. As discussed before, the mobile condition is instrumental for the functioning of memory, especially an auxiliary one. If the auxiliary memory can travel, it then is able to follow the perspective of that which remembers. The travelling nature of the external memory is a condition of possibility for *Looted and Hidden*.

At this point, the notion of hypomnema differs from that of "archive" as proposed by Derrida since, for the philosopher, the archive is fixed in space. This static ontological condition of the archive in Derrida can be verified in his emphatic explanation according to which "the meaning of archive, "its only meaning, comes to it from the Greek *arkheion*: initially a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, the archons, those who commanded" (1995:9).

Picking the house of the founding father of psychoanalysis as an illustration of his line of argumentation, Derrida insists on the importance of topological and nomological principles. Law and territorialisation, two fundamental elements of the archive which will be challenged by the publication of films such as *Looted and Hidden*. The previously described movement, of publishing online documents concealed under the authority of the Israeli Defence Forces Archives, defies the interests of the State in favour of the multitude. Documents who belong to the Palestinians become then available for anyone with internet access. A change in the mode of visibility and storage with implications for the very understanding of what an archive is.

For the film, the archive is a place of origin – as in the IDF archives, but not an end. As an archive of sorts, the documentary gathers elements of Palestinian history in an account of the post-Nakba events. This process is here described as Sewing time, an attempt to bring together personal and collective memories in the pursuit of filling the absence of satisfactory archives, or in this case, to return stolen (prosthetic) memories to the Palestinian public. The author, Rona Sela, has an extensive list of works on the exploitation of Palestinian historical archives by Zionists (2006; 2013; 2016; 2017; 2019) and her film is part of a long list of efforts from the intellectual to uncover the malpractices of the Israeli entities groups against Palestinian documents.

Not coincidently, the footages and photos in the documentary have passed through many hands until they made their way into an Israeli feature film about Palestinian memory. In this effort, the film casts a light on never seen before footages and photographs stolen by the Israeli army. For the most part, the files were looted in Beirut during the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 (see Sela 2017). Writing about her academic efforts, Sela explains that her investigations

> show that the mechanism of power and erasure of Palestinian historiography […] [includes] a deliberate, organised system of management and truth production which includes censorship and classification of the plundered archives/images or materials with Palestinian importance; restrictions on viewing and prevention of materials being returned to their owners and the public sphere (2007:85)

She continues by stating that the Israeli "colonial state" hides Palestinian historiography and interferes in the ways how knowledge about these issues is produced (Sela 2007: 85). According to the author, the film "raises questions about archival institutions in colonial countries and zones of conflict, and points to the need to dig into the hidden in order to reveal what has been erased or rewritten" (Sela 2017, online)[15].

In doing so, Sela evokes a fundamental question posed by Brunow, which is "how are films able to criticise hegemonic historiography without at the same time having to refer to essentialism?" (Brunow 2015: 12). By commenting Palestinian and Israeli archives from her personal story, Sela performs a political gesture, that of presenting part of Palestinian history, without placing herself in a position of authority or essentialism.

After all, the film has at least two noteworthy characteristics. On the one hand, it brings to light an archive concealed from the public, therefore publicising many essential elements of Palestinian memory. On the other hand, it tells the story of those archives from the perspective of four different individuals. The next topic shall address the identity of these characters, their importance to the narrative and, more importantly, the composition that results from this encounter.

3.2 FROM ARCHIVE TO CONSTELLATION

The first in the list of narrators, Sela is an Israeli Jewish professor who specialised in visual culture. Coming from a family of migrants, Sela shares her experience both as a

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[15] More information on the film is available at <http://www.ronasela.com/en/details.asp?listid=81>. Access in Aug. 2019.

professional in a quest for relevant historical documents. She also speaks as a Jewish woman who reconnects with her family history through her findings. It is thus, the point of view of the person who discovers the archive and collects the documents (photos and footage).

From Amman, Khadijeh Habashneh also talks about this material. Researcher and filmmaker, she is director and manager of the Palestinian Cinema Institution (PCI) archive and cinematheque. Khadijeh's deposal is the main thread for the second part of the film. As someone directly involved in the building of the Palestinian Film Entity, Khadijeh offers the view of an archivist who contributed to gathering those images.

The fourth character interviewed in the film is Sabri Jiryis, presented as "director of the PLO Research Center, Beirut (1976-1982) and East Jerusalem (1994-2001)". Jiryis is a Palestinian voice in the film along with Khadijeh. He speaks from Fassuta, (nowadays) in the north of Israel.

Finally, an unidentified former Israeli soldier talks about his experience during the invasion of Lebanon. The soldier represents the thread responsible for the pillage of the archives. Anonymous, the soldier is both a victim of the state, in the sense that he is traumatized by the war, and part of the group of perpetrators.

In the four cases, which will be individually addressed throughout this text, the issue of the point of view is crucial. The physical space and the body of the observer play a role in the narration. Each of the individuals talks about their feelings towards the archive and mention their personal memories. In doing so, they become part of this new archive which combines personal narratives with official documents.

As astrologers contemplating the starts, each of these characters offers a personal account of the events. They speak from a specific place, about their experiences in different historical moments, and are motivated by different reasons. Nevertheless, they are discussing the same archive from Beirut, the same constellations. The perception of the images, thus, varies depending on who, when, and where the images are seen. These perspectives retrace time, proposing a unique experience of the entangled temporalities of a long-lasting conflict.

More than simply putting together an archive, this exercise, yet to be described in detail, is what is here referred as to sew time. Composing a common frame out of public (archive) and personal memories and affects, the film connects different people, in different locations through voices, photos and footages. This process, especially regarding Sela´s participation as a curator, can be better understood by the notion of

affiliation. For Said (1983), affiliation is the process through which different individuals bond due to affinities, and therefore is the consequence of the individual´s social and cultural experience. In contrast with the affiliation, Said proposes the notion of filiation, which would be related to the so-called natural bonds, such as family (1983).

Both the concepts of filiation and affiliation are useful in the understanding of *Looted and Hidden´s* narrative, for the film is an Israeli production, on Palestinian archives. Moreover, it is a gesture of reparation from someone who, coming from a family of settlers, tries to cast a light on the colonial occupation of Palestine through the point of view of its historical archives. In the film, complementary yet radically distinct characters find in the necessity of accounting for Palestinian history and the Zionist misdoings a vector connecting individuals who were unlikely to know each other. In the narrative, each of them plays a crucial role in the development of the story. From the film director, Rona Sela, to a former Israeli soldier, the ways of seeing vary according to their experience with the images in space and time.

The approximation of such distinct characters through bonds of affiliation, even if in some cases indirect, is an interesting cue on the filmic effort. After all, it is a narrative of a Jewish woman about Palestinian archives stolen by the Israeli army. Moreover, it is a personal narrative, a semi-biographical approach on a conflict in which the political discourse, form both sides, is fuelled by arguments on filiation. The very categories "Arabs" and "Jews" appear, often, as filiative (biological) bonds, instead of affiliative ones (socio-cultural). In the documentary, both filiative and affiliative bonds play a relevant role. The filiation appears in the identifies of each character, inevitably racialized both in their own stories and by the very position of "Palestinian" or "Israeli" narrators, implied in the film structure according to the perspective to be reported. Bonds of affiliation, however, albeit more ethereal, are crucial for they compose the very fabric of the film. In its totality, *Looted and Hidden* is a statement against the violence of the Israeli army, and given that all the parts were aware of their roles, they transcend their strictly familiar or national alliances to support each other in favour of the broader narrative.

Acknowledging that, the analysis will build upon Benjamin's proposition on similarities regarding the relationship between what is seen – the set of images – and who and when sees it (*Zeitmoment*). Equally importantly, for the analysis, and still in the same effort of identifying similarities, is Aby Warburg's structure in the Mnemosyne Atlas (1924-1929). Aiming to identify traces and symptoms of the antiquity in Renascence pictures, Warburg built image boards which helped visualise the relationship between the

images without establishing a hierarchical relationship. In this analysis, different images will be brought together to stress their similarities as well as to point out the ways they are articulated as an open totality. This choice is justified by the very structure chosen by Sela, a film divided into six parts, with each of them connected to one key witness whose narration will guide the viewer[16]. In doing so, the film itself composes a moving images board, which is, in a sense, presented by, a person who is emotionally connected to the events addressed[17]. Overall, the images are evidence of a history that connected those four people, who are then reunited by Sela to recompose this same history through different roads.

Assimilating multiple points of view, Sela reinforces her position as curator, in opposition to that of a ruler. As it will become clearer in the analysis, the film also embraces images supporting distinct discourses, such as those pointing at the Palestinian diaspora and Israeli foundational footages. In other words, by encouraging the multiplicity of voices, the director acknowledges her own incapacity to act as a "guardian"[18] of those documents in favour of that of a researcher who tries to make sense of the empirical material. The images in the documentary belong to public memory, and it is the filmmaker´s duty to return it, making sure they reach the audience.

To think of such work demands a double effort. One the one hand, requires an investigation on the images, on what story tell and how they are articulated within the film. On the other hand, thinking of the archive composed by Sela as a filmic work, one must consider aspects such as the montage in the context of the Israeli Palestinian conflict. In the next topic, Sela's perspective will be addressed individually, as a departing point for the film analysis.

3.2.1 THE JOURNEY BEGINS: A QUEST FOR LOST PALESTINIAN ARCHIVES

Images of a Campsite in Israel illuminate the screen. Composing the soundscape, instrumental music set a tone of estrangement and mystery. Near the tents, children play a circle game. The melancholy of the instrumental music is now replaced for the sound of the loud children, which is increased in the edition. The loud volume, along with the

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[16] Khadijeh Habashneh narrates parts II and V.

[17] Herein, the term archive is applied to the whole set of images in the film, and the archive looted in Beirut, which is the main source of the film.

[18] The *archonte* is also a guardian of the public documents in the archive.

children´s euphoria, performs an intense contrast with the quietness of the opening seconds.

The camera moves unveiling clothes hanging amidst lines of tents, debris and sand. Not later than two minutes, with the instrumental music back, the spectator is warned about the origin of this material when a lettering cuts into the screen. Against a black background, a message appears in white characters: "The film is composed mainly of movies and footage taken as booty by Israeli soldiers from Palestinian film archives in Beirut in 1982 and other looted materials buried in the Israel Defense forces and Defense Establishment Archives" (00:01:22s). In the sequence, another lettering appears continuing the message. It clarifies that the materials in the film will be shown for the first time in their original Palestinian contexts, and "trace the central figures whose work is connected to the archives" (00:01:26s).

Within its initial ninety seconds, the documentary states its purposes with clarity: to show the public Palestinian stolen materials in their original contexts and interview key figures related to these archives. Beyond this declaration of intentions, the film´s soundscape and montage in the first minutes are also revealing. The seriousness of the music invites the audience to moments of reflection. On the other hand, the intensification of the sound of the children in the circle game footage reveals a deliberately emotional approach. After all, it is, as it will be stated later, a personal quest.

In this sense, the film is not simply what the letterings promise, but also an attempt of a Jewish woman to reconcile with her history. A history that inevitably includes the history of the Jewish and Palestinian peoples and, thereby, Palestinian archives. Following the statement comes a brief explanation about the film and a signature curiously displayed in three lines. It indicates the order of appearance (Rona Sela as I - one) the narrator´s name, city of origin and occupation.

Figure 8 – Film still, Looted and Hidden (2007)

This introduction is a first hint on the narrative strategy. It points at the fact that the film will be organised as personal archives. In its first "chapter", it presents the director (and curator), Rona Sela. The film, however, builds upon four different experiences, including the one from Sela, each of them having at least one chapter/act[19]. Thus, this first chapter of the film is identified with the character which shall present its take on the events to be displayed on the screen.

The first of six acts start with the formal yet warm greeting "Dear". Firstly, from Rona Sela to "Khadijeh" and subsequently the reverse movement from Khadijeh to "Rona". The treatment on a first name basis suggests affection and intimacy in the narration, even though in her deposal Sela admits to having met Khadijeh "face to face only once". As in many personal communications, they express uncertainty in their thoughts and share impressions on the documents as friends discussing meaningful old photos.

The introduction established by the opening statement identifies the narrator –in the first part, it describes the filmmaker. The first information is the person´s social identity "Rona Sela" along with her city of origin "Tel Aviv". In the process of naming defines the subject who will speak drawing the borders and the locus of speech. Given a name, the perspective displayed on the screen is connected to a person who talks from Tel Aviv.

Finally, the occupation and academic background appear in "curator and visual researcher", offering a final tip on the motivation for the chosen format of the narrative. Her professional identity as "curator" is especially important since a curator is someone responsible for creating bridges between heterogeneous elements. She is someone who looks for connections, resemblances and tensions in a set of objects which, then, are regarded as worthy as an ensemble. Evoking Benjamin (1933), a curator would be one who finds similarities within the heterogeneity.

More than anything, the curatorship is an exercise of the right to look, a look which should respect the objects within their mode of existence so that these particularities can be brought to enrich the collection. In a different direction, the legislator, now that regulating the archive, is a figure of authority. The *archonte* is someone who conceives the general rules upon which the objects should be collected. It is nevertheless true that, to an extent, to curate is also to establish order. However, the process through which the

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[19] Sela and Khadijeh narrate two chapters each, in a total of six.

order is established is different in each case. Originally Latin, the word *cura*, refers to someone who "takes care" of something, as opposed to the *archonte*, Greek for "ruler".

Fundamentally, the work of a curator is not only that of collecting and keeping a collection, but rather that of interpreting a set of materials. This equivocal role constitutes a vital difference if compared to the archivist. The process of curatorship is much less normative and more openly subjective than the structuring of an archive. It also suggests a difference in the way history is approached in each case.

Despite the differences highlighted here and perhaps precisely because of them, the notion of curatorship is hereon presented as an alternative form of archive building. In the case of Rona Sela´s work, she does not merely cast light over archives found in Beirut during the invasion of Lebanon in 1982. Adding footages and photos from other sources to this archive, she composes a new archive. Better yet, Sela takes care of the documents and memories of those willing to share their experiences with the archive from Beirut.

The curator, thus, is also different from the legislator. When the second represents a masculine and patriarchal figure which establishes pre-determined criteria under which the elements should fit, the first point at an affectionate character who brings together and cherishes. These are inherently different lines of operation which cross paths in the archive. In this process, three intermingled and inseparable layers emerge from the dark screen: the personal (Ronal Sela), the cultural (name and city), and the historical (visual researcher). By choosing to speak in the first person in the introduction of the film, Sela makes clear her identification with this matter. She is not only the director but one of the testimonies which will talk about the archive.

None of the footages or photos can be isolated from this personal note. On a broader level, the author´s name and city, where she speaks from inform the viewer about her perspective. Finally, the professional/academic note (visual researcher) offers a tip about the methodology and part of the motivation for the construction of this archive.

Navigating through the images, the author acknowledges her condition as professor of visual culture, curator, Jewish woman based in Tel Aviv and, as she states in the film, daughter of a mother who had to escape from a tragedy. Conscious of the collective dimension of memory, Sela presents a film where historical footage and her memories are deeply intermingled. The sense of intimacy, however, does not disguise the estrangement when she meets parts of her ancestral past kept obscure. Along with that

voice, one can only imagine the eyes watching the scenes and sharing them with the spectator. A peculiar way of looking to a conflicted through unsettling images.

What is the difference between the narrator and the audience, after all? Are not all the spectators exercising the same right over those images? The issue becomes more complex as one comes to understand that the narrator in question is an Israeli Jew, and the events described refer to the invasion of Palestine by the Israeli army. Some of these images recount to the Palestinian Exodus and the concomitant Israeli occupation.

In this regard, the film opening is emblematic. There, a voiceover addresses her speech to a woman in the following statement: "Dear Khadijeh, we met face to face, only once. But your image accompanies me ever since. Sometimes clear, sometimes elusive. I am writing. The mourning of a hot, sultry day. Hotel, a meeting" (00:01:48s-00:02:18s). By addressing her words to Khadijeh, the author suggests that she is not looking at those images alone. The monologue receives new contours at this point, admitting the dialogical nature of thought.

The dialogical principle can also be applied to the montage of the film. Despite the linear structure suggested by the monologue, the images have their own agenda. Displayed in a kaleidoscopic fashion, they react to each spectator. Like fragments of a broken nation, the photographs and footages reveal aspects of a non-totalizing history. In the impossibility of synthesis, the account of history is made by a complex set of visual documents from different historical moments before, during and after the Nakba (the 1930s, 1960s, 1980s) intermingled with interviews conducted during the film production.

It is an interesting choice, considering that the film is a documentary about Palestinian footages and photographs. The act of writing, contraposes itself to the images on the screen, which show the ruins of an abandoned building in seashore and a shipwreck (see Fig. 9). However, there is no contradiction between the writing process and visual discourse. The voice says it writes images. It is an attempt to grasp the memory. Did Khadijeh trig such memories?

Figure 9 - Shipwreck (film still, 00:01:56s)

In the immediate sequence of the previous quote, she continues: "you asked why I was in a quest for lost Palestinian archives. *I am turning back the wheels of time*." Here, the author suggests that time can be navigated. Looking at the images she shares with the spectator, the author dives in the past. The narration continues with the following statement: "National pictures are *woven* in my life in a surprising manner" (emphasis added). The nation is Israel, and yet Palestine, with its land and people, is there. Ingrained in images of Jewish settlers who work in the recently acquired land, Palestine appears as a phantasmatic presence. Unlike other scenes, Palestine, at this point, is a striking absence.

The images show the hope and hard work of a population who suffered unspeakable forms of violence and finally received a piece of land. According to some accounts of the events, it might suggest a mythical return to the promised land after a series of catastrophic events. In this vein, the image of a shipwreck is emblematic[20]. Firstly, ships and the sea are evocative of the Palestinian tragedy (the Nakba) as well as they might point at the arrival of the Jewish people in Israel. In either case, the elements are emblematic of a shared relation. Secondly, the fact that this ship has sunk seems to

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[20] The figure of the ship was previously motioned. In *Your father was born 100 years old…* a similar scene portrays a British cruiser over the backdrop of a Palestinian ship leaving Haifa (see Fig. 7). The idea, then, was to evoke the Nakba. The sea will also appear as an image of (stolen) freedom in Salt of this Sea, analysed in chapter 8. Such repetition is illustrative of the argument of a past extended in the realm of the present, as a form of resistance. After all, these images are not simply evoked as part of the Palestinian imaginary, but rather as forms of claiming the territory and a past that refuses to be forgotten.

underline the authors' recognition of a failed project, or yet, the intention of announcing the tragedy that will unfold in the events to be narrated by the film.

Furthermore, the passage elicits the relationship between the embodied personal memory and national history. Looking at national pictures (of Israel), the filmmaker uses the metaphor of life as a fabric to described the way how those images connect with her personal history. At this point, the entangled relationship between collective and personal memories become evident. It is possible to visualise how the emergence of images from Palestine, and the foundation of Israel, affect the author personally — uncovering images of the Palestinian uprooting she discovers cues on her history and the history of the land.

From the narration, one learns that Aqir was the place where the director's mother and her family establish themselves after the expulsion of the Palestinian population. As the voice continues, the camera frames the remains of a house and, positioning the lenses behind a hole in the wall of the house, focuses on two empty beds (see Fig.10). Incorporating the footage in the documentary, Sela presents her dilemma between her family heritage as the daughter in a family of Jewish settlers (filiation) and her moral assessment of the situation, which approximates her to the Palestinian cause (affiliation).

Figure 10 – Empty Bedroom (Film still, 00:04:08s)

Visuality and narration try to conciliate a paradoxical situation. The Palestinians were expelled but their presence insists in occupying a space in the images. The archive survived the fire, the enemy and oblivion. It persists telling its own story. As the narrator seems to acknowledge when describing

The Palestinian village of Aqir, whose inhabitants fled or were expelled. And where my mother´s family were settled. Jewish immigrants on the ruins of the Palestinian entity. The photographs intend to portray the Zionist presence. *But that of the Palestinians slips in unintentionally as well*. (film sequence, 00:04:02s – 00:04:35s)

The presence of the Palestinians appears in the ruins of houses and in the traces captured by the camera. For instance, in the shooting of the settlement even though the newcomers are central to the image they are always surrounded by debris. The destruction seems to communicate a different temporality – that of the settlers. Telling its own story, the wreckage suggests an exhausted and abandoned land, whereas the hopeful presence of the settlers indicates a look towards the future. Coexisting in the frame, past and future are two sides of the same coin.

Thinking about the Arab perspective, many questions arose. Is the woman wearing a white scarf still alive? Could she ever tell their heirs what happened? Did she have heirs at all? Regardless of these issues, her image is a present body amidst the images of loss. On the Israeli side, narrating her story over the images of a house ruined by the occupation, Sela acknowledges her condition as a settler. The memories and images from the village are part of her family history, and yet there is a sense of estrangement in her relationship with those pictures.

The intricate relationship between the land, the images in the form of an archive, the authors is unfolded by each scene. While the footage displays running water on the screen, the voiceover shares a confession: "the archive acquires a new dimension in my life". Further ahead in an excerpt illustrated by the image on the screen, she admits that "[…the archive] enters slowly, settles in, meandering and twisting". The voiceover is illustrated by the flow of water over a rock, an ancient relation that goes deep, patiently shaping the land.
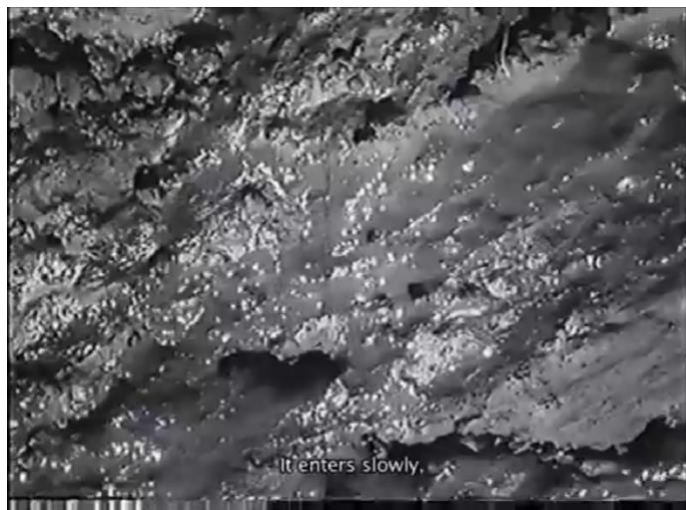
Figure 11 – Running water (Film Still 00:03:18s)

The archive, or more specifically, this set of images plays the role of the malleable, yet insistent water that shapes the rock despite the different densities. With its movement ("meandering and twisting") and consistency, the images become part of the author´s Self. The figurative metaphor also suggests a relationship between the materiality of the land and the fluidity of memory, which flows over the territory and, despite its slow effects, leaves an indelible mark on the territory.

Memories travel from the screen to her consciousness and are never still, can never be captured, touched or fully detained. Translucent and malleable, the water becomes part of the terrain it is running over. Such image, then, functions as a reminder that what is seen, cannot be detached from the author´s own body and, albeit that, the water and the archive, shall not be confused with the medium on which they are operating.

Water, memories, rocks, feelings, and the human body are part of a network that embodies time and through which it flows. As the frame (Figure 2) illustrates, the water and the archive, act through a slow but consistent movement. Their effects are barely visible, but fundamental to configure the landscape. In a film based in the curatorship of fugacious, at times incomplete, images, movement is the glue connecting each piece of this audio-visual archive. In the feverish progression of clips mediated by the authors' personal memories and feelings the transitions, blinks and lacunas left by the movement of images leave cues, and lines, for the spectator to patch this kaleidoscopic archive together.

Dodging dichotomies, the film operates through a twofold tactics. On the one hand, the author shares her own experiences of looking and talking about her findings in the Zionist archives. On the other hand, the images collected by Sela offer a mesmerising glimpse on the first years of the late sixties and early seventies in Israel and Palestine,

period when the very transition between the British mandate Palestine to the fragmented territory known as Israel and, what came to be, the occupied territories of Palestine. The contradictions inherent to a colonial occupation are strongly represented in the film by the opening sequence, as the three screenshots below illustrate.

Figure 12 – Images board. Left to right: Man playing harmonica(film still, 00:03:54s); Palestinian woman (film still 00:04:10s); Settler´s family (film still 00:04:12s)

1. Dance Festival in Dalia (film still, 00:03:54s) – Part of footage showing Jewish celebrations which suggest joy and happiness after years of exile and the long-waited return to what they believed to be the homeland. Over the images of the festival, the narrator states "the years of exile cast off". Instead of the commonplace of bulldozers and soldiers, the scenes bring a festive group of working-class Jewish men, women and kids dancing on the frenetic pace of a folk tune sang by children. The images are preceded by footages showing machines and men working in the land, which reinforces the idea of celebration upon the arrival of at home. A home yet to be developed, that requires hard work, but that is also a place of safety and ancestral memories.

2. Village of Aqir woman (film still 00:04:10s) – The image of the Palestinian woman seemly confused is part of a series of footages from the village of Aqir where, according to the narration, most of the inhabitants fled or were expelled[21]. Contrasting with the joy of the newcomers, the Palestinian lady seems lost in her village. In her quick appearance on the screen, she bounces her body and seems to be wandering in the village, perhaps looking for someone or something. Maybe merely trying to make sense of the inscrutable situation.

3. Trudi Schwartz, Aqir, 1949[22] (film still 00:04:12s). Coming immediately after the images that denounce the expulsion of Palestinians, the subtitles confesses that the family of the author's mother settled in the village of Aqir. It is relevant to stress that the sequence of images does not follow a chronological order. Nor in the film or in the

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[21] The events are part of the Nakba (1948).

[22] This information appears in the film screen as credit for the photo and indication of the place where it was taken and year.

political process of the occupation. Both in the so-called "real life" and the film´s montage, time is constituted by intermingled moments condensed in the same strip of land.

Furthermore, the notions of time depend directly on the perspective of each group or individual involved in the negotiations that generated those images, as well as those watching them. For instance, for some Jewish families that might have been a fresh start after years of persecution; for the Palestinians, on the other hand, the events in 1948 became the year one of a saga that is still ongoing. Equally, the images display, in a non-exclusive form, notions such as return, expulsion, foundation, diaspora, remembrance, forgetfulness, hope and loss.

As the film also suggests, it might be difficult to witness such events from a neutral perspective, if only that was possible. The connection between the personal history and the events that marked the collective memories of Palestinians, Israelis, and to a lesser extent to the western world continue to imbricate. Interestingly, the director does not narrate the images. Despite sparse attempts to explain or describe a few images, overall, the voiceover brings a reaction to the archive where she is immersed. Trying to make sense of the found footages she confesses the impact of

> …The uprooting, the tragedy. Before my mother died I asked her with increasing urgency about her past. I didn't ask her about Aqir, if that reminded her of the tragedy that her family experienced. Was I afraid to confront the answer due to the process of separating from her? (00:05:12s-00:05:43s)

As of this moment, memories are undeniably entangled. The narrator mentions the "tragedy her family experienced", probably referring to the holocaust. In this context here, however, the holocaust is not part of a broader justification for the Zionist settlement, but rather a painful memory revived in the Palestinian uprooting. The film progresses with the author's admission of a sense of imprisonment in her relationship with the archive. It is observable in the following fragment:

> I am *cloistered* in the Zionist archive. Looking for Palestinian photographs. Captions *capture* my eye. The store where these photographs were taken and from where they were pilfered. *Imprisoned* photographs. Photograph taken from the pocket of a dead Arab. Palestinian archives that were looted or taken as booty. (00:06:01s-00:06:49s)

The physicality of her involvement is also noteworthy. The author claims to be "cloistered in the Zionist archive" which suggests that her full body is surrounded by the atmosphere of the archive. Acknowledging the agency of the elements in the archive, she states that the "captions" have captured her eye. Her attention now is localized; it is not the full body but the "eye" that is involved — captured by the object. Then, we learn that the image in question was taken as looting.

Interestingly, the photograph surpassed its owner, referred to as a "dead Arab". At least in the condition of part of the film, the photo will probably outlive the photographer as well. In its trajectory, a photograph which belonged once to an anonymous Arab man went to an Israeli archive and from there to online video platforms and film festivals as part of a filmic archive.

What might have been once part of a personal collection of memories, an extension of the living memory, a supplement, becomes now an essential piece of quotidian life in Palestine. The dead Arab from whose pocket the photograph was stolen is also a brutal allegory of the process of plunder, violation and systematic stealth operated against the Palestinian culture.

A dead body, if Palestinian, is worthless. This idea is confirmed by an interview published by the same Rona Sela years before the film launch:

> [Anonymous Soldier]: 'Indeed, I took these photographs from the pocket of a dead Arab, killed in Bab Al-Wad in the beginning of May 1948. I was commander of the squad and we were looking for intelligence. This is what Moshe Rashkes, a former Jewish soldier and author, told me [Rona Sela]. The photographs – depicting the dead and wounded as well as protests and riots – were donated by Rashkes to the *Haganah Archive, a pre-state Israeli military archive*. The macabre circumstances – a dead person, who was not photographed, represented unwittingly by other documented bodies – were not even considered by Rashkes (Sela 2013, *online, my emphasis*)[23].

The excerpt presents two interwoven events of consequence for this chapter: a. the death of a Palestinian, and the consequent stealth of his property, b. nurtured the "pre-state Israeli military archive". The use of the photograph in the archive in question cannot be known. However, it seems clear that a register produced in the context the Palestinian culture informed an Israeli archive, and therefore, became a piece of Israeli national narrative.

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[23] Available at: < https://www.ibraaz.org/platforms/6/responses/141/#_ftn1>

The process of sewing appears as the incorporation of an Arab document (photograph) in the Israeli archive. This photograph is a reminder that the repetition which constitutes the archive is dialectical. These images do not reinforce each other but rather deny, add to, challenge, complete, rearticulate. Doing so, they move and produce new meanings according to their contexts and to the set of other images around which they are stored.

The images had their agency challenged, they are "imprisoned photographs", according to the narrator. These documents thus, perform both active and passive roles. They capture the observer despite being imprisoned. They are registers of the Palestinian suffering and struggle, but also pieces of the IDF's history. At this point, question arouses: are they really "imprisoned photographs"? They have been "looted and hidden", as the title of the film suggests, but they also seem to have found their way out of the siege, even if through the eyes of a settler. The photographs within the Zionist archive managed to capture the beholder and be spread outside its confinement.

Where does the notion of imprisonment come from then? Is it not from the author's own gaze? One might admit that by stepping into the "Zionist archives" of the Israeli Defense Forces, where the photographs were, Sela is thrown into the abyss of her ancestry. As expressive as the images might be, in the context of the narration, they also say a lot about the author, which performs a mnemonic exercise with analytical purposes. In this case, however, instead of performing for herself, or to an analyst, she travels through memory lane through an act directed both to herself and to an audience.

As Ricœur, resonating Halbwachs, underlines "people […] take narratives given them by others for their own memories" (RICŒUR, 1996, p.15). Here, Ricœur articulates the notion of narrative, which in this context suggests an articulation of the historical facts and subjective experiences. Memory, thus, is a fabric whose multiple threads come from others. The individual, however, is the point of confluence for a myriad of memories which are assimilated in a strictly personal fashion.

The process of violating memories does not happen exclusively, or mainly, in the abstract realm. On the contrary, the deprivation of the Palestinians from their memories is first and foremost a struggle over the territory. As Halbwachs (1992) underlines, the collective memory, upon which the individual memories are developed, is founded in a spatial framework. Regardless of the fair criticism on the notion of collective memory, the importance of the spatiality for the development of a cultural remembrance is very much valid.

In the case of Palestine, it is perhaps more appropriate to talk about the suppression of memories and eradication of memories, instead of forgetting. It is a deliberate process of elimination of a culture and its archives. According to Pappé, the process of the mass expulsion of Palestinians from their territories, particularly from 1948 on, contributed to near eradication of Palestine "from the collective global memory" (2006: 8).

In a similar fashion, Sela argues that the ruination of Palestinian villages was part of a broader political project with the intent of erasing them "from public consciousness and memory" (Sela, 2009: 74). The systematic destruction of the territory, thus, is the visible layer of a process meant to reach both the physical space and the symbolic realm – in this case, "public consciousness and memory".

Further in this chapter, I would like to investigate the consequences of this process of violation of Palestinian memories and history. More specifically, the argument I would like to pursuit here is that these memories were not erased or eradicated, but reshaped and re-assimilated in different contexts. They are, therefore, part of the Palestinian resistance, which managed to survive over 70 years of colonial occupation.

Sela focuses on the personal experience which helps the understanding of her motivations, the methodology behind the film, and the critical perspective of a Jewish woman, whose family was part of the first Israeli settlements in formerly Palestinian land. Overall, she concentrates in the foundation of Israel and the consequent displacement of the Palestinians. As the following board suggests, a set of foundational images is displayed with critical notes from the author.
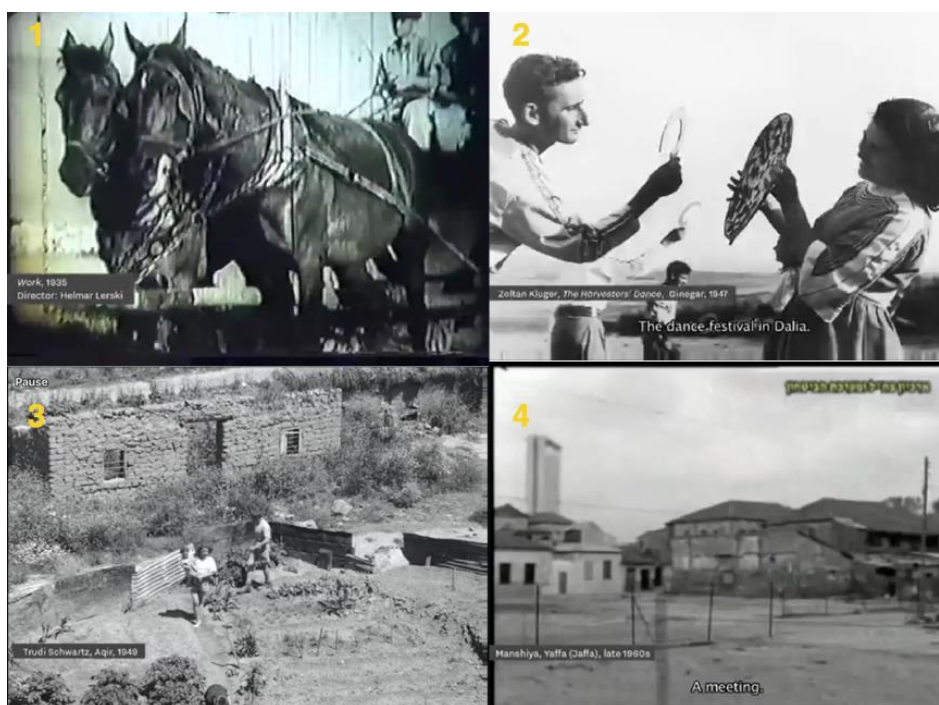
Figure 13 - Images board, part I

1. Footage from Helmar Lerski´s film *Work* (film still, 00:02:46s) 1935 – The first image in the board is part of a 1935 footage from the notorious Jewish photographer Helmar Lerski. It precedes the foundation of the State of Israel but already brings the Jewish presence and its "work" in the land. The footage is emblematic of the hard work of the Jewish people to transform the land in fertile soil. –

2. Zoltan Kluger, *The harvesters' dance (photo, 00:03:32s)*, 1947[24] – The photo named as "Harvesters Dance'" presents an indirect connection with the first image. The people who cultivated the land celebrates with its folk-dance festival. Dating from 1947, the photo was taken in the very year of the United Nations partition plan, when the territory of the British Mandate Palestine was divided between Israel and Palestine. Since the UN meeting took place in November, the settlement is probably anterior to it. However, it portrays the migration of the Jewish Europeans who escaped the second world war.

3. Settler´s Family (film still, 00:04:13s)[25] – In chronological sequence, the third photo is particularly meaningful. It portrays a young family of mother, father and a toddler. Surrounded by improvised metal plate fences, everything in the

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[24] Photo credit: Ginegar, 1947.
[25] Photo credit: Trudi Schwartz, Aqir, 1949.

inner family circle suggests a new life. The land to cultivate and build a house, the young child, the sense of hope and optimism of a people who finally had the opportunity to found their nation. However, outside of the family domains, a ruined house still stands. One last wall which seems to have resisted the uprooting seems to be a stain in the national postcard. Acknowledging that, Sela talks about the fact that her mother´s family was settled in Aqir, "Jewish immigrants, on the ruins of the Palestinian entity", she says. The text underlines two aspects of Sela´s assessment of the situation. Firstly, she acknowledges the condition of foreigners of her family. Secondly, Palestine appears as an abstraction; it is an "entity". Describing a Palestinian "entity" and showing images of ruined buildings, Sela focuses on the cultural aspect of the Palestinian presence (e.g. architecture), instead of focusing in a relationship with the Palestinians and the "land". The text casts light on Sela´s approach to the situation. On the one hand, she will acknowledge the violence operated against Palestinian culture and people. On the other hand, there is an understanding of the vulnerability of (many) Jewish migrants.

4. Manshiya, Yaffa (Jaffa), during the late 1960s (00:02:17s) – Image n. 4 has an unspecified temporal origin. Manshiya is a neighbourhood in what used to be the city of Jaffa, now part of Tel-Aviv (*Tel Aviv-Yafo*), Israeli capital. The time frame suggests a portrayed of an already consolidated Tel-Aviv, which is in part the result of the previous composition of images.

Altogether, these images compose a board of affects, temporalities and territories which laid the ground for the Israeli nation. On the flip side of the images, lays the absence of Palestine, as a culture, and of Palestinian people. This absence, however, cannot be detached from the interpretation of the photos and footages. More importantly, in this composition of photos (frames 2 and 3) and footage (frames 1 and 4). Sela links different mediums and ways of look to elaborate her version of the foundation of Israel.

Still on the board, the composition based on still images (photographs) and footages is revealing of a critical aspect to the analysis. Firstly, the contrast between the mediums suggests two different temporal rhythms, from the accelerated pace of the footage to the more contemplative character of the photos. Secondly, this strategy reveals the inherent lack which motivates such film. Sela did not bring to light Palestinian films and photo collections in their entirety. Most likely, most of these files have been

dilacerated. In this light, the gesture here is to connect related images to re-create an image of Palestine and Israel.

The contrast between moving and still images, repeated throughout the film indicates a pattern of absences but also of surplus. In other words, responding to limited access to the documents, a composition of different mediums is the solution to overcome potential gaps in the narrative. On the other hand, this is also a stylistic option where a medium does not simply complete the information of the other but adds layers to the preceding images. In this dialectics between moving and still images, photographs and footages, the film provides the spectator with a flood of temporalities constantly rearranged.

In this vein, the voiceover endorses a sense of linearity to a fundamentally fragmented narrative. This apparent linearity, however, is also in the way the images are displayed. In the choice for materials to compose each chapter, the filmmaker carefully chooses aesthetically, and chronologically, similar images, a tactic that provides the viewer with a sense of unity within the inner diversity of the archive. In the process of sewing, however, Sela's hand holds the authority to constitute a unity in a work that is, ultimately auctorial.

The voiceover as an element that approximates each of the images is also symptomatic of the multiplicity of bodies – and ways of looking – in the film. In each of the chapters, a different voice narrates the events reported in the film, revealing the point-of-view from whom those footages and events are seen. As the blinks of an eye, the transition between still and moving images sets the pace of time in this moving archive. As an inherently lacunar narrative, each perspective is a step that hands the story to the next one, as the turn of a kaleidoscope. In this spirit, the next chapter discusses the point of view of one of the people responsible for the archive in question, Khadijeh Habashneh.

Chapter 4 - Scent of revolution: Building a Palestinian film archive

The present chapter shall unfold the discussion on Looted and Hidden from the perspective of Khadijeh Habashneh, a Palestinian archivist who appears as a counterpart for the filmmaker Rona Sela. Khadijeh was already referenced by Sela in film´s opening when Sela addresses to Khadijeh the first words on the film and talks her motivations to find the archives. As in a letters exchange, Khadijeh also gives her testimony as correspondence with the filmmaker.
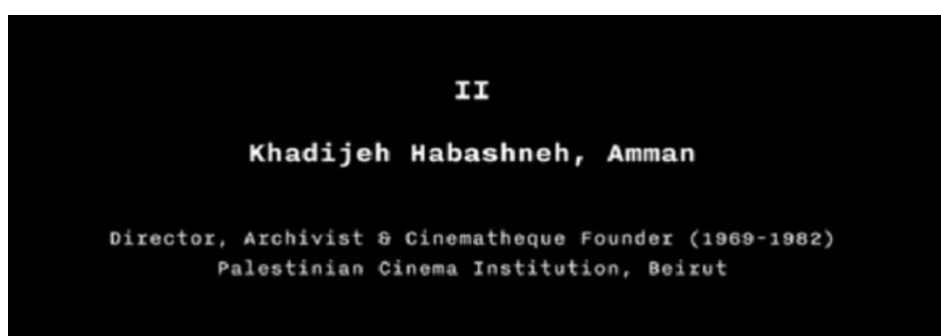
Figure 14 - Part II, opening

The Palestinian archivist, however, is concerned with different issues, if compared to Sela. She opens her statement with the following question "where to start when so much has been destroyed when the reality is unclear, when a life´s work disintegrates?". While Sela (Part I) uses the word "exile" to refer to the Jewish diaspora as in "the years of exile cast-off", for Khadijeh, the exile is described in the present tense. These two uses of the word, however, are not at all contradictory. She talks about "exile, *trauma* and *resistance*…" as three parts of a whole. Images of displaced families, armed resistance and pain, reinforce that idea.

Following the notion of resistance in the voiceover and images, comes another crucial term: rebellion. Differently from part one, Khadijeh's testimony focuses on notions such as revolution and resistance. If the mention to "exile" connects the first and second parts of the film, here, tragedy, displacement and violence appear in the company of idea of rebellion. Despite offering a personal account of the events involving the construction of a visual archive of the Palestinian revolution, her testimony serves the discourse of a collective: the Palestinian revolutionaries.

The Palestinian Film Institute (PFI) appears amidst the turmoil of 1968. As a product of its time, the institute was created to disseminate the revolution through cinema (Habshneh, 2008). In her article on the history of Palestinian cinema, Khadijeh stresses

the importance of the creation of Palestinian cinema institutions to express the importance of the medium to express the Palestinian struggle as well as to raise international recognition to the cause (Habshneh, 2008).

In this vein, the PFI contributed to organising Palestinian visual memory around the notion of "revolution". Moreover, the film's images created by this group and those influenced by them constitute an imagery of the conflict from the Palestinian point-of-view. The importance of these efforts, thus, is twofold: it shapes and offers structure to a fragmented cause; and, therefore, it organises the experience of the present.

In Khadijeh's deposal, it becomes clear that by registering and articulating facts and political ideas, the PFI performed an instrumental role in the constitution of the space of experience in Palestine. In other words, by shaping the notion of revolution in the form of films, the group instigated the use of key terms such as "struggle", "revolution", "exile", "fight" in the context of the Palestinian resistance. This effort articulates a narrative around the traumatic events, providing tools for the debate around the Palestinian cause.

4.1 THE NEEDLE OF THE REAL IN THE HANDS OF HISTORY

The vocabulary adopted by Khadijeh is not accidental. She was part of the third wave of Palestinian "cinema movement". The movement took place around 68 and was developed outside of Palestine. The third wave replaced the iconic image of the Palestinian in "exile" by the freedom fighter, in a turning point of the Palestinian visual production. That is when the iconography around the Palestinians acquire the figure of the resistance fighters (Sela 2017). Still on her vocabulary, one excerpt of Khadijeh's testimony is especially indicative. Her statement goes as follows

> The year is 1968, Amman. I can still see those young people. Pioneers, bold, motivated and imbued with ideals… revolutionaries. They *combine film and still photographies* of the Palestinian revolution and *create a record* of what the world doesn´t want to *see*, would rather shake off and repress, blur and *conceal. Refusing to be faceless,* without an identity, *without a present* (00:13:21 - 00:14:15s, *my emphasis*).

In a few lines, Khadijeh casts light over a few central themes. Firstly, the fragment underlines a formal characteristic of the Palestinian Cinema Movement that appears to be in line with the discussion in this chapter: the compositions based in footages and still images. This tactic, also adopted in *Looted and Hidden*, reinforces the notion of patching

images, and mediums, together as a form of building up an archive (a "record") of Palestine. In terms of temporality, this exercise also presents fruitful implications. It reveals a sense of equivalence between the past (photos) and present, footages. In these gestures, the act of sewing memories emerges as an attempt to create a visual trace of a history of erasure.

For this purpose, the adoption of photography in Palestinian feature films[26] and, especially documentaries, becomes emblematic. As Sontag observes, photography has an inherently surrealist element, since it consists in "the very creation of a duplicate world, of a reality in the second degree, narrower but more dramatic than the one perceived by natural vision" (Sontag 2001:40). In this vein, the photographs are capable of a double deed. On the one hand, they present facts, real events, historical landmarks. On the other hand, they function as a surplus of memory, using its "dramatic" capacity, to borrow the adjective adopted by Sontag, in the display of the reality which needs to be narrated.

It is precisely this more "dramatic" reality, this duplicate world which photography capable of creating that interests this thesis. Because in the context of Looted and Hidden and, therefore, of Palestinian visual memory, the doubled world is the one that lasted. Unlike the revolutionaries in Lebanon with their weapons and buildings, the photographs made their way to the public memory. Operating as prosthetic memories of the underdog, the documents produced by the revolutionaries and rescued in Looted and Hidden are part of the only Palestinian history possible. A history from below, composed by documents scattered around the world, hidden in Israel, or exhibited in London, or archived in an American University.

With these compositions, the Third Cinema Movement established the image of Palestine within and outside of its territory. The movement appears in 1968, under the auspices of the recently created PLO, plays a decisive role in shaping the image of Palestine, even for the Palestinians themselves. In the passage above, Khadijeh also highlights the importance of visuality to establish a "face" for the Palestinians and to *show* the world facts that have been denied.

The Third Cinema Movement focused not in the aesthetics but the "contribution for the revolution" (Sela 2017). Still according to her, it "born as militant, subversive cinema, and as part of the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist revolution in the Third World" (Sela 2017: 92). Regardless of what the thematic focus might have been, the third cinema

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[26] The same argument is applicable to Looted and Hidden, as a film on Palestine based in Palestinian materials, despite not being a Palestinian film.

contributed to the aesthetic realm. It created a way of seeing the Palestinians, which lasts until this day. As Khadijeh so consciously stresses, the movement deliberately created images to confirm that Palestinians had a present, as opposed to the idea of a people who live "in the past".

Figure 15 - Palestinian resistance (film still 00:15:38s)

Among the images of "rebellion", the machineguns are almost omnipresent. Not surprisingly the very logo of the Palestinian cinema institution founded by Khadijeh has the olive leaf and a machine gun in its iconography. It is also emblematic that the Palestinian cinema institution is described by Khadijeh as the first Palestinian visual archive.

The first effort to organise the visual memory of the nation takes shape in the form of a weapon, symbolising resistance; film reels, a reference to the very nature of the archive; and the olive leaf, the ultimate symbol of the Palestinians relationship with the land and a reminder that despite a recent history of struggles, this is historically a land of peasants, people who made their lives out of the earth.

Figure 16 - Palestinian Cinema institution logo (*film still* 00:16:42s)

Remembering the Institution, Khadijeh declares: "I tie my life to their lives. Caught up in the spirit of their endeavours. *Day becomes mixed with night, personal life with the revolution. Passion with the hardship".* The piece unveils the relationship between resistance and temporality. In the quotidian described by Khadijeh, the struggle redefines the experience of time, which then evolves around the "revolution".

Further on she makes a fundamental question, not only for the film but to think the issue of a Palestinian memory and the symbolic dimension of the conflict: "Are we condemned to have a *faceless past? Lacking a visual history?*". With these interrogations, she illustrates the brutality of the erasure of Palestinian history. The risk of a "faceless past" is imminent in a conflict where the goal of the dominant actor is not only to destroy but to erase the enemy and retell its history.

To constitute an archive, in this context, is a political action that takes place within the broader scope of the struggle for recognition. Equally importantly, the archive itself is a way of imagining Palestine beyond the conflict. This idea resonates with Derrida (1995), for whom the archive is an imaginative apparatus. He underlines that the archive cannot be reduced to a simple storage device or space. For the philosopher, the notion of archive refers to a way of looking at history, preserving it as well as creating it. The archive operates through the representation of an idea of the past as well as its preservation. In this sense, the constitution of an archive is an exercise of writing history through its material inscription in the curated objects. He underlines that

the technical structure of the archiving archive also determines the structure of the archivable content even in its very coming into existence and in its relationship to

the future. The archivization *produces* as much as it *records* the event. This is also our political experience of the so-called news media. (Derrida, 1995, p.17)

Departing from the excerpt, I would like to suggest that, conversely, the archiving processes are also influenced by its historical circumstances. The cases analysed are products of the loss provoked by the occupation. This sense of emptiness, longing, and the material absence of a broader set of empirical records, implicate in an intense dispute over the nation´s history.

In Derrida, however, the archive consists of a work of repetition. A constant effort to remember, and preserve memory, which, according to him, goes in the opposite direction of memory itself. In the sense that it (the archive) would carry self-destructiveness – a fever. Such repetition resorts on the premise that these archives are based in the classification and collection of similar, or harmonic, elements. It refers to an archive built upon the excess due to an accumulation of memory.

This is not the case for visual archives produced in the exteriority of the territory, the diaspora, having the motherland as an ideal, a cause or a reminiscence. Having this in mind I would like to address the Palestinian archives in contrast with Derrida´s "Freudian impression". As archives from a dispossessed land, from an entity that never became a fully functional Nation-State, the Palestinian archives to not bear the luxury of excess. On the contrary, they are gestures against the erasure, attempts to preserve a sense of collective memory in the point of break-down of the Nation, not of memory.

The archive, here, is both a product of imagination, a process of crystallization, cataloguing and curatorship of fragments relevant to the sewing of history. It is also part of a larger "work of imagination" (Appadurai 2013, p.287). According to Appadurai, imagination is a vital component to the creation of locality as well as a "constitutive feature of modern subjectivity" (1996, p.3). Not coincidently both notions "modern subjectivity" and locality" are intermingled here in this chapter. Equally important is the connection between the notions of work, in the present tense, and imagination, as an exercise of conceiving the future.

The gesture of sewing insistently mentioned in this chapter, refers to this capacity of using memories, in their concrete mediums (films, photos, documents), to articulate a temporality based in multiple memories experiences. Sewing time thus is a process of bringing together flashes of time into a comprehensive whole. Evidence of such discursive effort can be found in one of the images that illustrate Khadijeh´s explanation

on the fact that the Palestinian Cinema Institution screened films from Palestine and other similar "liberation movements". At this point, as the voiceover refers to "liberation movements" a poster published by the PLO in support of the Vietnamese resistance appears (see Fig. 17).

The original poster, according to the archive of the PPP (discussed in part III), dates from circa 1972. The poster itself is not part of the materials hidden from the IDF, nor is it a rare image. However, it belongs to the documentary for its capacity to describe the identification between the Palestinian struggle and other liberation movements, as mentioned by Khadijeh. In this sense, the frame from the poster is there to fulfil an absence other documents, not supplement something. On a positive note, this appearance ratifies the argument that the same images and iconography have been pervading Palestinian culture since the period post-1967. Not coincidently, this is also a period of consolidation for the PLO founded in 1964.

Posters in Solidarity with Vietnam

Figure 17 – Left: Film still (00:33:23s); Right: PLO poster (Ismail Shammout, circa 1972)

Gathering pieces of evidence, images and traces from visual archives, theorists and artists curate their versions of the Palestinian history. This is also the case of many Palestinian and non-Palestinian intellectuals, such as Rona Sela, and activists who try to make sense of a recent history full of erasures produced by a necropolitical regime.

In the context of Palestinian archives, sewing time refers to the coexistence of an identity which resists the diaspora and fragmented historical documents interspersed with fictional works in a territory under hostile occupation. This process not only allows the circulation of the Palestinian cause but also a sense of unity within the multiple layers of the struggle. Moreover, the notion a national archive is challenged by the colonial occupation and by multiple cultural manifestations around the conflict, the occupation and the post-1948 Palestinian resistance. Even pre-Nakba images are re-appropriated or contaminated by the struggle. A bag, a firearm and many hours of footage left behind. In a few words, the Palestinian revolutionary who spent a lifetime producing and gathering Palestinian films synthesises a struggle that extrapolates her own life.

Chapter 5 – Men under siege: the events in Beirut 1982 in *Looted and Hidden*

The present chapter presents the two masculine testimonies in *Looted and Hidden* (Israel 2017). Interestingly, even though both had direct contact with the archives, they did not play a role in the process of building such collection. If an unidentified Israeli soldier tells his version of the facts (Part III), on the Palestinian side, a Palestinian lawyer and activist provide his account of the facts (Part IV).

Interestingly, these two parts (III and IV) which, chronologically, compose the middle of the film, are testimonies from men. This fact, which cannot be merely coincidental, endorses the generally feminine tone of the film, which is for its most part narrated by women[27]. At this point, the concept of "male gaze" (Mulvey 1989) is an interesting tool to begin the analysis of the parts three and four of Looted and Hidden. If Rona describes a process of building the Jewish nation on the debris of Palestine; and Khadijeh and as the process of building an archive and creating and fighting for a movement; the two masculine witnesses present a much more negative look.

In this vein, "male gaze" is not referred to as a phallocentric attitude or structure. On the contrary, it underlines that the documentary is eminently feminine and, when the masculine gaze appears, despite complementing the previous testimonies, it is revealing of a different way of looking which is connected to the male experience. In the film, especially in the case of the Israeli man, this gaze is also linked to the roles performed during the invasion of South Lebanon.

Furthermore, the masculine testimonies contribute to enriching the description of events which are indeed catastrophic, therefore, inherently negative. What is emblematic, however, is the fact that in the dynamics of the documentary, the men cover most emphatically the losses whereas the women produce versions which refer both to creation and absences.

Insofar as this chapter is concerned, the issue of the male gaze, and its usage as a narrative tool, is supplementary to the primary discussion of the composition of the Palestinian archives. However, given that part II is concerned with the notion of sewing

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[27] Four out of six parts of the film are based in the testimonies of Rona Sela and Khadijeh Habshneh. The amount of time each of them has in the film is proportional to the parts they conduct. Besides that, Rona is the first and last narrator, whereas Khadijeh's testimony follows the author, with the second part, and precedes the last part of the film. They are counterparts forming the backbone of the narrative.

time, it is relevant to underline the specificities of the elements involved and their articulation. In this sense, the ways how Rona Sela explores the male account of events, from a position of power, might provide relevant input on the underlying logic of the narrative structure of the film and, ultimately on the proposition of a queer archive. In this vein, the chapter is directly linked to the discussion initiated in the previous ones (chapters 3 and 4). These three pieces are complementary parts of the film analysis.

5.1 KILLING IN THE NAME: THE ANONYMOUS SOLDIER

The third part of the film is narrated by a former Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) Soldier. He speaks from the capital city and, more than the other testimonies, in his case, what is important is his capacity to represent a larger group. Unlike any other character interviewed in the documentary, the soldier is not qualified as a person. The lettering presenting him mentions only his former occupation and city.

Figure 18 – Part III, Former IDF Soldier

There is no name, nor hints on his qualifications. If Sela speaks as the curator, the person who went on a "quest for lost Palestinian archives", and Khadijeh is one of the founders of a relevant archive, the soldier was a tool in a brutal occupation. He is a character without name or face who speaks anonymously on behalf of many who had only the face and drive of an institution controlled by the state.

As one learns from his deposal, he served the army in Beirut and took part in the invasion of Lebanon. He was a "boy of 18 or 19" as he describes himself. Picking the thread from Khadijeh´s testimony, which he presumably did not hear by the time he was interviewed for the film, the former soldier also talks about tragedy and trauma.

During the testimony, a hesitant male voice admits "I saw this photograph on your desktop. Years ago. I paused. Gazed at the image, froze. I told you I know this building. The photo reminded me of things I would prefer to forget. *You* [Rona Sela] *also turned*

pale. Didn't speak" (00:18:20s – 00:18:40s, *my emphasis*). Such a reaction suggests that the film encompasses more than just the photo as a historical document. The new archive constituted in the footage embraces the emotions of the soldier, who was part of the group depicted in the image. It also approximates him to the filmmaker. Like many other scenes, this one denotes the inherently personal dimension of any archive. In this case, the comment that Sela also did not speak highlights the fact that they are both Jewish Israelis. In this case, the comment that Sela also did not speak highlights the fact that they are both Jewish Israelis. Despite not having experienced the events personally, her reaction suggests a sense of guilt, a tension aroused not by common misdoings but by the shared history.

Thinking again on the terms proposed by Said (1983), this bond is fundamentally a bond of affiliation. Beyond their Jewishness, a bond of filiation, at this moment, they share a similar moral understanding of the situation (affiliation). Either for the lived experience or due to academic research, Sela and the soldier know and feel the consequences of the massacre in Lebanon. The photo bridges these two unrelated individuals, approximating their personal stories. A similar process, although through a different pathway, had already approximated Khadijah and Sela. In this operation, the lines of affiliation connect individuals in their own individual spheres.

Figure 19 - Cultural Arts Section (CAS) building in Beirut. Credit: Shlomo Arad

Reacting to the images, the soldier and Sela illustrate the fact that the archive is never exclusively "external" to one´s Self. Historical documents, political life and affects

cannot be separated. Nor can personal and collective memories and histories be clearly separated. The tragedy, the uprooting, the catastrophe, go far beyond the individuals who experienced it directly. Even for those who did not take part in it directly, the archive has a powerful affective appeal. Because it speaks to cultural memory, it is a register of time, and in this specific case, a time that seems to refuse to pass.

The photo in question is the Cultural Arts Section building occupied by Israeli soldiers during the invasion of Beirut. Ruined by the Israeli attacks, the building´s windows display bullet holes, and a torn sign of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. The ruins of the PLO, occupied by young Israeli soldiers, are also the physical frame for a collective trauma. Once again, at this point, the usage of photography has a critical role in the narrative. In the lack of footages portraying the building, the film edition takes close shots of the photo, showing different angles of the same image before presenting the whole picture. This exercise composes a sequence of images out of a single original one and, therefore, it rearticulates the time of the still image (photograph), transforming it in a series of moving ones.

In the testimony, two interesting elements around the photo appear — first, the trauma from the perpetrators´ side. A soldier who was part of a terrible massacre admits his troubles even gazing at the image. Secondly, it manifests the vitality of the archive as a tool pushing for remembrance, more than the simple preservation of a past which can then be forgotten for it is preserved in an external apparatus. The anonymity of the testimony is also significant. It suggests shame, and perhaps trauma, for the participation in an invasion that culminated in genocide. From a narrative point of view, the description reinforces the position of the soldier as representative of an entity, not strictly an individual. The soldier does not speak in his own name. Perhaps not even for the army. He occupies the position of the young boys "of 18 or 19" in the PLO building (see Fig. 19).

Following Safatle (2015), one might admit that political life is a circuit of affects. In this realm, where multiple affects are entangled as part of the public life, the archive functions as a social organ of memory. In this capacity, it holds the responsibility of preservation of history, but also the mobilisation of fears, hope, and every other emotion which plays a role in social life. During the third part of the film, it becomes clear that the archive, for that soldier, encapsulates traumatic images. It documents events that the narrator would rather keep in the undergrounds of his consciousness.

In a macroscopic level, considering that these documents were classified, one might suggest that the Israeli state also has a similar position, for different reasons. These images thus were foreclosed from public memory. In other words, they were never processed, never discussed openly in schools and political debates, they were not treated and continued as a trauma for part of the Israelis and as an absence for the Palestinians. The lack of discussion, however, does not mean that these events were completely absent from the cultural debate. In *Waltz with Bashir* (Israel 2008), Ari Folman uses animation techniques to describe the experience of a former soldier who served in the invasion of Lebanon. After experiencing a nightmare, the former soldier decides to look for his former army colleagues in order to remember the events in Beirut.

Folman´s movie can be understood as an attempt to treat and heal a traumatic event. Its relevance and repercussion do not derive solely from the ingenious use of animation to describe real events or the director´s first-person experience in the battlefield. More than a narrative on personal trauma, guided by the attempt to remember, Waltz with Bashir speaks to the collective trauma of war. This war, however, is not like any other. It was a brutal invasion which culminated in genocide. Its consequences seem to have lasted in both sides.

To evoke *Waltz with Bashir* (Israel 2008) is relevant for the development of the argument on *Looted and hidden* (Israel 2017) for two reasons. First, because similarly to *Looted and Hidden* the film attempts to address the issue of memory in a regime where the control of the historical narratives has vital importance for the state, and therefore fiction becomes a tool to unveil the truth. Secondly, the comparison is relevant due to Folman´s narrative presents striking similarities with the testimony in the third act of Sela´s film.

In part III, the soldier gives the following description of Beirut: "Beirut is stunning. Breath-taking. A time of war and strange leisure. Long breaks in the sun, waiting for orders in beaches and restaurants. At the same time a mixture of death, destruction, atrocities". Such a description can be illustrated by scenes from the animated movie, where young soldiers relax at the beach. Scenes followed images of brutality.

In the same vein, both the IDF soldier in Looted and Hidden and the main character in Waltz with Bashir are Israeli young men of about eighteen or nineteen years old. The two seem to have experienced difficulties dealing with the memories from the conflict and in different ways, seem to have led to the point where they articulated their experiences for a camera. *Waltz with Bashir´s* opening scene is emblematic of this

relationship between memory, trauma and the conflict. There, the camera shows the main character staring at a group of dogs from his house´s window. Helpless, the individual (the Self) is barely visible, as if he was hiding on the top of a tower. The dogs, on the other hand, bark and seem to be threatening him. The scene, portraits a dream. In the context of the film, the dogs might be the unsettling memories from the in Lebanon threatening the Self, which tries to suppress them. Another approach to the same scene would be to think that the dogs circling him represent the anonymous soldier and his colleagues in arms who sieged a Palestinian camp in Beirut.

Opening scene (00:01:03s – 00:03:00s)
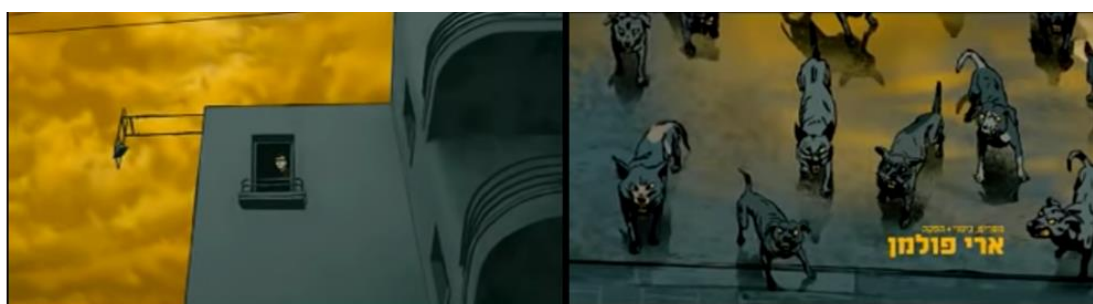
Figure 20 – Frames from a nightmare scene (Film Still, 00:02:52s; film still, 00:02:55s)

Regardless of the interpretation for the opening sequence of the film might be, *Waltz with Bashir* offers an aesthetically compelling account of the events in Beirut. Told from the autobiographical point-of-view of a soldier who served as a teenage boy in Lebanon, the story helps the understanding of the testimony presented in a stark manner in Looted and Hidden. Observed in contrast with each other, the two films, or more precisely, the third part of Looted and Hidden and the animated film, suggest a shared experience of stress. Similarly to the animated film, the soldier admits that they "never spoke about it [the events in Lebanon]" among themselves. He also admits not having mentioned the archives and only learning about the material they collected years later because of the film.

What might seem to be a minor issue is, in fact, a central aspect of this chapter´s discussion. The absence of official discourse in Israel acknowledging the genocide of Palestinians in Lebanon, and more importantly the systematic investments to bury the Palestinian memories, is an issue concerning the collective memory in the context of the former British Mandate Palestine. More specifically, that is not an acceptable account of the plethora of tragic events which took place in that corner of the world.

Often, narratives appear and try to explain and legitimate the Palestinian or the Israeli´s perspective on the historical events. In an institutional level, the absolute economic and military dominance of Israel in the entire Middle-East also contributes to repress the Israeli misdoings. In this context, the aesthetic realm acquired critical importance for cultural memory. The Israeli efforts to control the circulation of documents regarding Palestine has also been discussed in Sela´s academic work. According to her,

> Israel conceals Palestinian treasures not only by physical means (seizing of booty or looting) but also by a strict system of management, control and "knowledge production" – *laws, rules, norms*, methods and archive procedures such as censorship, restricted study, access prohibition/limitation, control over what is declassified (to whom and to what extent), *cataloging and labeling* according to Zionist *codes and terminology* that differ from the original Palestinian *terminology*, signifying Israeli ownership over the material and more" (2018: 202, *my emphasis*).

The process described by Sela illustrates how the Israeli state establishes an apparatus based in "laws, rules, norms" but also in "methods and archive procedures" to control the discourse about the Zionist and Palestinian presences in the territory. A symptom of the intent to change in the "codes and terminology" when incompatible with the Zionist version. These modifications in the vocabulary, thus, are crucial for understanding the importance of the symbolic realm for the struggle. Beyond the shift in vocabulary, the change in the way documents are catalogued and coded imply in a revision of history to justify the Zionist presence in Palestine.

Bearing this in mind, an effort to "decolonise" these archives and to cast a light over the Palestinian archives requires a fresh look on the images produced by the conflict and their expressive meaning. In the third part of the film, following Khadijeh´s perspective on the archive from Beirut, and the images selected by Sela, it is possible to identify the emergence of an articulated discourse, which is both a verbal and visual.

On the visual dimension, the second part is the first moment when the already notorious image of the anonymous Palestinian protester appears. Wearing an improvised mask, the protester arches his body to throw a rock.

Figure 19 – Protester throwing a rock (film sequence, 21:22s-21:23s)

In the context of the documentary, the image is part of a sequence from the film *Anti-Siege* (1977) by Iraqi filmmaker Kais Al-Zubaidi[28]. In his turn, Al-Zubaidi claimed that the work was developed in cooperation with the Cultural Arts Section and the Democratic Front. Therefore, in the making of this sequence or, more specifically, of these two images above (Fig.10), there are several hands and layers of time. It is also relevant to notice that *Anti-Siege* was created with still photographs and clips, which not only approximates it to *Looted and Hidden* but also suggests the experience of looking at a moving archive.

The recording of the movement, the collective edition as filmic material, the use of parts of the original footage in *Looted and Hidden*, all these steps implied connection between different perspectives and temporalities. Each of the filmmakers presents their account to the events in Palestine, but in common, they report a choreography of resistance that pervades time.

Apart from the footage, the gesture presents a much broader meaning. The rebel body in the two images above serves as an illustration of Didi-Huberman´s (2016) reading of the notion of uprising. In the image, a rebel body occupying the centre of the frame hurls a stone. The process of raising the hand, projecting the body forward and back to a position of stability has been widely adopted in photography and film, as illustrated by the poster of the documentary *In the intense now* (Brazil 2017), from João Moreira Salles, or the compilation of uprisings from Didi-Huberman (2016).

The term uprising is described by Didi-Huberman (2016:16) as "the survival of desire in the space that was conceived for neutralising it". This process would have its "full meaning in the word uprising and the gesture this word suggests" (Didi-Huberman 2016:16). As the excerpt suggests, in Didi-Huberman, the notion appears as a corporal political response to a situation of oppression. The gesture of rising-up requires one or

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[28] In correspondence with Rona Sela. Sela recovered the film from the IDF archives (see Sela 2017).

many bodies, as well as the uprising manifests one or multiple emotions that must be relieved and articulated politically.

Along similar lines, Butler argues that "uprisings come late, even as they seek to instate a new State of affairs. They take place past the time when the condition of subjugation should have ended" (Butler, 2016:23). She highlights that uprisings do not appear out of anywhere. They are gestated, in the past, and emerge as a response to an anachronistic situation. An uprising, thus, is a matter of desire through time. They are a critical signal, a symptom, a fever of the social body.

Not coincidently, both *In the intense now* and Didi-Huberman´s uprisings (2016), the events in 1968 were a central point for the argumentation around the notion of rebellion and uprising. In contrast with the uprisings around Europe in 1968, United States 1950s and 1960s, and so many others, in imagery[29] regarding Palestine the image of anonymous protesters opposing the State has been lasting at least 51 years, since the occupation of Palestinian territories after the six-days war. Given the temporal implication in the notion of uprising as a movement of insurrection that lasts a relatively short period, the Palestinian cause is exemplary of something else: a rebellious resistance. Isolated, the notion of resistance does not seem sufficient to encompass the decades of uprisings and daily struggles lived by the Palestinians.

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[29] The focus here is in the image of Palestine as a global cause. Therefore, the discussion is concerned primarily in the images which reach the Western public.
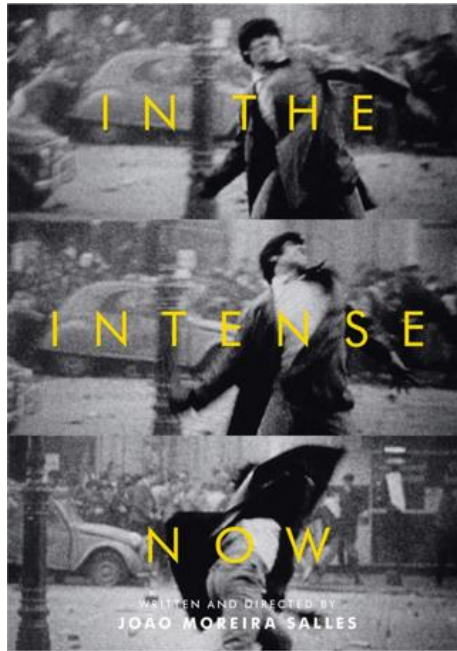
Figure 20 - Protester In the Intense Now (Film Poster, In the intense now)

In this vein, the notion of resistance time refers to this sense of constant struggle against the hostile Israeli presence in Palestinian territories. Altogether, the images of rebel bodies, precarious soldiers, strong women, appear along with others such as smoke, fire, debris and barbed wire in an iconology of the conflict from the Palestinian perspective. In *Looted and Hidden* it comes with terms such as "destruction" and "atrocities" mentioned by the anonymous in his interview.

Figure 21 - Explosion in Beirut, Lebanon (film still, 00:19:07)

Along with the notions such as uprooting, destruction is a thread connecting the images in this visual archive. Across the almost two hours of documentary, scenes of destroyed houses, trashed buildings and neighbourhoods on fire set the tone for the film. In the opposite direction, the recorded images are vestiges of a lasting Palestinian presence. In this reverse from the present road towards the Nakba, Part IV reaches its last testimony, the interview with the lawyer and activist Sabri Jiryis.

5.1 SABRI JIRYIS: THE UPROOTING

Anchored in the figure of Sabri Jiryis, a Palestinian lawyer and activist engaged in the Palestinian liberation movements, the fourth cut switches perspectives again. Following a dialectical pattern, after the Israeli soldier, the fourth part is a centred in the Nakba. Opening his statement, Jiryis recollects the memories of the Nakba. In his account of the event, the great Palestinian tragedy appears in the form of tender and painful childhood memories as in the excerpt below when he explains that he

saw the convoys of Palestinian refugees who were expelled – the refugees of Tarshiha. They passed through *our village*. I remember my grandmother giving them thick slices of bread with labane[30]. *Bread straight from the oven. It´s an image I will never forget*. It accompanies me all my life *(00:23:06s-00:23:39s)*.
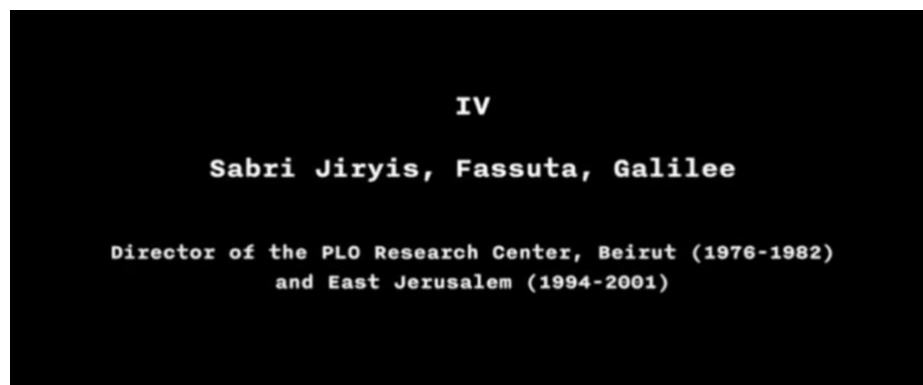
Figure 22 - Part IV, Sabri Jiryis

In the fragment, it becomes clear how a set of events, and its images, cannot be reduced to a specific set of dates, or facts. For him, the Nakba was not merely an event. In a few lines, Jiryis evokes many emblematic images: refugees, the village where he grew up, the grandmother, bread from the oven. Each of these items holds a deep significance for Palestinian people, and precisely for its genuinely local character, a

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[30] Labane is a sour white cheese popular in the Middle East.

universal appeal. Moreover, these elements are not simply Palestinian but archetypes of home, family and homemade meal.

Figure 23 - Convoy of Palestinian refugees (film still, 00:23:06s)

In the film, these symbols are incarnated in a series of images accompanied by Jiryis testimony which adds the most fundamental of the images, mentioned in the fragment above. Emanating from a Palestinian man who lived and *saw* the Nakba the text gains a physicality. The images which accompanied Jiryis during his entire life mobilised multiple affects that are not exclusive to him.

Consternation for the idea of a massive wave of displaced individuals who lost their homes overnight, endearment for the figure of a grandmother distributing bread in a moment of crisis, are ideas ingrained in the images displayed in the film. Jyris´ presence, however, contributes to validating the perception and complexifies what is seen. After all, the mere image of a convoy of refugees does not do justice to the reality described by Jyris. He, for instance, is not a barefoot refugee doomed by the Nakba.

Carrying with him the images of a grandmother giving refugees bread and cheese, Jiryis grew up to become a lawyer and activist. If this set of memories was relevant for him to become an activist is not relevant. The relationship between memory, image, and politics, however, is essential. Years later, after issuing claims for the "return of Palestinian assets" and "publishing books and articles that Israel viewed as hostile" he was banished to Lebanon. In Beirut, he became the director of the *PLO research centre*, responsible for the archive which lies in the core of the documentaries debate.

In the position of director of the centre, Jiryis makes a noteworthy revelation. He claims to have rescued the materials he regarded as the most important the night before the IDF´s arrival. Those materials, he says, were "the real archive, not what the IDF took". In the context of the film, Jiryis statement acquires an especial relevance for it adds a perspective on the broader issue of Palestinian history. Not all is lost, and in this case, the most valuable parts remained under the control of the Palestinian leadership.

Jiryis´ statement illustrates the importance of multiple narrators. If Sela stresses the importance of the findings and the archives hidden by Israel, Jiryis counterbalances this perspective by claiming that the most important parts were not lost. In the documentary, the versions do not contradict nor complement one another. Instead, the relationship between the testimonies add an oral layer to the digital archive of the film, which in its turn cannot be stabilised but rather left open as a dynamic structure.

5.2 HEALING ARCHIVES: A PATCHWORK OF MEMORIES

The notion of sewing time refers to the imagination of the present connecting threads of the past to overcome the gaps left by the violence and forced dispossession. In the context of the film, it is a collective gesture of remembrance, which is simultaneously aided by and constitutes the archive.

In *Looted and Hidden*, past and present are intermingled in the fabric of the filmic structure. As a virtual museum, the film brings together Rona Sela's memories, the Zionist national footages suggesting the proud (re)foundation of a nation, the brutal expulsion of the Palestinian people from their land. The film is narrated from the perspectives of a Jewish historian and curator (Sela), an Arab filmmaker and archivist responsible for the foundation of the Palestinian film institution, and a former Israeli soldier. These three points of view look at a similar set of events, and fundamentally, at the same archive. Evoking the notion of similarity and the constellation as a method, one might identify how these images connect the witnesses.

Each of them is looking at the archive (constellation) and the images (stars) in its own way. As each person holds its unique perspective linked to its position and historical moment (in Benjamin *Zeitmoment*), the narration captures the ensemble of views to constitute a narrative. As a patchwork of images, the documentary is a political act through an aesthetic gesture.

The act is the devolution of historical documents to the public sphere, whereas the aesthetic gesture suggests that these images compose an archive that cannot be detained.

More than an archive in the sense of a space of storage, the film is a travelling recollection of memories, embodied in the interviewed characters and the historical documents.

Back to Archive fever, Derrida stated that the question of the archive is not a matter of the past but rather a question of the future (Derrida, 1995). An archive built from absences is an archive built from the ashes of the destruction of memory, in its literal and figurative senses. The literal dimension is evident in the attacks on Palestinian cultural entities, which in the film is represented by the invasion of Beirut. On the figurative level, the destruction of Palestinian memories appears in the attempts to erase the legacy of Palestinians from the cultural debate.

However, unlike Derrida's proposition suggesting that the archive becomes in the point of destruction of memory, the archive discussed here is the emergence of memory. As *Looted and Hidden* suggests, in the verge of destruction, memories can reorganise, travel. They might be reconfigured in form and lose part of its original traits, but change and oblivion are constitutive elements of memory. Invention plays a determinant role in this process (see Said, 2000).

Thus, healing an archive is a process of curing the fever of the loss, of actual death, unlike the death drive mentioned by Derrida in *Archive Fever* (1995). On the other hand, it admits the agency of the archive, seeing it as a network of breathing objects. It nurtures its fire with the loss and challenges the destruction with a new life created from the re-articulation of scattered memories.

A fundamental difference between sewing memories into an archive, as suggested here, and the archive fever must be highlighted. Derrida departs from a relatively stable set of objects governed by nomological principles. With notions such as "exteriority", stability, order and norm, Derrida claims that the archive carries a destructive force described as "archive fever" (*Mal d'Archive*). Derrida's archive, thus, is a set of characteristics to which are challenged by *Looted and Hidden* and the Palestinian resistance in general. After all, the documentary is not a supplement to memory. It is instead the return of images suppressed and concealed from public access. It is a dialogic work which brings to the fore the violent contradictions such as those inherent to a foundational narrative inscribed over a mass expulsion. Still on the dialogical note, the presence of the author's biographical information as part of the filmic material is noteworthy.

Here, the figure of the archontic is also replaced by the curator and filmmaker. Embracing the role of curator, Sela takes care of a set of images bringing her personal

experience in that land to the account of the facts. In doing so, she also becomes part of the "archive" disrupting the aseptic distance between the professional archivist and the objects and documents of memory. To counterbalance her authority as "filmmaker", Sela relies on a Palestinian counterpart Khadijeh and other participants who contribute with their interpretation of the events.

Moreover, the film presents these tensions by juxtaposing images that have in common the fact that they were shot in the same territory, and in most cases denied to the public eye. The very fact that the images had to be extracted from the original archives where they were kept from circulation and then reach the public reinforces the idea of non-supplementary of these images. On the contrary, these images, and their composition are responsible for fulfilling a gap in collective memory.

In *Looted and Hidden*, the images appear as the return of suppressed memories withheld from the collective consciousness and returned in a storm of images, footages, and narration. The burning archive burns, but not from *archive fever*. Instead of having destruction as a product of its supplementary nature, these archives are produced by absences. In this case, the death drive that moves a nomological archive is replaced by a desire for survival. A couple of symptoms of this absence in *Looted and Hidden* illustrate the relationship between dispossession and remembrance. The film, however, works as a form of patching of a wounded social fabric.

Firstly, the film is narrated through the perspective of four characters whose memories complement the documents found by Sela. Each of them, including the filmmaker's, has scars from losses and a relationship with conflict. They present rich yet incomplete accounts of the events and equally valuable insights about the images. Nevertheless, these perspectives are distributed in an uneven form, as mentioned before. In this sense, the relativisation of the masculine testimonies contribute to highlight the denial of the archive as basic in a masculine logic (e.g. the Law, the Father) with a prevalence of a feminine look, not only because of the gender of the director but mostly for the way how the film is organised and for the dominance of female accounts of the events.

Secondly, the images were mostly recovered from the archives looted in Lebanon and not accessible to the public. Even Sela, who had access to some of the IDF archives, cannot determine the extension of the archive and what are the Palestinian films in there (Sela 2017). This lacunarity seems to pervade the film and work in its favour. The documentary, thus, is an audio-visual carousel of ruins and fire, of resistance, exile and

deaths. As the wheels of time, which Sela suggests being moving backwards, this visual narrative takes the spectator back and forward through a version of the history.

As a document, *Looted and Hidden* was only possible because of Rona Sela's position as a Jewish-Israeli researcher of Palestinian history. If anything, the very existence of such a film proves the asymmetry of power across the border. However, the same film vouches for the possibility of historical reparation, even if insufficient.

Sela's attempt to recollect and approximate historical pictures and footages create a space where multiple temporalities must negotiate. Among these temporalities, a few deserve attention: the moment of the interview, contrasting with the archive footages; the rhythm of the moving images versus still images; each of the interviews in relation to the other. Altogether this composition is revealing of the challenge presented by the task of building a post-colonial archive.

Along with the problematic access to the Palestinian archives, another crucial aspect to be considered in the analysis is the fact that the film was only possible because Rona Sela is a Jewish university professor in Israel. In this capacity, she had some access to the documents that compose the film and looked for Palestinian testimonies to compose this work. This fact, however, underlines the uneven condition under which Israelis and Palestinians are represented and capable of representing themselves[31].

Unlike the archives referred by Derrida (1995) in their nomological, and almost redundant and coherent nature, these images are unsettling. They form a precarious account of events - a precariousness caused by its fragmentation, lack of internal coherence and, above all, for the lack of a firm structure sustaining it as a proper archive. On the other hand, precisely due to such precariousness this archive of a colonised territory seems to lack a self-destructive fever.

Its inner gaps, I suggest, demand a constant process of creation, replacement of the unknown by the imagination and memory. It is not a coincidence that in cultures such as the Palestinian oral testimonies have such high relevance. For Nur Masalha, the oral testimonies, especially from refugees[32], allow the historians to grasp "social history from

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[31]The trouble of self-representations of Palestinians can be perceived even in the Palestinian films discussed in this research. All the films were either funded by foreign funds and governments or directed and produced by Palestinians living abroad. In most cases, both characteristics are applicable, which speaks to the limited reach of strictly Palestinian produced films, which is abnormal even for the standards of today´s integrated globalised markets.

[32] The perspective of the Palestinian refugees is especially relevant given to the number of displaced Palestinian. In 1999, Masalha claimed that "today some 70 per cent of the Palestinians are refugees" (Masalha 1999)

below" (Masalha 2009). The statement also resonates McEwan´s (2003) comment on the importance of self-representation of historically oppressed populations in a more democratic nation-building process. In this sense, *Looted and Hidden* is still a problematic case in the sense that it is a product of top-down research, but it is also a positive case of memorial recollection in the context of one conflicted geography. After all, as the film points out, Palestine is the land to which Jewish refugees went to escape persecution; and a land in whose name persecution of native populations was undertaken.

Differently from diasporic memories, the notion proposed here, of time sewing, is not based in a fixed identity, a community, a people or individuals. On the contrary, the memories here investigated are inherently collective, a network of remembrances and attempts to overcome forgetfulness. It is thus, a response to the process of ruination of a territory and the systematic and articulated destruction of national archives[33].

This collectiveness is relevant both in the sense of a collective memory, shared by any cultural group (Halbwachs 1992) but also in the conflict between different narratives, such as that of the Jewish settlers and the Palestinians and, moreover, the memory of the objects themselves, which extrapolate its symbolization in the culture remaining open to interpretations. Three elements come to the fore in this equation: the memorial narratives shared by each of the groups occupying the space once called British mandate Palestine; the conflict of narratives regarding the land; and finally, the non-human elements, a fundamental part of the territory. These last elements might offer clues for new forms of interpretation, and it is in this realm that the images of the conflict are situated.

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[33]As pointed out by Rona Sela (2017) Israeli entities have operated systematic plunder of Palestinian archives and documents. The archive from Beirut is but one among Palestinian documents acquired as war looting.
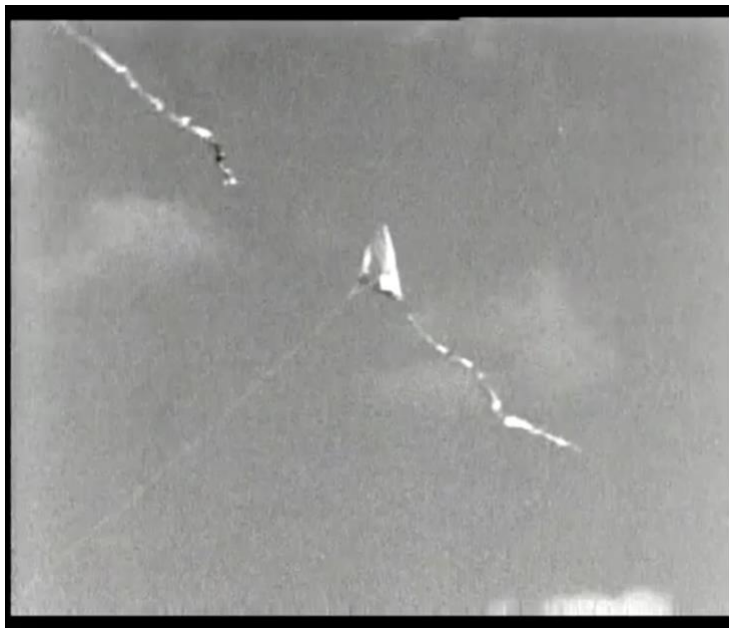
Figure 24 - Flying kite (00:43:10)

Even though they might be perceived as products of artistic intervention, or part of a broader narrative, which in most cases they are, photographs and films have their own lives beyond the author´s intentions. As objects strayed from their original contexts, they carry the potential for new articulations in the symbolic order, which are dependent on their new contexts.

Finally, admitting the inherently incomplete nature of the documentary, Rona Sela ends the film saying that she has been thinking about the words left unsaid between her, Khadijeh and Tamam[34]. These words, spoken or not, "are left up in the air" says Sela (see Fig. 26). Perhaps that is the mission of a visual archive, to keep words and images up in the air).

CODA

Part II is concerned with a wide time frame. From the Nakba to the Palestinian resistance during the 80s, it mingles images from Israeli and Palestinian photographers and filmmakers. From a chronological standpoint, the materials revolve around two main reference points: the Nakba/foundation of Israel and the invasion of Lebanon. These two temporal spectrums are polarised in the figures of Rona Sela and Sabri Jyris, who deal primarily with the Nakba on one side; and the Israeli soldier and Khadijeh Habashneh

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[34] A reference to Tamam Al-Akhal, Palestinian painter interviewed for the film.

discuss the events around 1982, in Lebanon. Except for the soldier, however, all the characters mix references to multiple events and decades talking about their memories.

Overall, part II is concerned with the creation of an audio-visual archive based on scattered materials and testimonies. This process of building an account of the Palestinian history based on silenced (hidden) narratives connects pieces of a grassroots struggle in a fashion that seems to contradict traditional forms of archivization. More precisely, the argument in this second piece is that unlike Derrida´s archive fever, based on repetition and abundance leading to a destructive drive, from below archives are based in the process of healing (curating). Accordingly, the film (*Looted and Hidden*) is structured around the relationship of two women Rona Sela and Khadijeh Habashneh, whose perspective prevail over the masculine testimonies. As pointed out in chapter five, the male gaze in the film contrasts with the feminine approach in the same work, underlining a general concern with issues such as building, construction and reparation.

For the reasons expressed above, *Looted and Hidden*, despite its inherently problematic nature as a production controlled by one person only (Rona Sela), is regarded as grassroots (filmic) archive. Moreover, it is a sample of the continuity of a post-Nakba temporal experience defended in this thesis. Similarly to part one, the chapters in this second section revealed a concern with an extended past or a present tainted by the traumatic memories of the present. Interestingly, the documentary shows how Jews and Palestinians alike, suffer from the scission derived from the United Nations partition plan to former British Mandate Palestine. Along these lines, the next section shall address a greater lapse of time, now starting from the first years of the occupation to the end of the 20th century.

PART III - The emergence of memory: An analysis of post-occupation Palestinian iconography (1968 to 1999)

> "In her absence I created her image: out of the earthly
> the hidden heavenly commences. I am here weighing
> the expanse with the Jahili odes ... and absence
> is the guide, it is the guide […]"
> Mahmoud Darwish, 2007

OPENING

In his most notorious speech, PLO leader Yasser Arafat addressed the United Nations General Assembly with the following words: "Today I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand" (Arafat 1974). These words, written by Mahmoud Darwish[35], were carefully placed in Arafat´s first opportunity to speak in this global Forum. As it will become more evident throughout the following chapters, Arafat´s figure talking about the olive tree and the "freedom fighter´s gun" is the climax of a well-designed political iconography. What is more impressive in this imagery, however, is that the olive trees and the freedom fighters´ weapon outlived Arafat and the PLO itself to become part of the very Palestinian identity. Hereon, I shall argue that the deep relevance of these symbols to this day is due to a lasting temporality, which pervades the political debate and is ingrained in the images of Palestine.

In part three, I sketch out a brief genealogy of these gestures with the intention of proposing that these images are: a. Evidence of an experience of a time that does not pass, but resists; b. part of a visual argument articulated by PLO and other Palestinian political groups that consists in rescuing past images to establish and maintain a clear Palestinian identity, which, due to its origin (the PLO), is inherently related to the liberation movements.

As Dina Matar underlines, the PLO´s cultural activism had a decisive contribution to frame the notion of revolution into the Palestinian political vocabulary and established an idea of Palestine and Palestinian in the political discourse (Matar 2018). According to Matar, the PLO successfully constructed

> the Palestinian revolution as an aesthetic revolution through the articulation of a powerful aesthetics of liberation in print media, language, poetry, image, poster

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[35] See Buck 2008. Available at <https://www.ft.com/content/af029884-67a4-11dd-8d3b-0000779fd18c> access in Jan. 2020.

art, photography, cartoons, slogans, and insignia that responded to the Palestinians' historical marginalization and through which the revolution made itself seen, felt, and heard" (Matar 2018: 363).

Bearing this in mind, and resuming the discussion from previous chapters, this section focuses on the relationship between loss, absence and the reappearance of the memory through aesthetic practices. Hereon, however, the primary concern will not be the rescue of memories or images, but rather their creation. After all, quoting Said once again, "collective memory is not an inert and passive thing, but a field of activity in which past events are *selected, reconstructed, maintained, modified, and endowed with political meaning*" (Said 2000: 185, *my emphasis*).

In this spirit, I will dig into a past further away, moments in time when the images, plundered during the years of invasions and occupation, were conceived, circulated and were consumed with a focus on the permanence of visual, and textual, traits of this political and aesthetical project. An overview of these images shall provide a better understanding of the icons that still seem to define Palestinian identity and the ways how Palestine is perceived.

From a theoretical standpoint, part III departs from the notion of "imaginative geography" coined by Edward Said to describe the invention of the "Orient" as symbolic space to be conquered (Said 2000: 181). For Said, an imaginative geography is a colonial conceptual apparatus which allowed the Western powers to deny the sovereignty of the dominated populations overlaying their own discourses, narratives and (geographical) knowledge with the imperial imagination of such spaces.

Considering the truth in Said´s statements, according to which the collective memory is a process of constant invention and can also be subjected to an "imperial gaze" (Kaplan 1997), I shall address two forms of representations. In an introductory movement, the Zionist discourse on Palestine in order to provide an idea on the colonial approach towards Palestine. Further in the section, the Palestinian posters will be discussed as forms of articulation of national identity in response to the struggle.

The choice here is to address the temporal experience in Palestine through images, and not through an economic or social point of view – often privileged in the social sciences and political analysis. This option is grounded in two reasons: firstly, because the analysis of cultural production from Palestine is feasible from the outside of Palestinian borders. One of the great achievements of Palestinian political and cultural institutions was precisely to convey meaning capable of reaching global audiences and

frame their struggle as a universal fight for justice. Secondly, and more specifically, because if not anywhere else, in Palestine, politics and culture are indissociable. As Tawil-Souri affirms, in Palestine "there is an *inherent* and *on-going* relationship (sometimes a *tension*) between the political and the cultural" (2011:140, *my emphasis*). One might also add that much of the Palestinian cultural industry, such as the film production groups[36], was developed to serve the liberation efforts. The coincidence between politics and visual culture, thus, is far from being casual.

Hence, this text departs from the assumption that the post-1948 Palestinian iconology unveils traces of the temporal experience in Palestine through the rise of resistance icons in the Palestinian political iconography. Focusing on the situation after 1968, when the tensions between the Arab World and Israel became more intense due to the six-day war and the consequent occupation of Palestinian territories by Israel, the chapter will follow traces of the Palestinian resistance in its visual realm. The period also marks the appearance of the PLO[37], a key player in the Palestinian political history.

A fundamental aspect of this work, the recognition of spots of negativity appears as a key marker to the analysis. In other words, oblivion, silence and the unseen or hidden are constitutive parts of the visual expressions that will be analysed. Contrasting with the chapter two, however, which speaks to the necessity of bringing together pieces of images from different decades and complement them with testimonies due to lack of a large body of documents, this passage will focus on the abundance.

The hypothesis presented in this chapter is that the patterns in the posters are a visual symptom of the occupation. In other words, the central element of social life remained present for seven decades, the catastrophe. If not the catastrophe of the *Al-Nakba*, the catastrophe of a permanent invasion which never decreased in territorial occupation and violence. In Masalha´s words,

> the Nakba did not end in 1948. For Palestinians, mourning 60 years of al-Nakba is not just about remembering the "ethnic cleansing" of 1948; it is also about marking the ongoing dispossession and dislocation. Today the Nakba continues […]" (2009:78)

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[36] The Manifesto of The Palestinian Cinema Group (1972) states that: "The main objective of this group is to produce Palestinian film committed to the cause and goals of the Palestinian revolution, stemming from the Arab context and with progressive, democratic content". (In K. DICKINSON 2018: 92)

[37] The PLO was founded in 1964 and had much of its actions shaped by the aftermath of the six-day war in the Middle-East.

The excerpt above synthesises the argument developed in this thesis. The perception that the temporal experience in Palestine has been an ongoing experience of struggles which demand permanent resistance. This resistance is fundamentally in the attitude of the Palestinians and their efforts to remember but can be identified in the permanence of key icons that circulate in Palestinian visual culture throughout the past decades.

As a corpus of analysis, the investigation will focus on the "Liberation Graphics Collection of Palestine Posters" (hereafter Liberation Graphics), nominated for UNESCO's International Memory of the World Register. The Liberation graphics are part of a larger repository and focuses on posters from Palestinian Liberation movements. Not coincidently, the first posters of this collection appeared in 1965, not long after the foundation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in June 1964 and were created as advertising of the organisation. The foundation of the PLO has decisive importance not only for the liberation graphics collection, but to the articulation of an imaginary of Palestine, and of the Palestinian, which will unfold in several mediums.

The collection is part of the Palestine posters project which contains over twelve thousand posters. As a small sample of a more substantial archive, the Liberation Graphics encompasses 1.600 posters telling part of the political history of Palestine in the form of graphic design. From the earliest poster named "We are the resistance" (originally in Arabic) published in 1965 to a poster depicting a photo of Yasser Arafat and the pope John Paul II, the archive presents a compelling visual narrative of the Palestinian resistance.

Curated by Daniel J. Walsh the collection was nominated to the UNESCO prize by Walsh and a group of intellectuals as the Palestinian professor Salim Tamari, PhD; professor Rochelle Davis, PhD; Amer Shomali, a Palestinian artist; and the writer Catherine Baker. It also had as co-nominator the former the Minister of Culture of Palestine, Dr. Ehab Bessaiso, on behalf of the Palestinian National Authority. Such assembly of notorious Palestinian figures vouches for the credibility and relevance of the project, which is originally a one-person endeavour.

It is also significant that the website, curated by Walsh, contains over 12 thousand posters, which makes it one of the largest, if not the largest, collection of Palestinian posters. For these reasons, the Palestine Posters Project, and the *Liberation Graphics Collection of Palestine Posters* were selected as the source for the analysis.

The myriad of posters is catalogued in the website according to their publishing year, iconography, wellspring and publisher. On the wellspring criteria, it is interesting to notice that the origin of the posters presents a rich overview of the conflict. Under this umbrella, four significant categories appear: the first refers to the posters published by "Arab/Muslim artists or agencies" (48 posters), whereas the second is dedicated to "international" artists/agencies (210 posters). Both categories are regarded as external to the conflict, given that the other two refer specifically to the agents directly involved: Palestinian nationalist artists/agencies and Zionist/Israeli artists/agencies (82 posters). The Palestinian nationalist section, however, has most of the posters in the collection, 1260 out of 1600.

The specification of wellspring will be helpful for the analysis since it favours the comparison between the nationalist iconology and international or Zionist representations of the conflict. Moreover, the identification of the source where the posters came from is instrumental for the understanding the geopolitical alignments through time. As a form of nationalist propaganda (Palestinian or Zionist), the posters convey multiple meanings related to the nation and its political allies. This can be illustrated by the posters presenting the alliance between Palestine and Vietnam (1972), or the poster claiming, "Irish solidarity with the Palestinian people", published by the Irish Republican Movement in 1981. Overall, the posters display geopolitical and temporal relations having Palestine as a focal point and cast a light on the construction of the image of the Question of Palestine as a global grassroots struggle.

Regarding the historical significance of this corpus, the document justifying the nomination for the *International Memory of the World Register brings* two arguments with regards to the importance of the collection "(1) they represent a key era in the evolution and maturation of paper-based Palestine poster art and (2) they provide primary documentary data on the contemporary history of Palestine". The very nomination for the memory of the world programme is a recognition of the value of the posters collection not only for Palestine but for the world's history.

Moreover, it indicates that the materials in the archive were endangered and therefore needed special attention from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to keep this archive in proper conditions. In the context of Palestine, it is evident that the risk the posters suffered is connected to the hostile presence of Israeli troops in the Palestinian territory, the siege and economic blockade on

Gaza and the extreme precariousness of the Palestinian territories due do the long-term conflict. Finally, this section is divided into three chapters:

Chapter four presents an introduction to the *Liberation Graphics Collection of Palestine Posters* along with a brief quantitative analysis and comments on two of the most important elements in the collections: the visual discourse on the land and the presence of weapons. Hence, chapter five addresses the importance of the Palestinian liberation movements the armed struggle. This chapter is specifically concerned with the development of the iconography of the armed conflict in the posters. Given that the armed resistance is a crucial element for Palestinian political life, the analysis seeks to identify the main elements of the iconography of the conflict and to discuss them as symptoms of historical experience.

The last chapter in this section takes a leap from the posters collection to debate the iconography, which was popularised by these posters, in contemporary films. This last axis establishes a link between the visual vocabulary developed during the cold war years of the occupation and its 21st-century unfolding. Despite the difference in mediums, the chapter claims that the insistence in these iconic elements is revealing of a permanent trauma linking the Nakba to modern-day occupied Palestine.

Chapter 6 – Preliminary shreds of evidence: An overview of the *Liberation Graphics Collection of Palestine Posters*

6.1 A BRIEF OVERVIEW ON THE COLLECTION

As a first step into these conflicted temporalities, the timeline below provides a synthetic account of the history of Palestinian and Zionist posters. Interestingly, according to this account of the facts, the first political poster in the region was published by the Zionists in 1910 whereas the first Palestinian poster appears shortly after 1935. These two events illustrate two things. Firstly, the increasing Zionist presence and political action during the early decades of the 20th century. Secondly, at least in the realm of the posters, the fact that a Palestinian articulated response appears much later since, at that point, Palestinian elite under the British ruling were still the hegemonic power in those territories.

Still following the timeline, with the foundation of Israel the first "Arab/Muslim" poster was published and, in the same year, the Zionist posters replace the "word" Palestine for "Israel" in all their posters. The switch in the Zionist vocabulary is one of the most emblematic gestures of the entire conflict. After all if, on the one hand, early Zionist posters document the fact that the Zionists recognised that land as "Palestine", the replacement of Palestine by Israel is not a mere update. It is an act of erasure extensive to the entire Zionist vocabulary and its geopolitical attitude.

Timeline of the Palestinian Poster Genre
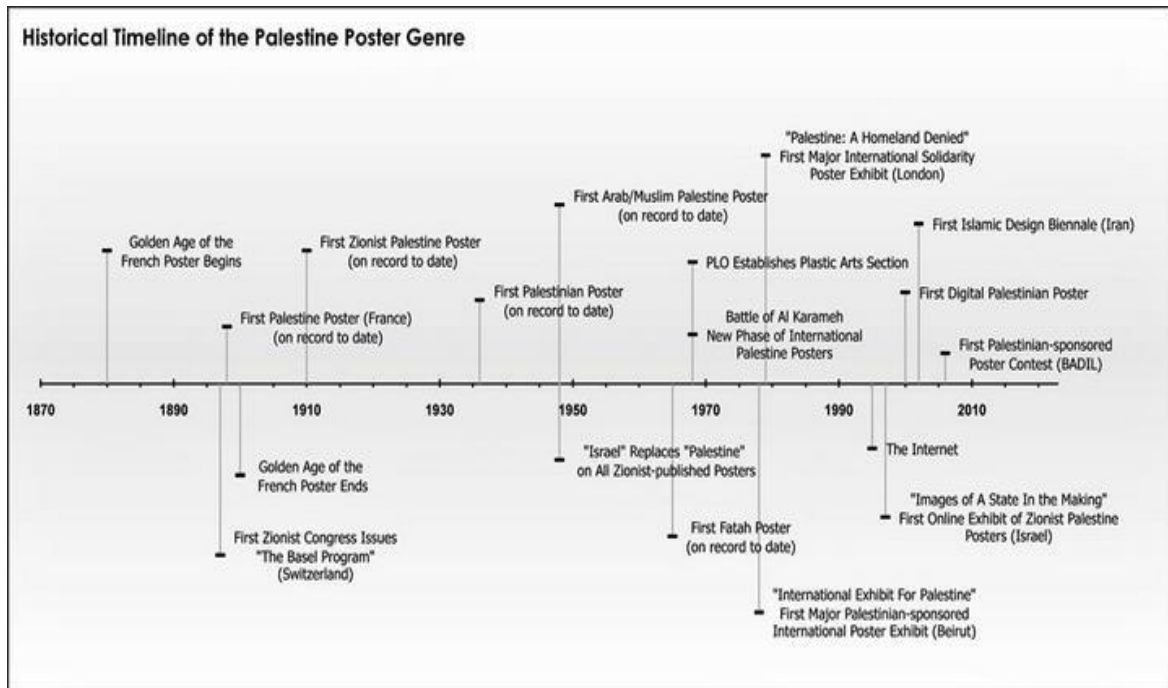
Figure 25 - Retrieved from Nomination for the Liberation Graphics Collection of Palestine Posters International Memory of the World Register

The persistence of certain icons travel through decades, and through several different entities, might reveal the permanence of a collective trauma. However, the continuation of the conflict and the reappearance of the icons are not one. If the conflict is a social fact which can be described within the realm of law, the icons are products of the individual and collective imagination. These posters, thus, cannot be detached from a common vocabulary and a cultural experience of the struggle. With that in mind, I suggest looking at the images as symptoms of the Palestinian experience, and more specifically, symptoms of the experience of time under a conflict.

Most posters are designed as political propaganda, even when produced by independent artists, and therefore suggest what could be considered a biased perspective. For the sake of this research, the propagandistic nature of such works only reinforces the resonance of such icons and forms which are designed with the purpose to be recognised and resonate with a large population. After all, political propaganda holds in its core the necessity of mobilising masses of people towards a common goal, established in the propagandistic material.

Thus, the persistence of specific icons in the Palestinian political iconology is representative of the continuation of some aspects in political life. In a sense, images play

a crucial role in social life. The Palestinian posters, for instance, function as elements capable of connecting and synthesising sparse ideas such as what is the nation, who are the Palestinians, what do they stand for. It is imperative to consider that, before the internet, the posters would be imbricated in the city's landscape. As a medium connected to the streets and urban spaces, posters run in the bloodstream of the political sphere oxygenating the debate and providing forms of imagination of the struggle.

The consistency in the representation, verified in the high repetition of motives, also reinforces the cultural relevance of the themes. Moreover, icons such as the dove, that Palestinian flag, machineguns, trees and freedom fighters wearing Kaffiyehs are part of Palestinian visual patrimony and extrapolate the realm of the posters. The female depictions also suggest a relationship with the land, since the gendering of Palestine comes from a long-lasting tradition which originated in poetic works (Salti 2010: 43).

Table 1 – Most common Icons[38]

Icons	Number of appearances	%
Religious symbols/Texts/Icons/Figures	96	6%
Flower/Fruits/Plants	103	6.4%
Israeli Flag/Star of David/Zionism/Icons	119	7.4%
Flag/Banner/National Colours	131	8.1%
Palestinian Flag	137	8.5%
Dove	152	9.5%
Tree	158	9.8%
Sun/Moon/Stars/Planets[39]	182	11.3%
Clanched Fist/Hand/Arm/Fingers	359	22.4%
Kaffiyeh	375	23.4%
Woman Female	389	24.3%
Weapons / Bombs/Armaments/ Guns	457	28.5%

The presence of such icons is not only revealing of the way some of the most important Palestinian cultural institutions decided to represent Palestine and their role in the struggle. As part of a mediatised conflict with Israel, the icons are both parts of a Nation-building effort and a counter-narrative which seeks to defend the existence of Palestine despite Zionist discourses which historically deny Palestine and attempt erase it. In the words of Edward Said, "Israel's war was designed to reduce Palestinian

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[38] The statistics are based in the numbers and tags from the Poster Archives Project.
[39] The presence of many signs related to the sun, moon, planets and starts might be an echoed of the Quran´s myth of creation, where the sun, moon and starts are mentioned among the wonders of Allah´s creation. However, these elements ten to appear as background information in the posters to endorse the general message such as that of hope, in the case of the sun.

existence as much as possible" (1984:29). Hence, it is against the backdrop of oblivion that these signs stand insistently as gestures of creation and remembrance.

6.2 VISUAL DISPUTES AND THE CREATION OF AN IMAGINARY

The significant number of images on the Palestinian struggle is accompanied by continuous conflict marked by the loss of lives, land and restrictions on freedom. Abundance here, as the absences mentioned before, is a symptom of the same phenomenon: the urge for resistance against the absolute oblivion of death, exile and erasure of a culture (see part II).

In this vein, the chapter picks up the thread from the discussion on the Palestinian Third Cinema Movement. The Movement was not only responsible for raising awareness on the Palestinian cause on a global scale but also introduced emblematic visual and discursive elements to the debate on Palestine. Thanks to their efforts, figures such as the freedom fighter and the rebellious youngsters were introduced into global perception non-Palestine, which until then, was marked by the image of the 1948 refugees (Sela 2008). As Rona Sela explains, the Movement contributed to creating a "cinematic image of traumatic Palestinian history" (Sela 2008: 91).

The proximity between filmic works and posters in the making of a Palestinian imaginary of Palestine is not coincidental. Both mediums have an intimate relationship and exercised influence on each other in the context of insurgents in Palestine (Matar 2018). As a background for such cultural and libertarian movements, lies the foundation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (hereafter PLO) whose efforts in the cultural sphere had a direct impact in the Palestinian media and in the ways the nation represents itself (Matar 2018). In the cultural realm, the PLO's influence is crucial to redefine "redefined Palestinians' popular imagery and self-identification while locating these in actual lived experiences, conditions of displacement, and loss of the homeland, as well as within global struggles against imperialism and injustice" (Matar 2018: 354).

To understand the importance of the PLO on the construction of an imaginary of Palestine as a revolutionary grassroots movement is crucial for the steps ahead. After all, the images in this thesis are part of a political project which aims to narrate Palestine to themselves but equally to a global audience. Moreover, it is the intent of this research not to discuss quintessentially Palestinian icons and symbols, but rather to discuss the idea of a Palestine as a fundamentally rebellious territory.

Such idea, which is not unrelated to the notion of a "real", concrete Palestine, is motivated by the relevance this cause has acquired in the struggles for social justice. In

this vein, an understanding of the aesthetical mechanisms of Palestinian politics might provide clues on the experience of time in that space and on the modes of articulation of resistance and rebellious Movement against neo-colonialism and necropolitics.

Seeking a better understanding of these processes through which Palestine represented in the political and aesthetical realm, an analysis of Palestinian visual culture will be undertaken. Driven by the PLO's cultural branch, the image of Palestine and the Palestinian was reconfigured during the 60s. In this regard, the visual aspect of the struggle becomes particularly expressive for its capacity of crossing borders beyond the Arab speaking world. Commenting on the importance of the PLO in forging an idea of Palestine in the symbolic realm, Matar clarifies that

> the campaigns did not evolve organically; they had to be devised and executed by PLO elites and institutions as well as diverse cultural workers and volunteers who recognized the importance of constructing a political discourse in language and image that was both accessible to ordinary people and articulated their sense of self, grievances, and existential concerns.

Within Palestine, photographs and posters became a fundamental tool in the establishment of the imagery of the Palestinians as resistance fighters, and therefore, a crucial aspect of the resistance in the symbolic realm. This endeavour of shifting the image of Palestine towards that of a people fighting for freedom and justice through aesthetics is described by Matar (2018: 363) as an "aesthetics of liberation". Matar's sharp notion of "aesthetics of liberation" serves as a background for the discussion undertaken in this chapter insofar as it points at the overlap between aesthetics and politics.

In the posters, elements of the political struggle are merged with those of daily life. There, themes such as the Nakba, the Israeli invasion of South Lebanon and the fundraising campaigns are entangled with nation building messages and icons. Moreover, the repetition of specific forms throughout the years is revealing not merely of an incapacity to create new forms but rather of the permanence of the same structural issues and, therefore, the same political themes.

The images, thus, cast light on concrete layers of the spatial distribution in Palestine. There one finds the armed struggle, the social crisis/precariousness and the attachment to the land, which is often denied by the occupiers. These elements allow a symbolic articulation of these social conditions into an aesthetics of liberation, which then, provides objective ways of depicting the struggle. An example of this dynamic lies

in the images of demolished houses[40]. Left aside the legal aspect, which is inherently immoral in the context of an occupied West-Bank, the houses leave behind debris and homeless families. Demolitions also evoke the loss of autonomy to settle in their land and resonates dispossession of thousands during the Nakba.

In the illustrations, the posters insist on representing keys, barbed wire, trees, flags and other elements related to the ideas of territory, home, and homeland. The question then is if the topic of the icons is repeated or if time is extended. In other words, if the symbolic realm is doing nothing but depicting a concrete reality which lasts decades, can one talk of repetition (sameness over time) or is it resistance? By resistance, in this context, I refer to a permanence that lacks disappearance, and therefore cannot repeat itself because it was never gone. The hypothesis then is that the elements of Palestinian iconography reveal an extended present; a refusal to vanish, a denial of the disappearance which would give room for a new (re)appearance.

The adoption of a set of icons to depict the Palestinian cause, however, is far from a mere transcription of the quotidian reality to the media. On the contrary, a great effort has been undertaken by Palestinians artists and activists to orchestrate a Palestinian imaginary. With regards to the importance of the fabrication of an imaginary of Palestine in the visual realm, Hani Johariyyeh who pioneered the work with photography in the Palestinian politics and co-founded the Palestinian Cinema Institution, describes the turning point in the process of narrating Palestine. According to him,

> A group of young, high-spirited nationalists toiled round the clock to print, develop, and magnify posters of the fedayeen. Posters were hung in big tents in al-Wihdat Refugee Camp in Jordan. That was the first exhibit in which the Palestinian people saw themselves in pictures that spoke of their national cause and revolution. For the first time, they could see Palestinian youth fighting against the Israeli Army […] Indeed photography had become a new weapon in the Palestinian Revolution. (Johariyyeh apud Hasbaneh 2008: 24-25, my emphasis)[41]

He highlights that it was the first time when the Palestinian saw themselves

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[40] Every year, the state of Israel demolishes Palestinian houses in Jerusalem and the occupied West-Bank under the pretext of "illegal construction procedure". According to the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD) in 2019, 446 structures were demolished, leaving 579 people displaced. According to the same source, 49,581 structures demolished in opt since 1967See ICAHD website. Data are available at <https://icahd.org/>. Access in Nov. 2019.

[41] The original text "The Early Beginnings of the Palestine Cinema Institution" was published in *Palestine in Cinema*, and could not be accessed by this author. Hasbaneh's text is available online at <http://archive.thisweekinpalestine.com/details.php?id=2355&edid=149>

fighting against the Israelis, what now is almost a visual cliché on the Palestinian struggle. Acknowledging that photography became a weapon, he stresses the importance of visual media to the Palestinian cause. Even though this media superposition is not the object of our analysis, it deserves attention for the permanence of certain symbols of the struggle mingled with national icons of Palestine. Such would be the case in the appearance of machineguns and clenched fists, along with Kaffiyehs and Palestinian flags.

Bearing this in mind, the qualitative analysis of the posters will focus on two general categories: land and resistance. By adopting these two terms, I aim to cover not only most of the motifs in the posters, such as flags, trees, fruits and plants, weapons and clenched fists but also to systematise the more significant issues presented in the collection. In this regard, the representations of the land speak to the broad signifiers such as "home" and "nation". The land, thus, is the cause, the terrain upon which the second category will be developed. Resistance, in its turn, is not only the response to oppression or the term to promote political engagement within Palestine and abroad. It is the political glue connecting Palestine and other causes worldwide.

Moreover, my claim is that the notion of resistance appears in the very repetition of forms and themes throughout the years. More than an iconic element in the visual sense, resistance is part of the Palestinian cultural iconology for it reveals much of the experience of being Palestinian through time. In other words, resistance is a social experience embodied in multiple images.

6.2.1 WEAPONS AND THE OMNIPRESENCE OF THE MACHINEGUNS

The significant number of posters displaying armament is anything but surprising. They appear in almost one-third of the posters (28,56%), being the most common element in the collection. The pattern of weapons, which are often associated with clenched fists, is justified by the high incidence of posters published by the active sponsorship of entities such as the PLO (244 posters) and Fatah (336 posters), among several other PLO related entities. Although these movements do not focus exclusively on the armed struggle, they are institutions responsible for the Palestinian armed resistance. Therefore, it resonates their methods and activities in the posters.

In a conflict seen as motivated by religious reasons, the religious seem to occupy a secondary position if compared to nature (trees, sun, plants), the conflict itself (weapons) or national icons such as the Palestinian flag, the Kaffiyeh or the Israeli flag. In fact, the table and the graphic above suggest a prevalence of elements linked to the

resistance, such as weapons, female figures and the Kaffiyeh, which in most cases appear in images of Palestinian resistance fighters, many of which also hold machineguns in an overlap with the most frequent icon (weapons).

Based on these numbers, posters will be selected from the most recurring tags for the qualitative analysis. In addition, the issues of political resistance and recurrence will be privileged in the analysis, which motivates the option for icons such as clenched fists and weapons which are directly related to the conflict.

6.2.2 FLORA AND THE ISSUE OF THE LAND

Flowers, fruits and plants are part of one category with 103 appearances, whereas trees appear 158 times[42]. These numbers suggest that even separately, the land and its products are fundamental elements in the Palestinian iconology. Such conclusion coincides with the fact that Palestinians have a long history of soil cultivation despite the harsh conditions found in the region. This trait is crucial if considered the Zionist propaganda which suggests that Palestine was an "empty land", an idea synthesised by the motto "a land without a people for a people without a land". According to Anita Shapira, the sentence "was common among Zionists at the end of the nineteenth, and the beginning of the twentieth century", for it "contained a legitimation of the Jewish claim to the land and did away with any sense of uneasiness that a competitor to this claim might appear" (1999: 42).

As the idea of the motto as being well spread among the Zionists is not a common sense, as an idea "a land without a people" seems to have taken form in multiple Zionist statements. A notorious one was given by Golda Meir on 15 June 1965. In the capacity of Israeli prime minister, Meir declared in *The Sunday Times* that "there was no such thing as Palestinians" (Christison 1987: 109)[43]. The argument would be that the people did not consider themselves as such, which is historically questionable if deemed that the peasants' revolt in Palestine (1934) was a nationalist movement (Khalidi 1997). Albeit this, it is true that the Nakba, and therefore the foundation of Israel, constituted the most important landmark of Palestinian nationalism.

The controversy around the "existence" of "Palestinians", however, seems to be addressed inadequately. After all, the association between national identity and identity is problematic per se. Moreover, the use of the Western paradigm of "nation" and national

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[42] Out of 1600 posters available in the collection.
[43] The statement was given in an interview published on June 15, 1969, in the Sunday Times of London.

identity (national identity) as a synonym of culture is an innocuous trope which flirts with the delirium when used in an academic context in the 21st century.

As Badiou underlines, the idea of "a people" is often used by colonial powers to describe their social fabric, whereas when it comes to the colonised more degrading terms such as "tribes", or "ethnic groups" would be adopted (Badiou 2016: 22). When it comes to the Palestinians, he is even more emphatic, stating that the Israeli government's response to the notion of a Palestinian people is a loud "no", even louder to that given by colonial powers such as France to Algeria (Badiou 2016: 22).

Switching to an even more extreme perception of the idea of "land without people", Christison underlines that "a settler spokeswoman, Schifra Blass, told a group of American visitors in October 1985 that Palestinians have no rights whatsoever and that if they exist at all, they should go to Jordan" (Christison 1987: 109). The excerpt becomes especially emblematic if considered that the temporal reference of the claim is no longer that of the "foundation" of Israel or "return" of the Jewish people. The context of the second quote is the Israeli occupation of the West-Bank, an area recognised by international law as Palestinian since the United Nations partition plan.

The idea of a land without "a" people, which can slip into "land without people", as demonstrated by Schifra Blass' statement, is a highly expressive one. On the Palestinian side of the debate, Edward Said[44] omitted the "a" when quoting the sentence, causing great controversy. As a response, in his "Israeli Views of the Land of Israel/Palestine", S. Ilan Troen accuses Edward Said of distorting the original sentence and, therefore, implying that Zionists claimed that the land was empty, which, according to him, is something they never did.

It is indeed true that the ellipse implies in a distortion, which in Said's case could have been unintended, or not. In any event, it does change the meaning of the sentence and implicates in a different interpretation. Albeit this, at this point, what seems to be interesting is that in the contestation of Said's misuse of the quote also lies the validation of the idea of an empty land without a people from Troen's side. Ironically, in the same text Troen will declare that

> in 1917, at the time of the Balfour Declaration, Palestine was a sparsely settled and *economically underdeveloped* country, at least from the perspective of western observers who compared it both with other countries and with Palestine's

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[44] Said's quoted the motto in his "the question of Palestine" (1992).

history. In 1900, the population was about half a million, *less than one-twentieth* of the more than ten million people in present-day Eretz Israel/Palestine[45]. *There were no great cities. Most people lived in villages and towns.* Extensive areas were barren and uncultivated, *devoid of trees* and containing regions with numerous swamps, and yielded but a modest produce that *barely sustained a relatively small population* (Troen 2013:106-107, *my emphasis*).

It does not take an expert in Palestinian history to raise suspicion on such an account of the facts. If he is right in claiming that Said's misquotation is problematic, his very account of the events is even more so. Far for being an isolated case, Troen's argumentation falls into what the former CIA agent and foreign policy specialist Kathleen Christison describes as a "mythology" around Palestine (1987). For Christison such mythology is constituted by subtle arguments "using genuine, though selective, historical data to support their theses" (1987:109). The fact that Christison's text was published before Troen's illustrates how such a pattern keeps repeating itself, even in very distinct historical moments, such as the cold war and post 9/11 world.

To mention only many distortions listed in the excerpt transcribed above, one could ask: considering that Jerusalem was part of British mandate Palestine, can one claim that "There were no great cities" in the region?[46]. Notwithstanding this, it is entirely possible to make such a claim if one bases his analysis strictly in economic or demographic criteria. Furthermore, is the claim that the country was economically underdeveloped justification for colonisation? The statement becomes even more problematic when Troen establishes "western observers" as a reference point. The same logic will be continued in the idea that "most people lived in villages and towns", where he implies different values for the human, or cultural, life in villages and "great cities".

There is still one last that piece seems critical for the analysis. Professor Troen claims that the area had "less than one-twentieth of the more than ten million people in present-day Eretz Israel/Palestine". The distortion present in the comparison between the

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[45] Eretz of Israel is translated as "land of Israel" in the original article.
[46]A similar discourse was adopted by Ben Gurion in a letter to his son. Listing a series of reasons for the colonisation of Palestine, he claims that "2) Palestine is grossly underpopulated. It contains vast colonisation potential which the Arabs neither need nor are qualified (because of their lack of need) to exploit. There is no Arab immigration problem. There is no Arab exile. Arabs are not persecuted. They have a homeland, and it is vast". Ironically, since his period in power as Israeli first prime minister, Israel was responsible for the displacement of thousands of Palestinians creating then an "Arab immigration problem". The full letter is available at < https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/the-ben-gurion-letter/> Access in nov. 2019>.

population of what is described as "an underdeveloped" territory in the first half of the 20th century and the population of two nations in the first decade of the 21st century.

Finally, he claims that the production was barely sufficient for the "small population". All these empty and bluntly rhetorical statements which resonate the colonisation of the Americas, or Australia, about which one could claim that had "vast uncultivated" territories, only corroborates with the idea that the problem with Said's quote was precisely not to stress the absence of an "a". A land without "a" people. The true quote suggests that the problem is not that Palestine was not populated enough; the problem is that these people were living in an alleged cultural void. Therefore, the colonial logic suggested that they could be replaced.

Overall, the argument of a land without a people for a people without land is the synthesises the Western notions of cultural supremacy, as it becomes explicit in Troen's arguments. Not coincidently, the same text finds necessary to establish that the Jewish "founding narrative is also part of the cultural heritage of Christian Europe, where approximately 80% of world Jewry lived when the Zionist movement began" (2013:101). Here, the cultural and religious tropes are dropped without a deeper reflection, which becomes evident in the idea of "cultural heritage" as a general undetailed idea. Such discourse could be equally applied, in an equally vague manner, to describe the Arab-Ottoman influence on the West after the decay of Rome.

Against an approximation between the Zionist and Western colonialism, Troen insists in vague judgments, as in "*unlike other European* peoples in the "modern" period of European discovery after the voyages of Columbus, *Zionist settlers did not come to master or despoil a rich foreign land owing with oil, let alone milk and honey*" (Troen 2013:110, *my emphasis*). The excerpt makes clear that albeit the *European* Zionist settlers, as referred by Troen, did *come* to a foreign land and settled there.

The notion of "empty" land to be colonised is also present in pre-1967 Zionist iconography. For instance, the posters[47] below from around 1950 illustrates the Zionists ambitions and narrative of a "promised land". The poster in the left was created by the by ROLI Studio (Gerd Rothschild and Ze'ev Lipman) and sponsored by the Jewish National Fund (JNF), a non-profit organisation created to support the Zionist enterprise. On the right side, a poster created by Shlomo Ben-David mixes a religious reference with the colonial ambitions.

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[47] The two Zionist posters below are part of the Palestine Posters Project Archive, but not part of the collection addressed in this chapter. Despite this, they have been referenced to contextualize the reader.

Zionist Settlement propaganda

Figure 26 – Posters. Left: And We Will Set Down Roots Here (ROLI Studio) Right: To Work = To Struggle (Shlomo Ben-David). Source: The Palestine Poster Project Archive.

In both images, the message is clear: the Jewish people must establish their roots in the land. The settlement, or the establishment of roots, appears as a visual metaphor in the figure of the girl, in the centre of the frame, who plants a branch with the aid of the boy (extreme left). Similarly, the boy and girl in the centre-left side of the frame are engaged in the same activity, whereas the group of kids in the background play around a blossoming cherry tree. The notion of a settlement can be identified in reference to the agricultural work and, in the first poster (on the left side), by the presence of young children and the kibbutz, represented by the white houses in the background.

The poster on the right brings an enlightening iconography, which is accompanied by an emblematic quotation. The passage in red declares: "with one hand he is doing his work. With the other, he holds the sword" (Nehemiah 4:11). The passage, from the book of Nehemiah, is expressive not only for its literal connection with the image of a man working the land with a machine gun. Apart from the iconic mix incarnated in the figure of the man, who looks both as a soldier and a settler, the mention of Nehemiah is a reference to the work of rebuilding Jerusalem during the Artaxerxes' ruling (465–424 BCE).

Referring to the efforts of the Jewish people in rebuilding Jerusalem, the poster lays one more brick in the notorious narrative of resettlement. Moreover, it suggests that the land requires work, which in this case endorses the argument of an "empty land" or at the very least, an underdeveloped territory which requires a national union to be rebuilt.

In both posters, the absence of Palestinians, both people and buildings, is remarkable; an interesting void, considered the approximated date when the posters were published, circa 1950, and therefore before the foundation of Israel as a sovereign country. The poster in the right side, however, suggests the ghostly presence of Palestinians in the vigilant look of the settler working on the field with hands on the truck and vigilant eyes. His look is directed to the spectator outside of the frame and suggests hostility against a potential threat coming from the outside. Such suspicious and almost threatening look, along with the textual and visual references to a "struggle", suggests that the settler is placed in a hostile environment which must be defended.

Together, both posters catch the eye for the similarities in the references to the land, particularly work on the soil, the nationalist appeal, but also for their differences. With a likely very similar historical origin (the 1950s), they contrast the narrative of the peaceful utopic land and the idea of an armed struggle, which again, predates the foundation of the country but indicates a trace of the Zionist approach towards Palestine.

Thus, the insistence in portraying Palestine with flowers, fruits and plants is part of a process of reaffirming the ancient presence on the land (see Fig. 29). Furthermore, these icons refer to a cultivated land, inhabited and occupied by a people whose roots run deep in that soil, as the trees in the posters will suggest. This process, thus, educates the viewer about *a* landscape.

A landscape and not the landscape because the Palestinian land is as diverse as any other. Furthermore, as Said highlights, Palestinian landscape, especially Jerusalem, has been the subject of multiple and very diverse representations from Jews, Muslims and Christians. Still on this topic, he stresses the relationship between memory, landscape and invention claiming that "geography can be manipulated, invented, characterized quite apart from a site's merely physical reality" (Said 2000:180).

What the posters do is a political and propagandistic effort to raise attention and recognition to the simple fact that the Palestinians do exist and they do have a relationship with that land which runs deep into the soil. In this sense, and agreeing with Said (2000) this is both a gesture of underlining a historical fact and a way of framing reality for a political purpose.

Flowers and Plants posters board

Figure 27 - Flowers and Plants Posters (Source: The Palestine Poster Project Archive)

Each of the pieces of this collection materializes Palestine with colour and shape. A remarkable characteristic of these posters, especially those sponsored by Palestinian organizations, is the presence of weapons along with the elements of nature. In the board above, from left to right one finds: a) a poster called, "The Blood of the Martyrs" published by the PLO Unified Information circa 1978; b) Salutations to Fatah, also published by the PLO Unified Information in 1980; c) a design from Marc Rudin, in honour of Palestinian workers celebrating the first of May. The title of the poster stresses that the "Palestinian Workers are the Shield of the Revolution". The poster was published by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP); The last image was published by the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front (PPSF) in a celebration of the "land day". The date is a reminder of the assassination of Palestinian citizens of Israel who were protesting against Israeli expropriation of land from Palestinians.

Overall, these images reveal a subtle relationship between the land, represented by the flowers and plants, and the struggle, which appears in the blood drop and in the weapons (highlighted in Fig. 29). The iconography in the posters above also illustrates in simple terms what the conflict is about, from the Palestinian perspective: an armed defence of the land. This message is clear in the blood of the martyr´s dropped on the soil, in the hands forming a Palestinian flag and nurturing the red daisy, as it is in the homage to workers that involve a machine gun and leaves. Furthermore, this relationship is evidenced in the last poster of the board (from left to right) which celebrates the "land day". More than a simple reminder of Palestinian martyrs the poster is a visual document this primary issue, which symptomatically appears in the company of machineguns.

In all four posters, the presence of weapons, or blood, emerges as a belonging element. However, as ironic as it might be, the awkwardness of these insertions is

neutralized by the constancy in which such elements appear. Insofar as the posters are concerned, the lack of elements indicating confrontation such as weapons, clenched fists, barbed wire or blood would be the reason for estrangement.

Beyond a simple call for action restricted to a certain historical and local context, the posters, as an archive, or yet an Atlas, outlines the imaginary of a land under attack. Given that the threat to Palestinian existence does not lie exclusively in the physical realm, but also in the symbolic one, the preservation, narration, and recollection of memories is a strategic political gesture. In the same spirit, the creation of this imaginary, prolonged by the continuation of the occupation, is a crucial element for the Palestinian identity.

This process, however, runs deeper in Palestinian culture than the occupation. In its origins, the Palestinian posters refer to an idyllic land full of natural beauties and joy, in a direct contradiction with the Zionist discourse which suggested that the arid soil required hard work from the Jewish people. In this regard, one of the most expressive posters of the collection is *The spring that was*, by Ismail Shammout. In *The Palestine Poster Project Archive*, the poster appears as part of a homonymous series where Shammout praises the natural beauties of Palestine, mostly by depicting women and natural goods related to fertility. Published by the PLO, it is one of the earliest posters from the collection, dating from circa 1966. Shammout summons in one image several elements which will appear sparsely in the posters´ collection, such as trees, women, peasants cultivating the land, and the olive branch, which appears in the very centre of the frame.

Within the frame, the orange trees indicate fertility of the Palestinian soil. The sense of fertility is also evoked in the title of the poster in reference to the "spring" and the presence of three young women which seems to evoke the Greek muses, common appearances in classical antiquity and renascence. The title *The spring that was*, suggests an idyllic past which often appears in the many of the Palestinian posters pre-1968. The title also brings up a certain temporal discomfort. While showing a beautiful scene, that alludes to Botticelli´s *Primavera* (Spring) it suggests that it is no longer. Spring here does not seem to refer simply to a season but an idealized past. Marking a temporal rupture in the title, Shammout evokes the tragedy of what now is. Facing the image, the viewer has no option other than to reflect on what is not in the frame but is brought up indirectly in the title: the present.

Figure 28 - Ismail Shammout´s The Spring that was (PLO, circa 1966. Source:The Palestine Poster Project Archive)

From an artistic perspective, the homage to Botticelli is remarkable. Shammout studied fine arts in Cairo and eventually joined the Academy of Fine Arts in Rome. Another aspect which underlines the relationship with Botticelli is similitude with the renascence muses. As a first similarity, one might notice the position of the feet, as the women are standing on their tiptoes. Secondly, the arms in the air reinforce the similitude with Botticelli's Primavera. Botticelli also seems to be a reference in the abundance of nature in the second plane of the poster, a relevant aspect given that the Italian painting is known for its vast number of references to different species of plants and flowers.

Figure 29 - A frame portraying the Ninfa´s dancing in Botticelli´s Primavera (1482)

If Botticelli's painting points back to classical antiquity, in Shammout the allusion to time contrasts the "pre" and post-Nakba periods. In the poster, however, all these temporalities are made present. The image evokes the timelessness of Botticelli's painting in a much more flexible and less glamorous medium, the poster. In this fugacious piece of paper lies a present saturated by the idea of a past that never really was, but that becomes imperative for survival.

6.3 ORANGES AND OLIVES, THE TREE OF PALESTINE

A central element in Shammout´s poster, the orange trees are one of the most notorious elements of Palestinian iconography. Along with olive trees and branches, the orange trees and fruits are almost immediately associated with the region of historical Palestine as symbols of abundance and, after the Nakba, as elements related to the struggle on a homeland.

The relationship between Palestinian natural symbols and its political signification is Mahmoud Darwish's[48] poem "the second olive tree". In the poem, he describes the Palestinian landscape saying that "the olive tree is the hillside's modest lady", it is conflicted history claiming that time helps it "forget the invaders' names, except the Romans". Weaving images and colours of Palestine, Darwish concludes the poem with the following excerpt.

> […] These soldiers, these *modern* soldiers
> Besiege her with *bulldozers and uproot* her from her lineage
> Of earth. They vanquished our grandmother who foundered,
> Her branches on the ground, her *roots* in the sky.
> She did not weep or cry out. But one of her grandsons
> Who witnessed the execution threw a *stone*
> At a soldier, and he was *martyred with her*.
> After the victorious soldiers
> Had gone on their way, we buried him there, in that deep
> Pit – the grandmother's[49] cradle […] (Darwish 2009:107, *my emphasis*).

In latter fragment, referencing the Israeli army, the poet summons a series of well-known images which continue to appear repetitively in the news whenever Palestine is concerned. It is the case of the soldiers, the bulldozers uprooting olive trees, the roots of

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[48] Poet symbol of Palestine, Darwish was also known as the "poet of resistance". One of his first volumes was symptomatically titled: Leaves of the Olive Tree (1964).

[49] The tree appears as a feminine element, as is the earth in Palestinian culture. Evidently, the notion of ancestry is also highlighted in the poem.

the tree. It is noteworthy that the soldier is not anyone, but a *modern* solider. It comes accompanied by a temporal label that characterises its *modus operandi* and ruthlessness[50].

These images are then followed by the Palestinian ineffective, and yet constant, resistance. The Palestinian, for whom the tree is a grandmother, does not accept the violence of the uprooting. After all, this ancestral being is at once tree, grandmother, the land and memory. He throws a stone against the soldier certainly aware of the fact that there will be punishment. Killed, the man becomes a martyr[51]. Nonetheless, death is not the end. The martyr's body is buried on the spot where the tree was uprooted, which became then a "cradle".

More than a story of centuries of colonialism, the poem is a tale of resistance. The tree is a basilar element for the poetic construction precisely because of its capacity to witness the passage of time without fading. Not coincidently, the poem evokes key features which are constantly employed in the Palestinian culture. What might appear as a simple case of repetition is a reappearance of elements in a similar context. This recurrence is a symptom of a temporal condition. A sense of permanence of the foundational structures, the occupation, which, preserved, imply in the reappearance of the same forms. From a political standpoint, this profoundly rooted symptom became part of Palestinian culture and was instrumentalised for the ends of the liberation movement.

In the posters collection, the usage of the tree as an element of resistance and ancestry is in the design from Hatem Ghannam, published in 1987. Published in the year of the first Intifada (1987-1993), the poster depicts an immense tree with large roots tearing a building in two. The text, written in Arabic, Hebrew and English, is blunt "down with the occupation".

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[50] The relationship between Modernity and Palestine will be briefly discussed in the final part of this chapter.

[51] As discussed later, Palestinians killed in the conflict are considered martyrs.

Figure 30 - Down with the occupation (Hatem Ghannam, 1987)

With a straightforward design, the illustration suggests an opposition between the earth and the man built structure. In the basis of the argument, lies assumption "natural right" of the Palestinians to be in that land as indigenous people. In this sense, there is not much of a difference between Palestinians, their houses and the tree. According to this logic, the truly alien element to that land is the Zionist building which, in the image, is rejected by the land.

In these visual expressions, the Palestinians exercise what Mirzoeff (211) defines as the "the right to look". Such right, claims the author, is intrinsically related to the "right to exist" and appears in all kinds of liberation movements from "opposition to slavery (…) to anticolonial movements" (2011:4), as it is the case of Palestine. The right to look, thus, is the right to an image and to be seen beyond the imperial gaze (Kaplan 1997).

In this vein, by visually defining themselves, the Palestinians refuse at once the religious narrative of a promised land, manoeuvred by Zionists for strictly political ends, and the idea of a Land without *a* people. In these posters, as it will be the case of those in the following chapter, Palestinians express their presence as indigenous inhabitants of that land "people" and as "*a*" people, the Palestinians.

Still on the topic of the anticolonial cause, in the next chapter, the analysis shall move onto a series of posters covering the period from 1968 to 1999. In this new series of posters, I shall look for more specific expressions of the conflict and the shaping of Palestinian resistance. Given that the priority of the analysis is to understand the vestiges

of life under occupation and its consequences in the experience of time, the posters analysis will be supplemented by other visual documents.

Chapter 7 - Resistance time: the restless rebellion of signs

7.1 THE GENESIS OF THE PLO POSTERS

The present chapter focuses on the representation of the struggle in the posters from the Liberation Graphics Collection. Unlike Shammout´s *The spring that was*, the posters acquire a more aggressive and openly political tone as the notion of resistance will acquire new traits. These posters were, for the most part, sponsored by Palestinian Liberation Movements, such as the PLO, and are revealing on the dynamics of the conflict from the Palestinian side. Furthermore, they are foundational elements of the Palestinian political propaganda and, due to the global range of the wellsprings and its political resonance.

Figure 33 – Posters board, First three PLO posters

Figure 31 - The first three posters of the collection, in chronological order

The three posters that inaugurate the Liberation Graphics Collection share a few general ideas. Firstly, all of them are calls for the unity of the Palestinian people. Secondly, in a relatively discrete, yet expressive fashion, the two posters in the extreme left and right bring the presence of machine guns. The weapons illustrate the effort to endorse the military course of action. The colour red also seems to have an important role in the three images, being the background colour in the first poster (left), the colour chosen for the Palestinian map (centre) and the filling of the soldiers (right). Along with the red, the presence of flames in the two images in the centre and right side reinforce notions of a fierce full resistance which both the use of red and the flames might suggest.

The use of red also evokes images such as fire and blood, whereas it suggests ideas related to energy and passion, all of which are characteristics which will be widely referenced in the posters. Below, I list a few comments on the posters, from left to right.

a. *We Are All For The Resistance* - First Poster Published By PLO[52] (2nd Version, 1967)

The poster suggests the union of Palestinian people to support the PLO. With a solider as a central figure this early poster already suggests the armed character of the Palestinian resistance. Another relevant trait is the depicture of women, one of which is wearing a secular outfit. The presence of women in the posters is a remarkable characteristic of the collection, as demonstrated by the statistics in table one. The torch in the logo would be "an image used often by the artist in this period and one that symbolized freedom and revolution"[53], according to the expert Shafiq Radwan (as cited in PPP Archives, online), who published a doctoral thesis on the Palestinian political posters.

Symptomatically, this first poster in the collection already brings the term resistance explicit in its text. According to Daniel Walsh, curator of the collection, the original poster (from 1965) had a different slogan "We are all sons of Palestine". The switch in the 1967 version also suggests a strategic adjustment of the PLO's discourse.

b. *Palestine Liberation Organization - First Logo (PLO 1965)*

The logo brings a plate with a series of symbols such as the map of an undivided Palestine, the Palestinian national flag and a torch over the flag. A hand bears the plate and is, in its turn surrounded by flags of Arab countries. The idea of a Pan-Arabism is a remarkable characteristic of the poster, which illustrates how the idea of an Arab-Palestinian identity is important for the construction of a network to support the Palestinian cause. Similarly to the first item in the collection, also designed by Ismail Shammout, the poster brings a supporting hand, which as stated by Shammout about the previous poster, suggests that the Palestinians are the basis of the organization. Still in the

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[52] The original poster (1st version) was published by the PLO in 1965.

[53] The original was published in Arabic as an outcome of a PhD thesis developed at the University of Moscow. An excerpt of the book was translated and published online by Daniel Walsh, curator of the Palestine Posters Project. Given the impossibility of acquiring the book, which does not seem to be available in Western book shops, and to linguistic limitations, all the quotes from Radwan's referential work were taken from the "Palestine Posters Project" website.

logo, a series of flags from Arab countries appear around the fist, composing a network of support for the cause.

c. *For Palestine (PLO 1965)*

The third poster is part of a fund-raising campaign for the armed endeavours. In the red text on reads "For Palestine" whereas the text on the box states "Palestinian National Fund". From a design point of view, it is worth mentioning the presence of soldiers, machineguns and the colours yellow, red and black set the tone that repeats itself multiple times in the PLO propaganda. Once again, multiple hands of different skin tones appear in the frame, in the insistent suggestion of a collective effort. In this third poster, the pattern of association between army and nation, which is present since the PLO's logo, becomes more explicit. Here, the relationship between the individual donations, illustrated by the hands and coins, and the war efforts, represented by the soldier's, appears as not only dynamic but almost cyclic. It is almost if each donation could launch a soldier into the field.

Overall, the posters share a few relevant characteristics. Firstly, they convoke the unity and support of the Palestinian people for the cause of resistance. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, all three posters depict the Palestinian people as an anonymous group. This anonymity favours a sense of universality that will afterwards be associated with the cause. Instead of a people fighting for a nation, the Palestinians are presented as an oppressed population struggling for freedom.

In the first poster (extreme-left of the board), such diversity and anonymity are visible not in the diversity of genders and uniforms, but more importantly in the facelessness of the characters holding the PLO logo. The second poster (middle of the board) is even more abstract in this representation and shows only a hand supporting the logo. Finally, in the third poster, the people are represented by a subtle yet expressive element, the multiple hands in different colours. In a similar fashion as the other two posters in this board, the hands suggest the present of the Palestinian population in a heterogeneous and even anonymous way. The adoption of hands as forms of representing the Palestinian people in these early posters is especially emblematic considering that, until this day, clenched fists on walls, flyers and photos are overly present in Palestinian iconography.

7.2 THE SATURATION OF THE PRESENT: AN ICONOGRAPHY OF RESISTANCE

Clenched fists appear in the Palestinian posters at least since 1968 evoking the so-called Palestinian revolution and resistance to the occupation. In the image, a closed hand, raised in the air is most suggestive. Among the interpretations, one might see in the encounter of fingers an image of union and physical response to a situation of tension. Facing a treat or an unnerving situation, the body contracts and prepares to fight. Raising the hand, though, is a step which succeeds the act of clenching the fist. The significant number of posters with such protest sign from 1968 on is not coincidental. In 1967, Israel confronted its neighbouring Arab countries in the conflict known as the six-day war. In the aftermath, the whole geography of the Middle-East changed, and the West-Bank became occupied territory.

In this context, the PLO had a decisive role in sponsoring the creation of posters, films and all sorts of visual works on Palestine. However, such a long-lasting semiology cannot be attributed merely to institutional political coordination. If it is true that, one hand the PLO is responsible for spreading the notion, and the very term, "resistance" throughout its political propaganda, it is also true that the sense of resistance is apparent in Palestinian visual culture in general. This applies not only to the posters which were not sponsored by the PLO but also to graffiti, photographs and much of the Palestinian revolutionary filmography from the 1960s and 1970s.

Along with other icons, such as barbed wire, the olive leaf and machine guns, the clenched fists are emblematic of the iconography of the Palestinian resistance. Moreover, the insistence in the gesture on the streets indicates a popular endorsement. Not coincidently, this imagery continues to make the news globally due to the relevance of the geopolitical relevance of the conflict, the staggering levels of violence involved and the aesthetic quality of the images produced. On a critical, and ironic, note, Helga Tawil-Souri claims that contemporary cultural artefacts shared a common

> lack of creativity. Most incorporated *similar symbols*: the black, white, red and green colours of the flag, a *dove, a kuyah, barbed wired, or the Dome of the Rock*, referring to al-Nakba (the 1948 catastrophe), to *sieges*, *checkpoints*, or the ugliness of camps […]" (2011:138, *my emphasis*).

In her list of repetitive elements, Tawil-Souri summarises a great deal of the posters archive, as the quantitative analysis demonstrates. A question, however, is if such

repetition is the outcome of lack of creativity or the insistence in dealing with collective trauma and quotidian circumstances.

Posters board, clenched fists (1968-1977)

Figure 32 - Board one, 1968 to 1977 (Source: The Palestine Poster Project Archive)

This first sequence of eight posters brings multiple examples of clenched fists throughout nine years: six-days war, Nakba, Vietnam war (1955 -75), the Battle of Karameh, a strike in Egypt, political prisoners. In less than ten years, the posters mentioned a plethora of conflicts and struggles. Amidst the heterogeneity of topics, a certain notion of Palestine rises in the ideas of defence of the land, of survival and worker´s rights. More importantly, both in the gestures and topics, lie a sense of permanence through time.

The idea of permanence and stillness are perceptible in the posters in multiple forms. In the first poster, it is evident in the multitude of arms that seem to be saying "we will stay here and defend this space"; it is also present in the body language of the prisoner who laughs while looking at the camera as if enduring prison were not a condition hard enough to deny him the capacity of feeling joy, or in the extended bitter present of the Nakba evoked in the 1977 French poster on Der Yassin.

Each poster brings a different treatment of the notion of time and resistance, yet all of them associate the struggle with the clenched fists. Overall, the images summarize the resistance in its diverse forms. Interestingly, most of the posters depict at least two individuals united. In the two posters where the characters appear alone (The Camel of Heavy Burdens, 1975 and the poster on Al Karameh, 1976) the individuals appear as symbols of the nation, as indicated by the Keffiyeh or the city of Jerusalem.

To recognize the multitude of ways how the idea of resistance is illustrated in the posters is critical to interpreting the appeal and contemporariness of Palestinian iconography. If on the one hand, they have a rich and proud cultural heritage, often referred to in cinema and in the posters, on the other hand, they are the people who operate from the outside of Modernity. They lack a sovereign state, have a large population in exile, and are relegated to a marginal position in the geopolitical negotiations. Despite all that, they narrate themselves as those who resist, who endure an occupation and therefore, can relate to most minorities. In this sense, the Palestinian people are both one that can only be grasped from within a Palestinian, or at least an Arab cultural frame, and one with whom everyone engaged in fights for freedom and justice to which they might relate.

Thus, it is not a coincidence that the posters from the collection were able to travel the world, coming from different origins. Even though they refer to different geographies, and speak to various publics and subjects, including distinct languages, they have Palestine as a sturdy connector. The hypothesis that the Nakba, more than a historical landmark it is a temporal landmark in the Palestinian experience. Unfolding that foundational tragedy, the six-day war and its aftermaths, such as the occupation of the West-Bank and the appearance of the PLO, radicalize and consolidate the idea of a people who fight for the liberation of their land. In a sense, albeit the Palestinian people did exist as such before the Nakba, it seems indisputable that such an event is crucial for the formation of Palestinian identity (see Masalha 2009).

Both the Nakba and the six-day war are not only events in the sense that they were happenings which lasted a specific period. These events have shaped the Palestinian territory, the Palestinian´s citizenship status and therefore contributed decisively for an experience of the world.

Thousands of Arms (PLO 1968)

Designed by the iconic Ismail Shammout, in 1968, the poster synthesizes a significant part of the collection. Conjugating the raised fists with machineguns, it works

as a call to action for the Palestinian people. In an emblematic illustration of an uprising, the poster brings a visual representation of an uprising. A multitude of raised arms takes a radical stance in defence of the territory and the cause. In the image, the individual and the collective are merged in a coordinated movement. The simplicity of the poster relies on the meaningfulness of the clenched fists in this context. Displaying armed fists, Shammout conveys a message of unity of resistance that will resonate throughout the years until this day.

Cedars of Lebanon (PLO 1969)

The poster title refers to the Cedar three the soldiers are lifting. The poster was published by the PLO in 1969 with a design by Lebanese artist Rafeik Sharaf. Underneath the proud image of two men holding a Cedar three, an Arabic text declares "They will not pass, oh, cedars of Lebanon"[54]. Once, and again, the statement is clearly in establishing a notion of military resistance.

From a historical point of view, the poster is situated in the period of the PLO offensives against Israel through Southern Lebanon (1968 onwards). The tensions, however, also involved local Christian Lebanese groups in a chain of events that culminated in the Sabra and Shatila massacre, when the same Christian Lebanese groups, supported by the IDF, slaughtered a Palestinian refugee camp.

The image is also emblematic of the rhetoric of "defence", "union" and Arabness adopted by the PLO since its first posters. After all, especially in the case of Lebanon and the 1968/1969 incursions, the PLO was responsible for attacks against Israel and controversy with the local population. In this sense, the poster is illustrative of a conscious political usage of the notion of "resistance", encompassed in the poster by the claim "they shall not pass".

Victory Vietnam – Palestine (PLO 1972)

The poster from 1972 illustrates a geopolitical tendency in the Palestinian political propaganda: the alignment with non-western countries, especially those involved in grassroots struggles. It is noteworthy that, due to the cold war context in which most of

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[54] This and all other poster translations from the collection were made from Arabic by Dan Walsh, curator of the Liberation Graphics collection.

the conflict developed, and the alignment between Israel and the United States, Palestine has generally been aligned with other liberation movements such as Vietnam and Cuba.

Such alignment was also translated aesthetically with an appropriation, from the Palestinian activists, of aesthetic and discursive traits from these movements (see Matar 2018). It is not a coincidence, thus, that within the posters collection many references to Cuba, Vietnam, China or Russia. Fundamentally, the political art in Palestine tried to identify itself with popular moments, or movements perceived as such, in a strategy that has proved highly effective, given the resonance of the Palestinian struggle among left-wing and grassroots movements.

1975 – The Camel of Heavy Burdens (Salah Eddin Publishing 1975)

Figure 35 – Atlas and The Camel of Heavy Burdens

Figure 33 - On the right side: Atlas holding up a celestial map. Sculpture by Artus Quellinus. (17th century). / On the left: Jamal Al Muhammil, published in Jerusalem 1975.

The Camel of Heavy Burdens (Jamal Al Muhammil), is the print version of a painting dating back to 1973 by Sliman Mansour. The image evokes the mythological figure of Atlas, Prometheus´ brother. According to Greek mythology, Atlas led the Titans in the war against the gods. Once the Titans lost the battle against the gods, Atlas was punished with the task of carrying the heavens on his back.

If the world is an enormous burden on Atlas´ back, Jerusalem, the jewel of the monotheistic religions appears as the almost unbearable weight carried by the Palestinian

in the poster. Similarly to the Greek allegory, the burden is also a blessing, a fundamental asset to humanity. On one side, the knowledge, on the other, the ancestral heritage linking Eastern and Western worlds and thousands of years of culture.

The sense of preservation and resistance can also be identified in the alternative title proposed by the publisher. According to Dan Walsh, curator of the Liberation Graphics collection, an alternative title is associated with the image "Carry On" (Walsh, online). In the alternative title, the entanglement between the notions of temporality and resistance is even more evident. To carry on, to keep the legacy of Jerusalem alive, and by extension, the Arab-Palestinian culture is a heavy burden which needs to be carried by the Palestinian people.

1975 - Salute Our Heroes (Al-'Asifah 1975)

The photo in the centre of the frame brings joyful faces of men in prison. The contrast between the grid in the prison cell and the smiling prisoners is highly expressive. If on the one hand the bars and other elements suggest territorial and physical constraint on the other the prisoners play with their situation displaying relaxed faces and making gestures of resistance (clenched fists) and victory (two fingers up). The joy in the prisoners' faces illustrates what Negri´s understanding of an uprising, according to which "the "true" collective [in the uprising] is the shift that turns the unbearable life into the choice of rising-up, into the effort and joy of doing it" (Negri 2016:38). A central element of the image and the quote is the joy. The idea of joy not only as a binding force but as the outcome of the collectiveness.

1976 - VIII Anniversario della Battaglia di Al Karameh (General Union of Palestinian Students – Italy 1976)

The poster "VIII anniversary of the Al Karameh battle", was published by Al-'Asifah (The Storm) an armed wing of the Fatah. The origin of the poster helps to understand its theme, the Battle of Karameh; content, the depiction of a Fedayeen[55] soldier; and finally, the celebratory tone.

Among the formal elements available in the image, the Israeli flag on the ground catches the attention for the hostile tone of the poster, which is reinforced by the Fedayeen warrior and the use of red to highlight the message stating "revolution until the victory".

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[55] Fedayeen are secular Palestinian nationalist militia groups who fight for the liberation of Palestine.

Interestingly, the idea of revolution here does not appear as an event in time. In the title, the term appears as a practice, as a collective performance which shall be extended indefinitely "until victory". Such twist in the notion of revolution, which normally would have a defined temporal constraint, pointed afterwards, is evocative of the experience of an extended time.

1977 - Ask begin: what happened in Der Yassin (Organization of Arab Students in the US and Canada 1977)

The poster's title suggests a temporal entanglement. Instead of talking about post-1967 struggles or the occupation, it takes the audience back to the Deir Yassin massacre. The event, that took place in April 1948, during the first Israeli–Arab war became a synonym of the Nakba for the Palestinians, for it depicts the violence how the Palestinian village would have been attacked. The matter is subject of controversy between Arab and Israeli historians, who defend different, at times opposite views on the matter (Morris 2005).

In this sense, the question posed in the poster´s title is both a hint on the controversial matter of the topic as it is a rhetorical statement in defence of the Arab version of history, that of a massacre. The notion of a massacre is clear in the image that accompanies the title and evokes Picasso´s Guernica. Interestingly, the poster advertises a lecture in France which aims to debate the Palestinian struggle. In the year of 1977, in France, the 1948 massacre in Palestine is evoked. This is but one among the many traces of the insistence of "past" events relocated into the present tense throughout the mosaic of the visual representations of Palestine.

1977 - General Strike in Egypt (PLO Unified Information 1977)

Published by the PLO Unified Information, the poster states "The Palestinian revolution salutes the mass strike on January 18 and 19 in Egypt (1977)". The poster is emblematic for at least two reasons. Firstly, it brings in its foreground the image of a clenched fist with red contours. The contours of a fist serve as a frame for the photo of the popular demonstration in Egypt. Hence, in this case, more than an end by itself, the clenched fist appears as a symbol for Palestine and the Palestinian struggle in its salutation of the Egyptian people, which appear within the lines of the fist.

The events mentioned in the poster refer to an uprising led by lower-class Egyptians against the increase in food prices and became known as the "food riots". Once

again, the PLO recognizes in the grassroots uprising in the neighbouring country a familiar event to the Palestinian cause.

Throughout the mosaic of images, the hands and its clenched fingers do not cease to appear. Sometimes it encompasses and synthesises the message, as in the last poster from the general strike in Egypt. Other times, it appears as a small but fundamental detail, as in the case of the smiling prisoners or the poster on the Der Yassin massacre. If in the political prisoners' poster the fists display a joyful resistance and appear as a deliberate gesture, the Der Yassin design brings the same form in an almost incidental fashion. Amidst terrible suffering, that evokes Picasso´s Guernica for its capacity to represent the irrationality and brutality of the attacks, a couple of raised fists suggest that the violence was not accepted without resistance. The frame is clear to state visually that their people were massacred. Still, albeit dying, they do not seem to be surrendering or begging, but somewhat opposing and sticking to the last gesture of dignity: resistance.

This notion pervades the collection and can be observed in the iconography of subsequent years. In the board below, which encompasses images from 1979 to 1988, similar traits appear. For instance, in the first poster of the board, from 1979, the English title states that "the struggle goes on".

Posters board 2, clenched fists (1979-1988)[56]

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[56] Posters titles and references from left to the right: 1. "The struggle goes on" by Sliman Mansour (Filastin Al Thowra 1979); 2. Sculpture Exhibit - in honor of the land day (General Union of Palestinian Plastic Artists 1980) 3. "The Israeli invaders will not pass! The Palestinians and Lebanese will be victorious!" (International Union of Students 1982); 4. Hell to the murderers (Palestine Red Crescent Society 1982); 5. Ansar - disgrace of humanity (Unknown publisher 1985); 6. No to Zionism and Racism (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine circa 1988).
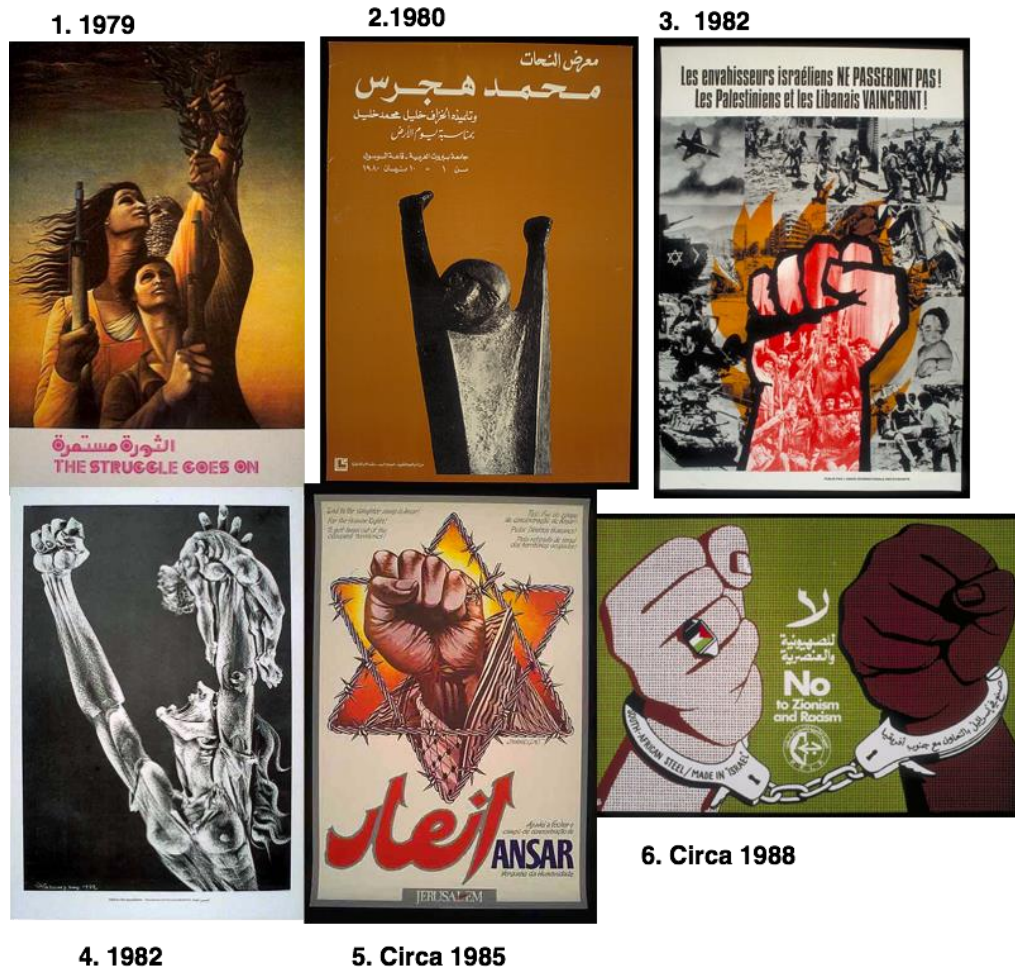
Figure 34 - Board two, 1979 – 1988 (Source: The Palestine Poster Project Archive)

In the series of posters above, multiple elements of the posters iconology appear again. The most emblematic are the olive leaf, a French poster in solidarity to the Palestinians in Lebanon during the Israeli invasion, a figure of a mother holding the corpse of a dead son, barbed wire forming a star of David and an anti-racism image associating Palestinian and South African against racism from Israeli and South African States.

Through a timeframe of almost a decade, several conflicts are encompassed. Among the most significant one could mention the Sabra and Shatila genocide (1982) in the posters, committed by right-wing Lebanese groups, supported by the IDF, against Palestinian refugees in South Lebanon; and the South African Apartheid (1948-1994). Poster number 5, named "Ansar - disgrace of humanity", refers to the Ansar, or Ketziot Prison, a detention facility. Despite dating back to 1985, the poster calls attention to a preeminent contemporary issue: the racially-based mass detentions.

Known as the "world's biggest detention centre", the prison became a destination to many of the illegal migrants crossing from Africa to Israel (Stewart 2012). During the first Intifada (1987-1991) the centre was also the site for the incarceration of a massive number of Palestinians (Human Rights Watch 1991). In this sense, the poster´s title, which accuses the prison of being a "disgrace of humanity", keeps its actuality and, again, connects the Palestinian struggle to the cause of human rights defence.

As a visual timeline, the posters on both boards suggest a specific experience of time. Even though the chronological framing was adopted to lay the images together, it is probably more productive to look at time not using the external compass of years. What each of the images throughout both boards evokes is a myriad of tragedies elaborated as reasons to fight. In a nutshell, the Palestinian visual archives condense the saturated temporality of spaces under influence of necropolitics.

In this sense, the two posters from 1982 are emblematic (see board 2, posters n. 3,4). One of the posters brings photos of victims, war attacks, and ruins in black and white and, erupting through the image, a raging fist. As a closer look to the poster shows, the fist has glowing orange flames around it and, in its inside, red figures of Palestinian fighters raising machineguns. The fist, then, is fuelled by the energy of the fighters and outshines the tragic black and white photos. It is also interesting to notice that, in this case, the illustration uses real photographs of the violence suffered (black and white) and the resistance (red filter).

Along similar lines, the second poster from 1982 (from left to right) portrays what seems to be a mother holding her child´s corpse. The mother screams and raises her entire body in rage and suffering. Once again, a detail in the frame is eye-catching. The clenched fist, symmetrical to the dead son, signals that the mourning does not happen without revolt and resistance. Her swollen veins reinforce the intensity of a loss which will not pass as mere defeat.

From an aesthetical point of view, the second board presents a remarkable difference if compared to the board 1. In this second series, none of the posters were published by the PLO and, therefore, they have a lower emphasis in the armed struggle, whereas the sense of injustice is underlined. From a graphic and discursive perspective, these difference is observable in the less significant use of weapons, which appear in the foreground of only one poster; and in a less optimistic visual, which insists in the continuation of the struggle "the struggle goes on", in the sense of outrage and in the absence of expressions such as "victory", unlike the decades from 1968 to 1977. On the

other hand, the clenched fists appear with more evidence in this more recent sample. This greater emphasis on the gesture suggests a consolidation of the clenched fists as a symbol of resistance in itself (see poster 6).

In the sake of historical contrast, an analogy between the clenched fists of the black protesters in the U.S and the Palestinian is illustrative. On the one hand, the identical gesture suggests its importance as an expression of revolt, as a strong sign of resistance against injustice. The fist in these contexts works as *pathosformel*, a symbolic formula carrying primal emotions.

Both in the American and the Palestinian cases, one could claim that the protesters are fighting for equality and ultimately for the right to live. Not coincidently the clenched fists were adopted by movements such as Black Lives Matter, which, in its turn, had many supporters of the Palestinian cause. This relationship points at a symbolic network of grassroots movements already indicated in the Palestinian posters supporting Vietnam.

On the other hand, the images below point to historically localised events. Among them, we have the protest in the 1968 Olympic Games, the Black Panthers Rally in 1969 and Beyoncé's presentation in the Super Bowl. All these three images bear clear marks of the transformation in time.

Temporality in each of those events is clearly connected to a historical moment, and a look at each of the photos triggers reflections at the transformations of the country throughout the years. In this sense, the photo of a black female pop star during the Super Bowl half-time show clenching her fists is iconic of two major political movements of its time: the feminist spring and the Black Lives Matter.

Photographs Board - from the Black panthers to Beyoncé
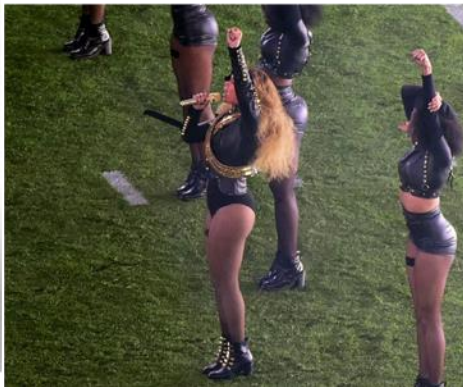
Figure 35 From left to the right clockwise: Olympics 1968, Black Panthers Rally (Chicago, 1969), photographer: Hiroji Kubota; Beyoncé´s Formation 2016.

From the Black Panthers protests in 1968/1969 to Beyoncé's homage to the Black Lives Matter Movement more than five decades passed. Among losses and victories, the civil rights movements and the Black movement in the United States contributed to shaping the political discourse worldwide and opened the path for significant changes such as the one that led Beyoncé to the Super Bowl interval, perhaps the most emblematic space of the mass entertainment in the United Nations. This appropriation of the black movement does not translate in the sense of progress for the cause. What seems relevant for the sake of the comparison with Palestine is the dramatic change in the aesthetics representations of the racial struggle in the U.S. Such change was accompanied by dramatic changes in the legislation and costumes.

Thinking of Palestine, the question that arouses is: what had changed between the summer of 1968, when attempts of revolution shook the world, and Palestine lived the six-day war, and the current decade (2019)? Looking at images of clenched fists in the posters, graffiti in the West-Bank, the impression is that of stillness of time. Not only the icon is the same, but the very form, the design of the fist seems to be repeated over and over as if those first fists in Ismail Shammout´s poster were spreading in the Palestinian space in a distended temporality.

Figure 38 – Clenched fists poster (1968) and graffiti (circa 2016)[57]

Figure 36 –Poster: Ismail Shammout (Published by PLO, 1968)/ Photo: Middle East Monitor/Richard Wiles

The consistency in the use of clenched fists to represent a struggle would suggest that at least part of the Palestinian political iconography is anchored in the notion of resistance. Departing from this somewhat elementary statement, the following issue is to what extent these forms are also traces of the experience of time. Therefore, future and past are fundamentally bound to the dynamics of the conflict, which, is not only ongoing by requiring a permanent sense of resistance. More specifically, they function as mediums for what Jan Assman (2008) describes as "communicative memory".

The notion of communicative memory proposed by Assman refers to traits of cultural memory circumscribed to shorter temporal spam (80-100 years) anchored in "informal traditions and genres of everyday communication" and that operates in the realm of individual memories of a recent past. In short, the communicative memory distinguishes itself from the cultural memory in general for its more contemporary traits, related to daily life rather than to practices solidified through time. As Assman underlines, it is a kind of memory shared by "3-4 interacting generations", and therefore, encompasses a rather fugacious time spam which depends on the lifetime of these individuals and their social interactions (Assman 2008: 117).

Along these lines, the proposal of resistance in the images builds upon the perception of a shared experience ingrained in post-Nakba visual archives. Given the historically short time frame throughout such events unfolded, one cannot claim that the

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[57] The photograph was published in the Middle East Monitor in 2016. Available at: <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20160518-the-executive-summary-of-the-palestinian-strategic-report-2014-2015/> Access in Aug. 2019.

Nakba, or the revolutionary resistance for that matter, are elements of a Palestinian collective or cultural memory per se. It seems undeniable, however, that both the Nakba and the resistance to occupation and, ultimately, to extermination are fundamental traits of what came to be known as a Palestinian culture.

In this regard, the images are aesthetic shreds of evidence denoting the collective experience. Providing form to emotions diffused in the social fabric, the posters display an ingeminated desire for freedom and justice. They bring, in general very logical, formally simple expressions of revolt. What makes these objects worth noting, however, is their survival, term that I now adopt to refer to the persistence of such icons through generations. A survival that, unlike the objects analysed by Didi-Huberman or Warburg, never knew death. It is precisely here that lies the notion of resistance. Generation after generation a few icons persisted in denouncing the Palestinian oppression and illustrate their struggle for freedom and justice. Furthermore, even when the mediums change, for instance, from posters to graffiti, or photographs, the same gestures, and similar affects are put into play within the images.

Such continuation of motives and political affects is illustrated by the last poster in the Liberation Graphics Collection with the tag "clenched fists" (see poster below). Published in 1999, the poster works as a synthesis of the collection. Bringing PLO logo in its upper right corner, the poster brings the clenched fist holding a piece of land in the foreground, a dove which seems to be coming out of a piece of fabric or flag partially covered in blood (red), and black and white pattern evoking a Palestinian Keffiyeh.

Figure 37 - Last clenched fist poster: The intifada continues (PLO 1999)

The poster´s title "the intifada continues" is another reminder of the importance of temporality into the struggle. Published by the PLO in 1999, it predates the second intifada (200-2005) but already suggests a continuation to the first Palestinian (1987-1993). Furthermore, the poster is a clear continuation of the long series that can be traced back to the first PLO posters. More specifically, the poster evokes Ismail Shammout´s "a thousand arms" poster in 1968, where the image of the clenched fist is a central element for the depiction of the struggle. In this sense, the clenched fist is adopted in the poster as a visual synonym of the "intifada" or more loosely, of the notion of rebellion and, frequently armed, resistance.

The repetition of the same icon (clenched fists) suggests an attempt to deal with a traumatic situation caused by the occupation. After all, many the Palestinian cities are forced to live under a hostile military occupation of a foreign armed body. In the aesthetical realm, the responses to this occupation are, among many others, posters with clenched fists, machine guns and references to Palestinian national identity.

It is nevertheless true that the posters, as mentioned before, are part of a political project and therefore, are part of a conscious and articulated effort. The unconsciousness referred here, though, speaks to the capacity some of the most emblematic posters to convey ideas that will spread beyond the realm of the institutional debate.

The unconsciousness thus lies underneath the explicitly political agenda providing substance to it. In other words, discourses on liberation, funding for the army and other of this kind are fuelled by a sense of injustice, displacement, longing. The affects, inherent to any political circuit (Safatle 2015), are the bloodstream connecting these posters and oxygenating them with meaning.

In this vein, the Palestinian resistance lies not in the uprisings, demonstrations and riots. It does show its face in such events but comes from a deeper place. It lies in the quotidian struggles, and it is fermented by the perception of injustices witnessed more often than acceptable. Resistance in this context is the very unwanted existence. The insistence in living through, which includes protests which often result in deaths and wounds in the Palestinian side, and yet, are regarded indispensable.

It is this stubbornness in a resistance which, from a geopolitical point of view, never paid out, that lies the key for my argument on temporality in Palestine. In the following topic, I shall explore how the temporal logic of resistance through time present in the Liberation posters archive is developed into a broader imaginary which characterizes a resistance time.

Chapter 8 - Blinks of time – resistance images in experimental films

8.1 WAYS OF LOOKING

Hartmut Rosa asserts that Modernity is characterized by an increasing sense of acceleration (2013). This compelling hypothesis, however, consists of observation of technical and social conditions of the Western World. In this sense, industrialization, the information and communication technologies and a certain paradigm of linear time are fundamental for the perception of acceleration which is connected to that of progress. Following the Hegelian arrow of time, Rosa departs from the industrial revolution and analyses its consequences on the experience of time. It is, however, a Western experience.

The central question for this thesis then is how the experience of time is constituted in a radically non-western scenario? By radically non-Western, I refer not only to the fact that Palestine is an Arab country, and therefore part of a different cultural fabric. The non-Western-ness of Palestine is much more related to its political isolation, a consequence of the Israeli occupation and military presence in the region.

Once again referring to Koselleck´s notions of space of experience, the experience in Palestine will be discussed from the analysis of the aesthetic expression in the posters. Similarly, the notion of "horizon of expectation", which, according to Koselleck (2004) is inseparable from the experience, can also be deduced from the imagery displayed in the archives.

Agreeing with Rosa and Koselleck, one might claim that the social experience of time, and therefore human time, is indissociable from the material conditions of life, the Marxist infrastructure. A question, thus, is how to identify and to talk about something as intangible as the shared experience of time? Attempting to tackle this issue, I depart from the hypothesis that the temporal resistance of the Palestinians can be identified in the iconography of the posters analysed in this text, as well as in other visual traces of the struggle.

More specifically, I argue that this collection of posters reveal that the temporality in Palestine has not progressed. Instead, it revolved around the conflict, translating into a permanent sense of present and resistance. This is not to say that there was no change or learned in Palestine due to the conflict. To deny a sense of progress in this context is merely to state that this terminology is not applicable to this territory.

The persistent signs in Palestinian contrasts with the temporal transformation of symbols in Aby Warburg's analysis of the Renaissance's heritage of the antiquity, which is based in temporal shifts. In Warburg, traces of the Greek and Roman cultures appear in the Italian renaissance in what he described as *nachleben*, or "afterlife of antiquity".

In the pursuit of similarities, influences and tensions between past and present images, Warburg created a peculiar technique to track the emotional charge of such pictures. This method is documented in his unfinished project Mnemosyne Atlas. In this visual Atlas, he juxtaposed thought-provoking images in order to reflect upon notions such as the transmission of certain emotional patterns through time.

Beyond the historical epochs, Warburg interested the temporality in the frames, as explicated in the declaration of his objectives with the Mnemosyne Atlas. There, he declares that in this collection of images lies an attempt to "absorb pre-coined expressive values by means of the *representation of life in motion"* (Warburg 2009: 277).

The "pre-coined expressive values" in Warburg´s vocabulary might be understood as pathos formula (*pathosformel*), a term he coined to describe the traces of human emotions, or as he poses it, "expressive values", in renascence paintings. In fact, by talking about expressive values, Warburg acknowledges the wide expressive capacity of aesthetic forms. Talking about "life in motion" Warburg also underlines the importance of a sense of time intrinsic to the images analysed. Despite being still images, such as drawings and paintings, they incarnate movement and, therefore, a passing time.

Along these lines, Christopher D. Johnson explains that, in the Mnemosyne Atlas, "Warburg creates a dynamic "thought-space" [*Denkraum*] where cosmographic and art-historical images reveal how subjective and objective forces shape Western culture" (2015, online).

Picking up on the discussion started by Warburg, Didi-Huberman (2017) suggests that a better translation for *nachleben* would be survival, for the forms would have continued, lived through, in a different epoch. In both cases, a contrast between the shift of historical moments and permanence gives substance to the argument of an afterlife.

However, Warburg´s original connotation had indeed a reference to a "post" and "after", ergo, afterlife (*nachleben*). The idea of living on, for instance, could be expressed by Warburg as living on (*weiterleben)*, or survival *überleben*, which also works as to outlive. In each of these variants, nuances of time and transformations in the images are implied. This comment on Didi-Huberman´s translation of preference thus is an acknowledgement of his own take on Warburg´s ideas. The French author is concerned

with the continuity of images through time but not particularly focused in different epochs. Warburg, in his turn, intended to underline the *reappearance* of certain forms in a different historical moment and geographies[58].

If on the one hand Warburg is concerned with the fact that an image or certain expressive forms have "survived" their historical origin, on the other hand, he also acknowledges the shift in the temporal structure sustaining the image. In other words, even if some traits of images might have "survived", as Didi-Huberman emphasises, the time around it was reconfigured. Departing from such common sense, the suggestion of thinking of resistance of images refers to the tension between the image and its historical time.

It is not a coincidence, thus, that Warburg's insights orbit around Renaissance paintings and sculptures – e.g. Botticelli's Primavera – and the traces of antique art and mythology in its formal aspects. Contrasting two periods, Warburg cross-references similarities while considering the inherent differences given in each temporal spam as well as the importance in each context. For instance, in his lecture on the Italian art and astrology at the Palazzo Schifanoia (1912), Warburg opens his speech stressing the importance of rescuing the classic period to end the "medieval illustrative servitude" (Warburg 1912: 563).

In this spirit, the analysis of the images here is inspired by a deviation in Warburg´s reading. Instead of an afterlife, or survival (as preferred by Didi-Huberman), I propose the notion of resistance of visual forms. Resistance will be herby as a term to describe the permanence, stillness, of images through time. From a methodological standpoint, this difference points at least two relevant differences. Firstly, it refers to a shorter time span. If Warburg looks at intervals of centuries, this research is concerned with decades. Secondly, in the case of the images observed here, there is no significant interval. Thus, the idea of a continuation without disappearance or obscuration.

Resistance refers to the political fingerprint of such images, which are both testimonies of a non-chronological temporality and registers of Palestinian political life through the course of decades. In other words, to replace afterlife for resistance means to acknowledge that in the context of this analysis, there is no shift in epochs nor one meaningful event after which the images would reappear.

For Warburg, the expressive power of these images would be visible

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[58] Warburg´s interest images crossing-geographies is evidenced in his "A Lecture on Serpent Ritual" (1939) where he analyses indigenous

in works of architecture (for example, the triumphal arch, the theater) or artistic representations (from the sarcophagus to coins) the *pictorial language of gesture*, frequently *reinforced in verbal inscriptions by the language of the word that addresses the ear*, forces, by means of such memory function, and through the ineradicable force of its expressive character, a *repetition of the full range of human emotion* in its tragic polarity, from passive suffering to active triumph. (Warburg 2000:282, *my emphasis*)[59]

In the excerpt of Warburg´s introduction to his Mnemosyne Bilderaltas, the bodily appeal of the images and the full range of cultural representations of interest to Warburg´s work is evident. Instead of focusing strictly on paintings from the Renascence and Antiquity, he is concerned with all sorts of material inscriptions of culture and, therefore, memory. It is in the condition of vehicles for the language of gesture reinforced by words that the posters shall be addressed in this investigation.

Resistance in this context refers to an intense present extended through decades. It speaks to a space-temporal configuration where the foundational catastrophe (Al-Nakba) is recollected by a quotidian shaped by colonial occupation, restricted mobility, precarious infra-structure and political isolation from the West that never dared to challenge the Israeli ruling over Palestine with significant measures.

The resistance, thus, is an exercise of permanence through time. In the images, it refers to the vestiges of a shared social experience ingrained in visual representations of Palestine. Such representations might point directly at the armed struggle, as in most of the posters, especially those sponsored by the PLO, or might simply refer to symptoms that slipper into images of the Palestinian quotidian, as observed in the photos of Rogério Ferrari, which will be addressed further ahead (see 5.2).

Along these lines, the Warburguian concept of pathos formula becomes crucial for the understanding of the affective expressions in the images of Palestine. With the expression, Warburg explains the capacity of certain visual forms to express human emotions. Furthermore, in these forms, lie aspects of the cultural memory which is transmitted and expressed in the works of art and aesthetic expressions. After all, more than political gestures in an institutional sense, the images of Palestine addressed throughout this thesis are traits of what Warburg describes as "affective experience survive in the form of a heritage preserved in the memory" (2000:278).

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[59] The original text was written in German c. 1926–9 and first published in *Der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000)

Politics, in this regard, is the circulation of affects. It is the daily practice of managing anger, articulating fear and producing new forms of livable life amidst a dystopic context. In this sense, the notion of resistance is identified here not simply as the political claim of resistance against occupation, which can be understood simply as the defence of the land. Even though this might be a fundamental aspect of the Palestinian resistance, and a very present one if considered the iconography in question, I propose that resistance is a more ingrained notion. The images refer to the affects of lives and generations under occupation, as it shall be explored in the images of the next section.

8.2 THE PERSISTENCE OF MEMORY

In the present topic, the issue of time and the intersection between material and subjective conditions for the experience of time will be addressed in the photographs of Rogério Ferrari. Ferrari is a Brazilian photojournalist and anthropologist, who went on a quest to register the struggle of peoples seeking self-determination. During his stay in Gaza and the Occupied West Bank, Ferrari registered a series of scenes of the Palestinian quotidian, pervaded by the conflict with Israel and the occupation. Ferrari´s photos were consolidated into a photography book, and in the film *Palestina a eloquência do Sangue* (Palestine the eloquence of blood, online).

More than symbolic traits of oppression, injustice, and conflicts, the photographs are material proof of the precariousness, death, destruction, but also of resistance, survival, invention. In short, the photos are pieces of evidence of an arrangement of objects, persons and temporalities.

Figure 38 - Photo mosaic created with images from Palestina a eloquência do sangue (2002)

The panel above, based on Ferrari´s film[60] brings the relationship between people, inanimate objects and landscape. Crossing the frames, lies a compound between affection and temporality. The ingrained relationship between affects and temporalities in the photos illustrated by the emotions displayed by the human figures. A remarkable characteristic of the photos, which resonate with other elements of the iconography listed in this chapter, is an absence of affects related to the future. In the facial expressions in the mosaic, it is possible to identify joy, sorrow, anger and astonishment. The pictures, however, do not show fear or hope. In the choreography of images above, the connection with the present moment is intense.

The notions of present and resistance are materialized by the young boys who standstill over piles of debris, in the two kids who show confidence in the gesture of victory despite having a house trashed by bullets in the background, the mother who holds her children. All those images suggest affects of the present. Such emotions are visible in the family does not seem to mourn the loved one as much as they honour their presence firmly holding the photo frame. It is also in the boys who pose for the photo, despite the

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[60] The documentary is based in photographs taken by Ferrari during a stay Palestine in 2002. The film is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=luVD231t_to&t=311s>. Access in Oct. 2019.

devastation behind them. The people on the beach are on the move, as well as those who can only be seen through barbed wire. Life goes on despite the losses.

This series of photos highlight a relationship between humans and inanimate objects. There, ruins, barbed wire, a flag, photo frames, a trashed car, compose a network of actors that resisted the necropolitical occupation of the West-Bank and the siege on Gaza. Overall, the images compose a cartography that suggests an almost inhabitable land where regardless of the traces of violence, humans, objects and nature seem to find space for coexistence.

In this spirit, one of the expressive shots in Ferrari´s film depicts a multitude of temporalities in a single frame (See Fig. 41). In the photo, a man wearing traditional Arab clothes walks past a wall with graffiti. A few elements from the image deserve special attention in this analysis. Firstly, in the movement implied in the man´s body language, lies the suggestion of quotidian life. Both the man and the graffiti coexist as familiar elements of the urbanscape. In each of the figures, however, different conceptions of time are embodied. If the passer-by embodies the notion of local tradition in a secular world, the graffiti brings a connection with contemporary urban spaces.

Notwithstanding a potential contradiction between past and present, tradition and contemporariness, the photo suggests a condensed time. Both man and wall are elements of a coherent frame. Each of them embodies resistance in their own way and complement each other. In the image, preservation of traditional costumes and a message supporting the armed defence of the land, inscribed in the urban space, are messages supporting each other. An interesting detail in the graffiti is the basis of the hand which holds a machine gun. Instead of a simple wrist, the hand comes accompanied by a set of lines resembling the roots of a tree. In the image, the graffiti evokes the image of roots, and the relationship with the land, resonating images of trees and ancestry very present in Palestinian iconography.

Figure 39 – Clenched fist and machine gun graffiti from Palestina a eloquência do sangue, 2002 (Film Still, 00:02:52)

By way of conclusion, I shall look at one of the most emblematic shots of the film: the figure of a woman in the background holding a stamp. The stamp, in the foreground, depicts a young man, a boy, holding a machinegun. In the frame, a woman holds the photograph of a martyr, a younger man who could be her son, brother, or someone dear to her. In her proud face, the sorrow seems to be buried under the pride. Her gesture is affirmative, blunt. Playing with light, the photographer depicts the stamp as an almost glowing figure, whereas the woman in the background sustains a picture which is both a memory and a statement.

Figure 40 – Woman holds a martyr´s picture.
Film stil from Palestina a eloquência do sangue (00:05:02s)

Under the paradigm of linear, chronological time, the photograph could represent loss, mourning, and nostalgia. Even though these impressions might be inscribed in the frame, the photo suggests other interpretations. In a metalinguistic realm, both the woman and boy are layers of the same image. Both belong to the temporal regime of the image, where dead and alive coexist in a crystalized present. In the foreground, the boy, whose presence in the frame depends on the elder's support. The time of the image does not move linearly. It came to a standstill. It is a time of permanence, time that stands against dissolution, time of resistance.

In the stamp, as in Ferrari´s photo, past and present are entangled. The younger generation is dead, due to the long-lasting conflict, yet it is present and upheld by the older one. The machinegun, overly present in the posters, is portrayed in its concrete version in the hands of a boy —The imaginary that became real. The reality transmuted into a memory of reality. In this process, the performance of holding a machinegun becomes a symbol, in the dead boy holding a machinegun.

Time has its threads intertwined. The woman, who is most likely a mother, does not seem to miss his boy as much as she is proud of him. Has she lost him? What the picture conveys a sense of past brought into the present. Once again, the present is fueled by the past and saturated with memories. There is no room for the future in this frame of loss. The past is reconfigured into the present. All that is left thus is the now — the instant when the camera clicked the fierce eyes of the character holding the stamp.

It is not a coincidence that this shot evokes another image, that of the family holding photo frames (see mosaic above). In a similar construction, Ferrari captures a family of two parents and two boys with photographs. In both cases, the ontological condition of the medium approximates the living beings of upholding the photographs and the objects of memory. The staging of both photos, especially in the case of the family photo, also suggest the object "photograph" not as a simple souvenir (the object), or reminder, but rather of memory as a physical presence.

Repeating the jargon, the series of photographs from Rogério Ferrari is named "existences resistances". Perhaps a reminder that when the time does not progress, there is no repetition. Instead, time appears in images of an intense present, a temporality that emerges from the margins of neo-colonial capitalism.

8.3 UNWAVERING RESISTANCE: PALESTINIAN TEMPORALITY IN OUROBOROS

In the opening scene of Ouroboros (Switzerland 2017), directed by Basma Alsharif, a drone flies over Gaza´s shore introducing the viewer to a city of debris. Departing from the sea, the camera captures waves that retreat incessantly. There is no actual waving as the shaky water escapes the coastal line.
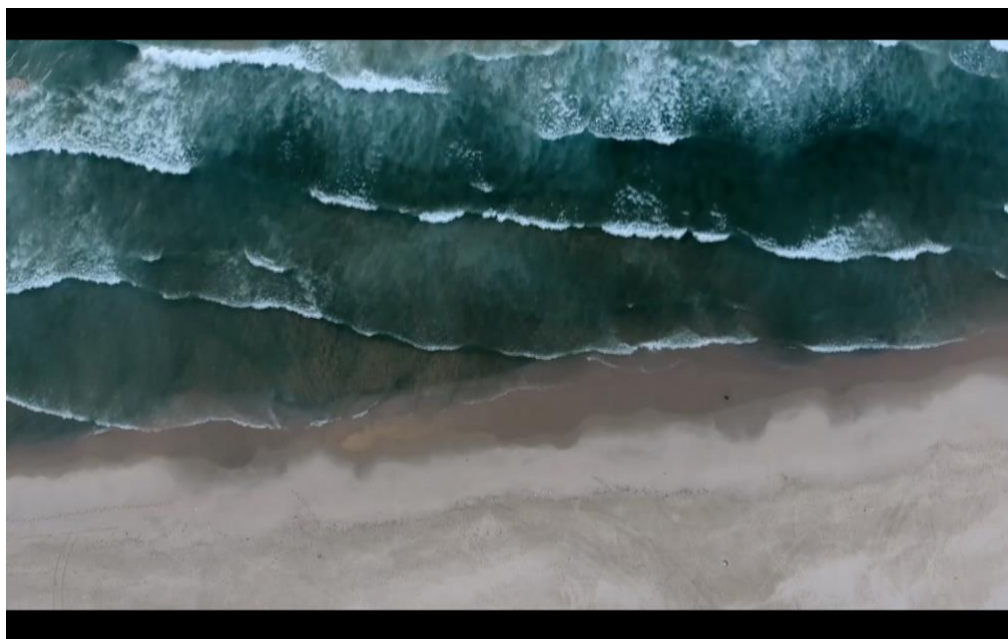
Figure 41 – Sea retreating in Gaza. (Film still, 00:04:06s)

The movement is a hint on the film´s approach towards the temporality. As suggested in the title, Ouroboros discusses a circular experience time. The way the time turns in its cyclic movement, though, is not the most intuitive. Instead of depicting progressive movements which come to an end to find a new beginning, Ouroboros departs from the endings. More specifically, it points at a repetition of endings, a permanent retreat, a constant loss, which has beginnings in its in-between. In this sense, instead of new beginnings, the film is structured around new ends which dictate the experience of impermanence in troubled territories, both in Palestine and overseas.

On the screen, ruins return to being solid buildings as Gaza is depicted both in its current state of destruction and as in its former quotidian of a small town by the seaside. The ruination caused by Israeli bombings, and years of economic blockade, were aggravated in 2007 when Israel and Egypt blocked the ways in and out of Gaza. Nowadays, the territory is suffocated by foreign military control of its the airspace sea and land and is politically controlled by the fundamentalist Islamic group Hamas, which

in its turn intensifies the tension with Israel and the neighbouring countries.

Symptomatically, the perspective chosen to depict Palestine is one of estrangement. The viewer flies through the shore of Gaza through the lenses of a drone, which provides a bird's-eye view. The distance taken from the territory is also symptomatic of the film´s production. Despite having a relationship with Gaza, Basma Alsharif[61] was not in Gaza for the shooting. Due to the isolation of the area, she depended on a local producer to capture the images. As a result, unlike other territories portrayed in the film Gaza is presented from an almost tragic distance, causing in the spectator a sense of unfamiliarity that is stressed by the drone, the same technology used by the Israeli Army when they need to bomb the area.

In this sense, the taken is the ultimate emblem of a people who keep losing territory and time. Through this prosthetic eye, Alsharif looks at her ancestral land, which is being progressively suffocated to the point that even the sea seems to be retreating. Once again, Tawil-Souri's (2011) provocation comes to mind. Is there a "lack of creativity" in the contemporary Palestinian productions? Acknowledging her rhetorical, and fair, commentary, such train of thought can be twisted towards an argument with regards to the conditions motivating such "lack" of creativity. Unlike Tawil-Souri, however, I would not claim that it is a consequence of the fact that people are busy trying to survive, again, a fair point.

In Ouroboros, a film produced far away from the dystopic scenario of Gaza, a film that even travels through beautiful Italian landscapes, the sense of negativity repeats itself. In creative, perhaps in an even innovative way, the absence, the loss, the land, and the debris appear as central signifiers. We no longer have clenched fists or barbed wire, and yet, the symbolism does not go far from these original symbols in their claim for justice, peace and land. Albeit the evident stylistic differences, underneath Ouroboros more international setting and experimental language, lie the sorrows of the trauma (of the expulsion) and for the destroyed land.

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[61] Alsharif´s biography is not unusual among Palestinians. She was born in Kuwait and grew up in France and the United States. Her ancestors Palestinians from Gaza, where she has also been years before the film production. For more on the film production, see: < https://projectorhead.in/an-interview-with-basma-alsharif/ >. Access in Oct. 2019.

Figure 42 - Gaza City (Film Still, 00:05min)

Blurring borders between fiction and documentary, Ouroboros uses what could be a journalistic capture of Gaza city and adds one essentially authorial intervention: it reverses the movement, and therefore the perception of time within that space. Instead of rendering the images absurd, the provoking exercise points at an experience of an uncanny present. Gaza is not a ghost city, despite its ruinated buildings. It is also not a regular post-war scenario, notwithstanding what some angles could suggest. What is it then? Between the shore and Israel, this chunk of land seems to stand still in time, protesting, living and moving within its own temporality.

The film's opening scene offers a panorama what looks like the skeleton of a city. Seen from above, blocks of destroyed buildings would suggest an abandoned neighbourhood. The presence of moving cars and people, however, contradicts that thesis. The city is alive, moving, and it stands, despite the harsh conditions. Between abandonment and an urge to move forward, the camera captures a backwards temporality, where each movement (cars, sea, people) is one of retraction.

In Ouroboros the suggestion is of a circular temporality, forward in the film the same city is portrayed in its previous conditions. In this thesis, however, I shall suggest that these images analysed until this point do not suggest circularity. What the documents analysed here suggest is that, since the Nakba, the visual rhetoric in Palestine insists on depicting survival. To wait for time to pass does not appear as an option. Nor does going

back to a nostalgic past. Playing against time, the hostile leviathan that consumes land and lives, the images throw anchors in the present.

In this scenario, Palestinians from Gaza insist in a series of protests near the border with Israel. According to statistics from the United Nations from 2018 and March 2019, only, 28,666 Palestinians were injured, and 194 were killed[62]. Among the injured and killed, many were young boys (5.334) and girls (445), not to mention journalists and doctors. Among the notorious cases is the death of Rouzan al-Najjar[63], a volunteer doctor who was shot by a sniper, and the case of the Canadian-Palestinian Dr Tarek Loubani, who was shot in the leg[64].

In the face of the extreme isolation and repression the citizens of Gaza protest. Not very far from there, in the West-Bank political manifestations of discontent are also frequent and appear in the form of graffiti, martyr posters and demonstrations. Now, after decades of conflict, a fair question would be: can one still describe what happens in Palestine as an Uprising? Is not an Uprising a wave of popular discontent that eventually calms in the shores of the quotidian without resulting in much change? Can one say the same about the Ocean of losses the decades of occupation and years siege have imposed to Palestine?

The term intifada became a synonym of Palestinian uprisings against the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Such terminology refers to the first lasted (1987 -1993) and the second (2000-2002) intifadas. The common understanding of the word, however, obfuscates the original meaning of the word. According to the Oxford dictionary, the term *intifāḍa* in Arabic means an uprising, or more literally "a jumping up as a reaction to something" (Oxford Dictionary, 2019). It suggests a physical reaction to an imminent threat or danger, but more importantly, it suggests a choreography of a rising body against the treat.

As Didi-Huberman emphasises, rising-up is a gesture (2016). To rise-up is to burst energy against the world in a corporeal vibration. On the same topic, Judith Butler underlines that the "intifada in Palestine takes place in waves and in Stages" (Butler 2016:

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[62] The data was published by the British newspaper The Guardian in the article available at https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2019/mar/29/a-year-of-bloodshed-at-gaza-border-protests.

[63] See <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/30/world/middleeast/gaza-medic-israel-shooting.html> Access on Oct. 10

[64] For more on this case, see <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/politics/article-canadian-doctor-shot-by-israeli-sniper-near-gaza-border/> Oct. 10.

30). What then to make out of this waves that rise-up with the persistence of sea waves whose retreat is part of an impulse forward?

For Butler, the uprising is delimited by the police power in space and time. The punitive arm of the state would be responsible for making sure that the uprising is contained within demarcated special and temporal boundaries and it is precisely in the participation of the police (or the army) in the protests that the uprising would become a revolution (Butler 2016). The uprising, thus, can be understood as fundamentally inscribed in a delimited space and a relatively short temporality.

In this vein, the choice to describe the Palestinian resistance to the occupation for the Arabic terminology is suggestive. Instead of simply translating intifada into its English equivalent "uprising", the Arabic term was anglicised. Intifada, thus, speaks to the two Palestinian movements of resistance which are analogous to uprisings. This definition, however, leaves out many of the protests that happened between the two intifadas and those who are still ongoing, especially in Gaza.

I would like to propose the hypothesis that the Palestinian insurgent movements cannot be described simply as uprisings, for it has fundamentally different conditions of possibility. As a result, the Palestinian revolts are not delimited in time. There is, indeed, a spatial delimitation, which is consequent of the colonial occupation. In terms of temporality, it does pay tribute to a foundational event, the Nakba. Such event, however, seems to have been extended in time, acquiring new traits with the addition of other catastrophes such as the six-day war (1967) in an ongoing extended and saturated present fulfilled with ghosts from the past.

At least two aspects must be taken into account for the consideration of the question of Palestine from a political point of view. Firstly, unlike most contemporary uprisings, it does not happen in the realm of a nation-state. The revolt of the Palestinian people happens as a response of a nation under a colonial occupation. Ironically, the spaces where it takes place, occupied West-Bank and Gaza Strip, are not recognised by the occupiers as a colony, therefore creating a sui-generis political environment. Secondly, the occupation of Palestine is not a war. It cannot be categorised as a civil war, neither as a struggle between two sovereign countries, for Palestine is not a country with sovereignty, but a nation under the military control of a hostile neighbour.

Unfolding the notion of uprising, I shall argue that the movement which appears in the Palestinian visual expression is the inside out of an uprising. If on the one hand, uprisings happen beyond the Intifadas, the interest of this research lies in the moments of

apparent calm when the waves seem to lay flat in a backwards movement, or the body bends to the pressure of gravity only to regain the impulse for a new rebellion.

CODA

Unlike other chapters in this research, which for the most part focuses on films, part IV has posters in its corpus. Throughout the analysis, the discursive dispute for the land and the PLO efforts to propagate the Palestinian struggle appeared. More importantly, for this research, icons such as the olive tree and the "freedom fighter´s weapon" as quoted by Arafat in the opening of this section, were insistently present. In this vein, a detour through such a distinct medium was crucial for a better understanding of most systematic and widest effort to establish Palestine.

In the core of part III, lies the assumption that the constant appearance of key signs is not a case of survival, or reappearance. The contrast between these previous notions and that of resistance, or simply, insistence in the same icons, is revealing of the temporal layer over which these images emerge. In this elastic temporality, where the Nakba is stretched to the present day, the iconic elements of the experience of being under occupation last. In this sense, I hope to have demonstrated in that despite subtle differences in form, the clenched fists, weapons and trees in its many forms became symptoms of Palestinian trauma and fight.

PART IV - conflicted temporalities: visual traits of a resistance time

> During the siege, time becomes a space
> That has hardened in its eternity
> During the siege, space becomes a time
> That is late for its yesterday and tomorrow
> Mahmoud Darwish – A state of Siege

OPENING

Aiming to provide an insight on this mode of doing politics through aesthetics, this thesis started with an overview of the problem of the occupation and its practical consequences (part one); and moved on to the exercise of resistance was explored in terms of memory (part two). There, I discuss the attempt to reconnect sparse memories to construct a sense of historicity through archives stolen by the colonial army. If the second chapter was concerned with the exercise of bridging together files from the post-1964 period[65]; the third part focuses on posters from 1968-2000- from the creation of the PLO, in 1964, to the second intifada (2000-2005).

Picking the thread from the previous parts of the thesis, this section resorts in cases related to the post-second Intifada period. Hence, I propose an approach with regards to the experience of time and the notion of resistance from the Global South departing from the occupied territories of the West-Bank and the Gaza Strip. More specifically, this section aims to question how the Palestinian films[66] contribute to the temporal fabric in that region. In other words, how and to what extent does the aesthetic regime contribute to the notions of temporality and therefore to the political experience?

With the aid of the post-intifada cinema, the text seeks to elaborate a concept capable of describing the Palestinian visual production from a theoretical standpoint, as well as to understand how the visual culture reveals and heals symptoms of the material struggle. Overall, these images (films, photos, posters, cartoons) and theoretical approaches (Jamal 2016; Salti 2014; Weizman 2017) are interpreted as symptoms of a shared experience of temporality in the post-Nakba Palestine.

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[65] This is also the period when the narratives on Palestine became more accessible to the Western audience. According to Said "One could not have read such a narrative in English before the middle or late sixties. For twenty years after Israel appeared, the world knew vaguely and generally of "Palestinian refugees," or more commonly it heard about "Arab refugees." (1992:34)

[66] The analysis is also illustrated by the cartoon Handala, created by Naj al-Ali.

A question, thus, is how to elaborate a notion of time under occupation? In Gaza, where waves of protests have been pilling deaths throughout the years[67] how can one plan the future? Bearing these issues in mind, the following topic is dedicated to a brief socio-political analysis of the occupied territories and its cinematic representations. More specifically, the analysis undertaken in the following chapters encompasses emblematic Palestinian films produced during the decade from 2002 to 2012. The films were chosen both for the timing of their production, released during or after the second intifada, and for the critical appraisal. In this vein, these films are iconic of contemporary Palestinian cinematography and are revealing of the atmosphere in the West-Bank after the construction of the Separation Barrier.

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[67] According to the Human Rights Watch 2019 report, "between March 30 and November [20]19, security forces killed 189 Palestinian demonstrators, including 31 children and three medical workers, and wounded more than 5,800 with live fire". Available at <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2019/country-chapters/israel/Palestine> Access in Nov. 2019.

Chapter 9 – One land two calendars

9.1 TEMPORAL SUSPENSION?

In *Salt of this sea* (France/Palestine/U.S/Netherlands/Spain/Belgium/Switzerland 2008), an American tourist tries to pass the airport security in the Ben Gurion airport but because of her family name, needs to go through four airport officers in three different rooms. *Paradise Now* (Netherlands, Palestine, Israel, Germany, France 2005), portrays a Palestinian woman who has her purse checked in a routine procedure before she can walk through a checkpoint. In *Divine Intervention* (France, Morocco, Germany, Palestinian territories 2002), a group of men are threatened by armed soldiers at a checkpoint. All these scenes, created with different degrees of realism, depict key elements of the quotidian life of Palestinians. Situations such as the harassment in the only airport, the violence and hostility in checkpoints and above all that, the mobility constraints of a territory designed to challenge the Palestinian mobility, are characteristics of life in Palestine (Weizman 2017).

When it comes to Palestine, it is an impossible task to separate the cultural experience and the conflict that has been shaping that region for over seventy years. Under this light, this chapter tackles the entanglement of socio-political circumstances in the territory to discuss the implications of the material conditions on the Palestinian way of life. From there, the text undertakes a discussion on filmic production.

In the spirit of contextualization, research demonstrates that, in Gaza, "nearly 87% of the population live below the poverty line" (Altawil et al. 2008:2). Furthermore, almost all the children (from 10-18 yr. old) in that area were exposed to some traumatic situation, in most cases related to the Israeli attacks. Moreover, "99% of children had suffered humiliation […]; 97% had been exposed to the sound of explosions/bombs; 85% had witnessed a martyr's funeral, and 84% had witnessed shelling by tanks, artillery, or military planes" (Altawil et al. 2008:2). Under such circumstances, it seems inevitable that these children have their notions of future and present affected by traumatic experiences.

Considering these facts, two aspects must be examined. Firstly, the inevitably political character of the quotidian in Palestine. Constantly under attack, with borders that resemble prison walls, Palestinians cannot escape politics, even if they silence in the face of it. Secondly, to have a life in Palestine requires the capacity to endure the previously

mentioned situations without a sovereign government in which expectations could be deposited.

In this context, resistance acquires a double meaning. On the first layer, it means simply to survive and live a life under challenging circumstances. Albeit political, this category does not require a social attitude. Another layer would be the political commitment in its many forms. Here, politicians, filmmakers or kids throwing stones at soldiers would fit. As the latter example suggests, this second dimension is broadly inhabited by Palestinians (in and outside of Palestine) of different ages, genders and regions. It is thus, a condition that characterises the mediatised Palestinian.

Hereon, the notions of space of experience and horizon of expectation, discussed in chapter one, become, once again, relevant. As clarified by Koselleck (2004), these two categories are often intermingled and can prove useful in the comprehension of historical processes. The philosopher observes how the "experience of acceleration" is relevant for Western revolutions. According to him, in "Robespierre's vow to his fellow citizens to accelerate the French Revolution […] it is possible to detect an unconscious secularisation of eschatological expectation" (2004:50).

The excerpt, which resembles Benjamin's critique of some accounts of historical materialism, could suggest the problematic nature of such exercise of futurism as revolutionary thought. In Koselleck, however, the comment refers to the importance of the production of a sense of acceleration in order to trigger the revolutionary process. The author continues by observing that a change in the "tempo of historical time" due to technological advances and the rise in the population explosion resulted in acceleration as a part of the quotidian experience (2004:50), a thesis advocated by Hartmut Rosa (see Rosa, 2013).

In the transversal direction, acceleration has in Palestine highly destructive consequences. Insofar as the Palestinian visual culture is concerned, acceleration is manifested negatively. It appears in the building of the separation barrier (West Bank Wall), the military technology used against Gaza and the increasing number of settlements in the West-Bank. The movement that can be identified in posters, films, graffiti and cartoons suggest that the primary concern in the Palestinian experience is the struggle against the occupation, in the West-Bank, and the Siege over Gaza. This conclusion is ratified by a precarious context, where elements of Modern acceleration such as train lines and airports are in the past, as opposed to the quotidian experience of precariousness and limited circulation.

As an exemplary case of struggle against colonialism (Said 1992), and necropolitics (Mbembe 2003), the idea of *a* Palestine has been explored in many forms. If the Western[68] aggressions on Palestine are the spearhead of a neoliberal/necropolitical regime against a minority of marginalised population, the multiplicity encompassed by such an idea can inspire several grassroots movements.

Instead of merely representing pre-installed material conditions, cinema, posters, cartoons, and other visual elements of Palestinian culture make visible a political experience of time. Despite being nurtured by the concrete realm, it rearticulates the daily experience into a political strategy. In other words, the Palestinian cultural industry, and visual culture moves the struggle to the symbolic realm. It names Palestine against oblivion, against destruction, and more importantly, it renders the conflict visible and tangible on a global scale. In doing so, these artists and activists are responding to a crucial need of the Palestinian struggle. Not coincidently, according to Edward Said "the whole history of the Palestinian struggle has to do with the desire to be visible" (2006: 2).

Thus, the narration of Palestine holds twofold importance: Firstly, for those within the Palestinian territory, it articulates a discourse, a reason to fight for and a common vocabulary guiding the struggle. Secondly, it translates a complex reality to a foreigner audience, a crucial effort in a conflict which, since its very origins, is defined by external influence. The incursion in the realm of aesthetics was articulated and funded by the PLO, which resulted in the third wave of Palestinian cinema and the propaganda posters. These two flanks had a decisive contribution for a Palestinian iconography. Similarly, the contemporary Palestinian filmmakers are narrating Palestine in its multiplicity but still resort in the matrix of politics and resistance.

A privileged point of observation of these and other phenomena in Palestinian culture, cinema played a very significant role, especially in the post-Intifada years. An example of that is the 2014 film programme published by Palestinian filmmakers as a reflection upon the 20 years of the Oslo Accords. The emblematic title chosen for the programme was "suspended time" (Idiom Films 2014). The words chosen for the programme, which is also revealing of its cinematic content, reveal the concern with the problem of temporality, which becomes particularly evident in the period that succeeds the second intifada. The accords, Talal Asad writes, kept the Palestinian population

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[68] Israel, as a Modern State, and Zionism are here treated as inherently Western.

hostage of the Palestinian Authority and Israel "once beyond the Palestinian zones and yet sovereign over them" (2007:46).

The second intifada, which ended with the Oslo Accords, is the event responsible for the construction of the Israeli West-Bank Wall. The wall is widely referenced in contemporary Palestinian filmography. It is both a decisive factor for the sense of temporal suspension of the Palestinians and a visual metaphor of the conflict. Thus, the notion of *suspended time*, go hand in hand with the hypothesis defended in these theses. Even though I do not subscribe to the notion of "suspension", my argument shares a couple of core notions with the initiative. Firstly, the idea that Palestinian visual production develops around, and reflects, the temporal structure of the life under occupation. Secondly, this thesis suggests a non-*progressive* sense of temporality. More specifically, a focus on the present experience fuelled by the memories of the past.

Along these lines, Amal Jamal observes that "hegemonic nations in conflicts seek to empty or suspend the time flow of their enemies" (2016: 366). This process, he continues, is related to practices of erasure of the enemy's historical memory (see chapter 2) and "the *suspension* of the latter's time relates to the halting of movement in space, reflected best by *waiting*" (2016: 366, *my emphasis*). Albeit not explicitly mentioning Israeli practices, Jamal succinctly describes the influence of the Israeli state over Palestinian experience of time. More importantly, his paper drives its conclusions from an analysis of the Israeli occupation of Palestine. Echoing the arguments above, Rashid Masharawi claims that the "Palestinians have the feeling of not being in control of our destiny. […] Waiting has become an integral part of our lives. It is at the root of our entire being"[69].

Beyond all that, the case of Palestine is emblematic for its condition of a normalised state of exception. An oxymoron supported by the Israeli legal system and the geopolitical alliances in the region. According to this logic, the temporality in Palestine would have zones of suspension and illustrated by the figure an individual waiting. They wait in checkpoints, in airports, wait for gates to be opened so that they might cross an Israeli road towards their own cultivated land. The same people wait outside of the Israeli/Palestinian borders to have the right to return or to receive a travel permit and a visa to be able to leave the territories.

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[69] Masharawi is a Palestinian filmmaker. He grew up in a refugee camp in Gaza and directed the film "Waiting" (France, Palestine 2005). The excerpt was published in the Israeli film festival webpage and is available at < https://iffr.com/en/2006/films/waiting >. Access in Jan. 2020.

Along these lines, Michael Taussig admits that he stopped eating in his visit to Hebron, due to the tension in the atmosphere, although

> things seemed calm, but shouldn't? Or was it that people spent a lot of time making calm, if you see what I mean, and that this was a sort of national pastime, a gargantuan cultural feat, "making calmness." (Compare with the agitated frenzy I always hear about in Israel) Or is it that no matter how bad a situation, people adapt and life continues in its steady and unsteady rhythms, as it must for the 40-year-old man I met in the subterranean market in Hebron selling spices at the same stall all his life and who has never seen the sea, holding my arm, eyes burning, when I tell him I am from Sydney. Although it is quite close, he has never seen the sea because he doesn't have a permit to travel the necessary roads. (Taussig, online)[70].

Interestingly, Taussig underlines the sea as a fundamental metaphor of Palestinian mobility issues. It is not a coincidence, thus, that Annemarie Jacir's film was named "Salt of *this* sea". As Jacir emphasises[71], she deemed necessary to her to stress the locality of the sea, which goes along with the observation that nowadays Palestine, a coastal territory surrounded by the water of the dead sea and the Mediterranean, has no access to it. In a similar direction, in *Five Broken Cameras*, the narrator mentions that in 1995, after the Oslo Peace Accords his family "could go to the sea every summer"[72]. The sea, here, is a symbol of hope and freedom, as much as its interdiction underlines the sense of immobility.

Waiting, thus, is a transitional state turned into a permanent, at times life-long, condition. For Taussig, "living in the West Bank […] is like living under that same sleep-depriving light. The entire population inhabits this prison, being allowed a little exercise each day, so long as the prison guards allow it […]"[73]. Once again, Palestine is the spearhead of the periphery of the world, that waits for a visa, a better life, or a paved street.

According to Amal Jamal (2016), the Zionist strategy of creating a sense of suspended time results in anomy and undermines the attributes of human life. Similarly,

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[70] See Mick Taussig, "Two Weeks in Palestine: My First Visit," Critical Inquiry, n.d., https://criticalinquiry.uchicago.edu/two_weeks_in_palestine/. Access in Jan. 2020.

[71] Interview to "Inside the Middle East" published on the philistineFlms Youtube page. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oPbR5mk1_As> Access in Jan. 2020.

[72] Not long after the signature of the Oslo Accords in 1995, the second intifada started. The conflict lasted five years, from 2000 to 2005.

[73] Mick Taussig, "Two Weeks in Palestine: My First Visit," Critical Inquiry, n.d., https://criticalinquiry.uchicago.edu/two_weeks_in_palestine/. Access in Jan. 2020.

Eyal Weizman argues that the Zionist strategy in the occupation of Palestine works similarly to the Chinese game of "Go" (Weizman 2017). The strategy would consist in the occupation of the territory in such a way to immobilise the adversary (Weizman 2017). It is interesting to notice that such occupation was legal within the state of Israel, due to the premise of temporariness (Weizman 2017). Such an argument goes in a similar direction as the idea a "suspension" in the chronological time.

The concept of "suspended time" does not reveal, however, the traces of resistance displayed in Palestinian visual culture and, particularly, in its cinematography. Contemporary Palestinian cinema complexifies the structures of surveillance and control imposed by the Zionists on Palestinians displaying several forms of resistance imbricated within these spaces. If, on the one hand, the buildings and weapons try to crash the subjects turning them into passive objects under the control of the state, on the other hand, the humanity finds ways of contesting and playing through the system, both in daily life and fiction.

Zionist practices are, indeed, in the root of most of the problems in the occupied territories and shape structural elements of the Palestinian society with its influence on matters such as circulation, urbanism and law. This influence can be explained both by the enormous military superiority and by the *de facto* sovereign power exercised by Israel over Palestine. However, Palestinians are not waiting or held upon time.

Palestinian cultural production, and the numerous protests in Gaza, demonstrate that the anomy implied by the notion of "suspended time" does not encompass the totality of the Palestinian experience of time. It does indeed illustrate a structural condition, which is challenged by the quotidian experience where people are throwing stones on tanks or finding creative ways to move throughout the territory and to keep on living their lives, despite the brutal impositions. In fact, what might be perceived as "waiting" is one element in the process of survival under hostile circumstances – and surviving can never be a static task.

According to this very argument, the Palestinian narratives do not necessarily evoke a past, in nostalgic terms, as proposed by Jamal (2006). Instead, in many of the Palestinian icons, the past is a substrate to elaborate images of "resistance". Some examples are the usage of the image of a "key", symbolising the occupied/lost homeland; and the clenched fists, in contrast with tragic scenarios such as the Nakba and the genocide in Lebanon.

Along these lines, Jamal admits that "when nations in conflict feel that their time is jeopardised, enormous revolutionary energy and resistance are stimulated […] The nation seeks to *renew the control of their temporality as a form of resistance*" (2016: 366, *my emphasis*). He also notes that narration is a critical tool of resistance against this "suspension of time" (2016:366). At this point, Jamal goes in the direction of Ricœur (1984) and the understanding of narrative as the crucial element for the human perception of time. To narrate writes Ricœur echoing Aristotle, is a way of organising present, past and future events. The narration of time as a form of resistance appears in Palestinian culture at least since the Nakba.

Thus, the iconography evokes past events (such as the Nakba) as reminders and emblems of the resistance. Resonating these ideas, Matar claims that the Palestinian urge to tell their stories and narrate the past is not some nostalgic exercise but rather the act of "re-membering, of putting together moment by moment and of provisional and partial reconstruction' of the past in the present" (2011:4). In this vein, Darwish's poem is paradigmatic, for following the story of a tree through centuries until a contemporary martyrdom of a man *and* the tree. The same exercise of remembering, and resisting, will be portrayed by the filmography analysed in this chapter.

These strategies of resistance are encompassed by a long-lasting political project designed to keep Palestinians under a spatial and temporal regime to keep them isolated and strained. In his assessment of the situation in historical Palestine, Amal Jamal claims that "Zionism is the dominant ideology in Israel/Palestine" (2016:366). Albeit problematic and homogenising, the statement points at the fact that Zionism is in the core of the hegemonic political project in Israel, and consequently, directly affects Palestinians due to Israeli armed political supremacy in the region. Along the same lines, he argues that this project "has set the temporal tone since the early decades of the twentieth century" (2016:366). Once again, the statement seems to privilege a Jewish perspective, given that, in "the early decades of the early decades of the twentieth century" the Jewish population was a minority in historical Palestine, and there was no "Israel/Palestine", as referred by the author.

Despite focusing on the Zionist influence, and tangling Palestine and Israel in terms of temporality, Jamal makes two crucial points. Firstly, he claims that Zionists notions of time and history are divergent from the Bible and Jewish traditions, while those two are used as a "major source of inspiration and legitimisation" (2016: 367). As a neo-colonial project, Zionism uses tradition to justify its practices while disregarding it when

these very traditions pose a resistance against the colonial project. In other words, for Jamal, the Zionist theorists re-conceptualise the notion of Jewish time to render time manageable, as opposed to the divine temporality where the redemption of Jewish people would come in the abstract, uncontrollable metaphysical time[74].

Secondly, Jamal argues that the Zionist time frame is based on a progressive narrative of nation-building. This narrative would sustain a timeline connecting the Jewish "pioneers" responsible for the first Jewish settlements during the biblical period and the modern Israel and Palestine, encompassing cities such as Hebron (currently Palestine) and Jerusalem. Sustaining this logic is the denial of Palestine, or as Jamal puts it, this discourse implies in the perception of time in Palestine as "time as static and primitive".

On a legal level, the temporal distinctions designed by Zionism have as a primary consequence the admission of Jews as Israeli citizens regardless of temporal or spatial constraints. After the foundation of Israel, Jews from the whole world became Israeli citizens according to legislation that did not consider their place of origin or temporal situation in Israel – for they were "returning home". Evidently, in the case of the Palestinians, the process happened in a much stricter fashion and the temporal and spatial constraints "resulted in hundreds of thousands of Palestinians living as internal refugees in Israel" (Jamal 2006: 368), or as refugees, and people in exile, elsewhere. The political outcome of this process is a massive number of Palestinians with precarious (non-permanent) citizenship statuses.

9.2 FROM THE STREETS TO THE SCREENS: WAITING FOR PALESTINE

A fortune teller reads tarot cards to a sceptical client (Elia Suleiman). He says Palestine will be independent. Yes, he insists. Palestine will achieve its independence. But not in his lifetime, or his client´s. The sketch, from *It must be heaven* (France, Canada, Palestine 2019) illustrates Palestinian history as a people who endured a long line of foreign occupiers. Moreover, during the past decades, the expectation for a Palestinian liberation was intensified by the occupation of the West-Bank. As already discussed, the occupation affects not only the long-term horizon of expectation of the Palestinians, who

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[74] The notion of redemption is adopted by Benjamin in his reversion of the Marxist theology. Benjamin, however, intentionally locates redemption in the past, therefore also inverting the Jewish-Christian theological approach.

wish for independence but also its short-term expectations, turning waiting into an almost constant condition for many Palestinians.

It is no coincidence that the notion of waiting is widely reported in the filmography of the conflict. In cinema, this gesture is incarnated in the American Palestinian detained for questioning in an airport, in Annemarie Jacir's *Salt of this Sea* (France/Palestine/U.S/Netherlands/Spain/Belgium/Switzerland 2008); or in Palestinian schoolboys and workers prevented to go to school/work by Israeli soldiers in Avi Mograbi's documentary film *Avenge But One Of My Two Eyes* (Israel 2005); or in Samira Badram's experimental animation *Memory of the Land* (Spain 2008), among several others. Overall, the films compose a plethora of ways to represent the fundamental problem: the lack of control on one´s (life) time.

The Palestinian waiting is not a mere figure of speech. It is a representation of orchestrated violence which illustrates the contrast between Palestine and the Western "acceleration". A society plagued with the constant need to wait is the antinomy of an "accelerated" society. On the other hand, as accurate as the figure of the "Palestinian waiting" might be, it is a reductive trope which undermines their agency.

Waiting is but one of the aspects to be considered. In many Palestinian films, this experience is illustrated by scenes in checkpoints, the paradigmatic nodal point of the discussion on the occupation. In the filmography, checkpoints are much more nuanced than *waiting* areas and are depicted as territories where a power-struggle takes place and where small gestures of resistance are undertaken. In the board below, a few frames illustrate the resistance portrayed in Palestinian fiction.

Figure 45 – Images board, gender, temporality and resistance
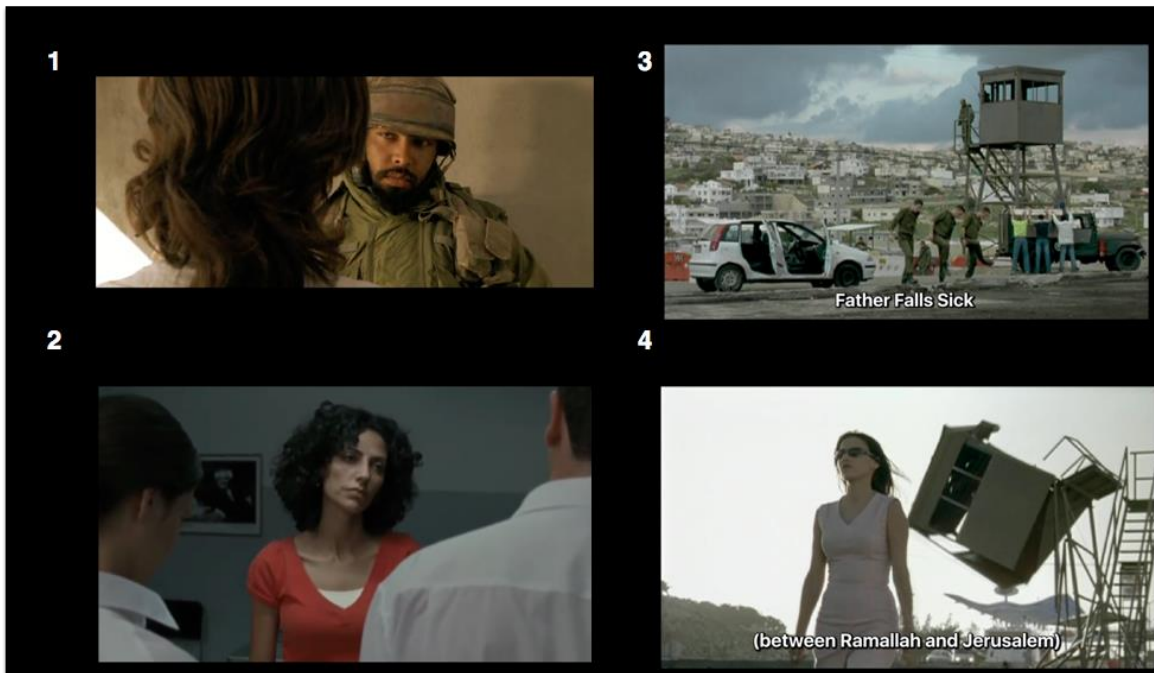
Figure 43 - Film stills. From the upper left to the bottom right - Paradise now (Netherlands, Palestine, Israel, Germany, France 2005); Divine intervention (France Morocco Germany Palestinian territories 2002); Salt of this Sea (France, Palestine, United States)

The three films and four screenshots selected bring cinematic comments on power relations and gender in checkpoints and a costume's office. Frame number one, from *Paradise Now*, illustrates the tension between Suha, daughter of a Palestinian martyr, and an Israeli soldier as she walks into a checkpoint. To reach the Israeli side of the road, Suha needs to endure a suspicious look from the solider and his careless attitude going through her personal belongings. Despite this, she remains impassive waiting for authorisation to cross, which comes in a discrete and indolent head move, that she may walk past. The lack of dialogue underlines the pervading tension between the two characters and fills the atmosphere with tension.

The sequence from *Salt of this Sea* (Fig.1) shows an airport customs room where Soraya Tahani, an American-Palestinian woman, is interrogated. Among other very specific questions, she is asked where her father was born. Upon the response that her father was born in Lebanon, she had to explain why she did not have a Lebanese passport, only an American one. Despite appearing as a regular customs interview, the tension between the characters is evident. For instance, when asked where her grandfather was born, she replies that he was "born here", to which the airport officer adds, "in Israel…". Soraya does not protest, but her silence is not tacit consent, her face clearly displays a mix of discomfort and anger. The answer to the question of where was her grandfather

was born leads to the request for her to step aside and answer more questions from a different officer. At that point, the difference in the treatment of an American-Palestinian and a non-Arab American tourist is underlined. When the officer asks Soraya about her family name – "[Tahani] what kind of name is it?" – Soraya replies impatiently that "it is an Arabic name" with a challenging look on her face.

This second interview will lead to a third one when similar questions are repeated, and the level of stress has sparked. Among the embarrassing confrontations, the character is submitted to a security check that involves stripping the pants off and having the hair touched by a security officer of the airport.

In the last scene of the airport sequence, the security officer unwraps a gift in Soraya´s suitcase, goes through her personal belongings and finds an old picture. He smiles sarcastically and asks if the man in the photo is a "boyfriend". Displaying anger, she replies drily: "my father". Adding a touch of irony to the scene, a photograph of a smiling Ben Gurion[75] hangs on the wall in the background.

An interesting fact about the film production is that the struggles with the bureaucracy that the character Soraya faces when arriving in Tel-Aviv, and further ahead in Ramallah, was also experienced by the film staff. According to Annemarie Jacir[76], they were forbidden to film in (roughly) 80% of the locations planned and the members of the crew who were from the West-Bank were denied visas to leave Ramallah[77].

In *Divine intervention*, the gender issue is particularly evident, as illustrated by the frames 3 and 4. The first scene (Fig. 2) portrays the humiliation of Palestinians who are made to wait in a checkpoint with their hands raised, while three soldiers look at their shoe´s sole in a somewhat comic depiction. Interestingly, all the characters in the scene are men and even the Palestinians, who are in a humiliating position play a role in the sadly comic mise-en-scene.

Contrasting with the previous shot (Fig.1), a fearless lady, wearing a sleeveless form-fitting dress, parks her car a few meters from a checkpoint, walks towards the border under the aim of machine-guns (Fig. 2) and challenges the soldiers by crossing the borderline which separates Ramallah from Jerusalem. Without a word, she walks in the

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[75] Israel´s first prime minister and iconic figure of the Israeli nationalism. He also names the Tel-Aviv international airport, where the scene presumably takes place.

[76] In an interview to "Inside the Middle East" published on the philistineFlms Youtube page. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oPbR5mk1_As> Access in Jan. 2020.

[77] Palestinian main city, where most of the film takes place.

direction of the soldiers, and noticing the weapons pointed at her, she takes her glasses off and looks directly at the men who have her under their aim. As she approaches the checkpoint, the soldiers raise their machine-guns and threaten to shoot, as the woman fearlessly passes through. Once she crossed the checkpoint, the observation tower crumbles (Fig. 4) as she walks stolidly.

Figure 46 – Board from *Divine Intervention*, checkpoint sequence

Figure 44 - From right to left frame one at 33m47s; frame two at 35m17s; frame three 35m25s

With a satirical approach, the scene portrays a phallic military structure of surveillance and control crumbling as if reacting to the female steady and firm crossing. The choice of a woman to perform the actions that challenge Israeli´s institutional not only it highlights the importance of gender to the contemporary Palestinian cinematography[78], but it also points at the long tradition of female representations associated to the notions of liberation and freedom, as discussed in chapter three.

In a similar direction, in *The time that remains: chronicles of a present absentee* Elia Suleiman created another scene where the female character incarnates the Palestinian resistance. Amidst the confrontation between protesters and military man in the middle of a crossroads, a woman walks her baby in a stroller. Stopping between two lines of armed men, she clearly assumes the position of a target, as the tip of a somewhat symmetrical triangle of six men, three in each side, specifically formed to corner her. Firmly, she walks through the men and confronts one of the soldiers who yell at her: "go back home!". Hearing the command, she replies: "go back home? *You* go back home" (*my emphasis*). The irony in the scene underlines the absurdity of the situation and that of the Israeli state as such.

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[78] Throughout this thesis, the works of Annemarie Jacir, Jumana Manna, Samira Badran, Razan AlSalah were mentioned/analysed. Other internationally known and award-winning Palestinian female directors are Maysaloun Hamoud, Larissa Sansour, Mai Masri, Helga Tawil-Souri, Hiam Abbass and the iconic multimedia artist Mona Hatoum, among several others.

Refusing to accept the orders, the Palestinian woman not only stated her right to walk in her own city but also stressed that she is not a guest, unlike those who pointed the weapons at her. Once she has left, the turmoil continues, in the ratification of the filmmaker´s ironic gaze on masculinity.

Figure 47 - Sequence board from *The time that remains…*

Figure 45 - frame 1 (1:34:18s), frame 2 (1:34:20s)

This last scene, though, is the only one where a Palestinian raises the voice against the occupation. In the three other scenes, the Palestinians do not say a word of complaint about the embarrassing situations they endure. Silence, however, is not a sign of acceptance, on the contrary. For instance, in the exchange of looks between Soraya and the soldier, or Suha's walk through the checkpoint, it becomes clear that they refuse to accept the barriers on their way passively and the temporality in the checkpoint is not "suspended". What the spectator sees is a time filled with tension.

The tension, instead of freezing or "suspending" time, makes it even more present, as can be observed in these scenes. Each obstacle posed on the way becomes a point of negotiation and resistance. In this vein, checkpoints in airports, between Palestinian lands in the West-Bank and from Jerusalem to the West-Bank cannot be interpreted as sites of sedimentation for a "suspended time". They are territories where the power-relations and the experience of the conflict are incarnated.

9.3 MODERNITY FROM THE MARGINS

As mentioned before, Rosa (2013) proposes a theory of Modernity structured around the notion of acceleration. According to him, this process can be broken down into three main areas. The first is the "technical acceleration of goal-directed processes"

which speaks to the technical changes after the industrial revolution; "the acceleration of social change", related to an increase in the shift in the social structures; and the "acceleration of the pace of life" which is the individual´s experience of a more accelerated life. In the same direction, Mbembe (2019) describes our time as one of "planetary entanglement" (2019:93) which results in the "acceleration of speed and the intensification of connections" (2019:93).

Albeit agreeing with Rosa´s main thesis that Modernity brought a generalized sense of acceleration, I shall make a few remarks on this thesis to clarify the notion of temporality in Palestine. The first and self-evident of the observations is that Rosa´s thesis is based on a Western position. In other words, his empirical cases and results are driven by a Euro-American perspective, which is evidenced in the theoretical and empirical levels of the work.

Secondly, unfolding this first remark, I shall comment on each of the conditions of possibility for the "social acceleration" under the light of the Palestinian situation. This is not to say that the phenomenon of acceleration does not affect Palestine. On the contrary, the problem here is that this general (planetary) assertion requires approaches focused on local realities.

With that in mind, the following excerpt serves as an illustration of the contrast between a "modern-western" perspective and Palestine, which in this case (mobility issues) is paradigmatic of the Global South in general. In the fragment, he argues that

> The increasing use of maps transformed the "natural," place-bound idea of space, the center of which was constituted by "the village," as the main standpoint of the observer whose lifeworld horizon was arranged in concentric circles of decreasing familiarity, into a somewhat "placeless" form of abstract spatial perception with a variable center (Rosa 2013: 98)

Two aspects deserve attention. Firstly, the idea of "village" as an entity of the past, an assertion that depends on geographical location. More importantly, the "placeless"-ness character of the human experience is directly related to the possibility of a "lifeworld horizon" of one who has the means to cross borders, national or otherwise. What the films analysed in this research demonstrate is that, in regards to Palestine, a very different phenomenon happens. In *Salt of this sea*, for instance, the character Soraya risks being deported because she believes that she needed to stay in her ancestral home. Moreover, once she reaches Haifa, the city that her family was forced to leave, Soraya finds her

grandmother´s former home and has an outburst when she learns that an Israeli girl is now the house´s legal owner[79].

Furthermore, in Palestine, the sense of immobility rules over such idealised sense of mobility which would allow a perception such as being "placeless". The impossibility to move is a trigger for a reflection on location and place; it stresses the condition of being in a specific place for a certain amount of time. Such feeling of entrapment is illustrated in the film *Salt of this sea* (France, Palestine, United States, Netherlands, Spain, Belgium, Switzerland 2008). Using a medium-shot, the filmmaker explores the intimate conversation between two very distinct characters. The woman, Soraya, was born in Brooklyn/U. S and wants nothing more than to live in Palestine. She had the chance to choose and spent a lifetime dreaming about what she considers to be her homeland. Emad, on the other hand, never had the chance to leave Palestine and comments that he is just waiting for his [Canadian] visa to leave Palestine (board 1). In this context, the landscape plays a crucial role[80].

From Emad´s point of view, the sight of the mountains suggests that he is isolated, trapped in a place from where he can never leave. In the conversation with Soraya, he looks at the horizon and waves his hand, emphasizing that he is not interested in that view. At that point, Emad still held hopes for a future (out of Palestine).

Emad´s hopes, however, are quickly frustrated as he learns that his visa to Canada was denied, for the fourth time. In a succession of events after the denial of his visa, Emad ends up quitting his job as a *waiter*[81] and joining Soraya in her plan and starts living the present more intensely. In the narrative, this change of attitude is directly related to two factors. Firstly, the relationship with Soraya, which leads to the bank robbery. Secondly, and consequently, the fact that they managed to leave the oppressing occupying territories in a journey towards the sea. Thus, freedom of movement is directly related to the character´s joy.

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[79] This moment underlines Soraya´s rebellion against a legal system which systematically undermines the rights of Palestinians.

[80] The landscape is also a crucial narrative element in other Palestinian films analysed here. In *The time that remains: Chronicle of a Present Absentee*, moments before the Suleiman´s father is tortured and thrown from a cliff, he stands blindfolded in front of a beautiful horizon as if the mountains were the testimony of the injustice. Despite being blindfolded, he seems to appreciate the environment. In *Five Broken Cameras* while filming his son walk through the mountains, the narrator mentions the buildings that "keep popping up out of the land", a comment illustrated by the image of an Israeli settlement near his village.

[81] Part of Emad´s clients in the restaurant were British citizens who worked for the Bank that detained Soraya´s money.

Figure 48 – Emad wants to leave Palestine

Figure 46 – Emad (Saleh Barki) and Soraya (Suheir Hamad) in the outskirts of Ramallah (Salt of this Sea 2008)

What the interaction between Emad and Soraya seems to suggest is that despite his wish to find a sense of "progress" in his life, Emad is detained by his circumstances. The mountains, the checkpoints, the naïve hope to be granted a visa to Canada. In this vein, it is relevant to add that the problems of mobility in Palestine are not restricted to the physical obstacles to the freedom of movement (checkpoints, settler´s roads, wall). As in many other places in the developing and underdeveloped world, mobility is restricted due to precarious financial conditions and to the lack of institutional authorization to travel in the case of international travel. This is, for instance, the case of the Palestinians who need to have their travel documents issued by the Israeli government and pay high fees for a visa to Jordan, for instance.

Soraya is trapped in her own way. Despite having an American passport, her visit is limited to fifteen days, while she decides to stay longer. Because of that bureaucratic impediment she cannot move freely within the territory after the fifteen days and is frequently surrounded by walls and closed spaces (see Fig.49) during the first half of the film. More fundamentally, the landscape itself[82] is the central node of the conflict and its image on the screen is a reminder of that.

Figure 49 – Soraya trapped in closed spaces

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[82] On the design of the Israeli settlements, Eyal Weizman notes that "the mountain region of the West Bank […] became both a physical entity and an imagined, mythical geography" (2017:135).

Figure 47 – From left to right clockwise:1. Checkpoint scene (00:08:15s, car lift scene (00:10:37), airport scene (00:05:11s), bank scene (00:10:28)

In the board above, Soraya appears in four different sets. The close shots (Fig. 4 scenes 2,3,4) underline the character's discomfort in her arrival in Tel Aviv´s airport (scene 3) and in her way to Ramallah, Palestine (scenes 1,2,4). Overall, the first half of the film, set in Ramallah portrays a trapped character, surrounded by walls and fences. This process will reach its climax in the scene where Soraya takes a bath. The image below (Fig. 6) functions as a visual demonstration of the protagonist´s anguish.

Figure 48 – Film still, Soraya baths (00:34:41)

Interestingly, in the narrative, the bath scene happens immediately after a heated discussion between Soraya and Emad[83] and is succeeded by a visit of his landlord letting Soraya know that she will have to leave the apartment she rented. Displaced, Soraya has the idea that will finally break the pattern of spatial constraints. She decides to rob a bank or, in her own words, take her grandfather´s money back. With the help of another friend Soraya and Emad rob the bank and immediately after the exit from the building their spatial reality, and the camera´s framing, change. The group illegally scape Ramallah going first to Jerusalem and finally to Haifa, where they reach the sea. The bank robbery is a turning point when the characters stop following the rules and decide to challenge the law. With that decision, the film leaves the claustrophobic settings in Ramallah and becomes an Arab-Palestinian road movie.

At this point, the film accelerates its pace with more exterior shots and movement from the characters around the scenarios. Such change, however, only happens after the crossing of a checkpoint, or in other words, after they manage to leave the occupied territories behind.

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[83] In the discussion, Soraya claims that Emad says he is "special because he is Palestinian", and that he should not tell her what Palestine *is* because she knows "what it is" (00:31:44s – 00:34:35s).

Chapter 10 – back from the future: glimpses of a Palestinian return to the homeland

10.1 OPENING

In one way or the other, issues of space and time are fundamental to contemporary Palestinian cinema. Departing from Elia Suleiman´s semi-biographical film *The Time that Remains: Chronicle of a Present Absentee (UK, Italy, Belgium, France)[84]*, this chapter resumes the discussion the experience of time in Palestinian film. More specifically, The Time that remains offers an account of the temporality in Palestine that interwoven elements such as affect, territoriality and politics.

Since its evocative title, *The Time that Remains* builds upon an apparent paradox. Present, the most tangible of temporal layers is absentee; therefore, it is not where it is expected to be and cannot be immediately perceived. An absence, especially in this context, cannot be mistaken for inexistence. On the contrary, the absentee present has, in its very condition of "absentee" a locality. Thus, for it to not be here, it must exist. Along the same lines, the here from which the present is absent is a condition of possibility for its very circumstantial-lack.

The title casts a light over the two fundamental issues: firstly, a certain search undertaken by the main character played by Suleiman. In the film, which starts with his arrival in historical Palestine (presumably in Ben Gurion Airport in Tel-Aviv/Israel), and ends with a trip to Ramallah that ends in a surreal jump across the separation wall. This trajectory seems to indicate a subjective endeavour to apprehend life and time in Palestine. Secondly, through the protagonist's movement and his very gaze, with the cameras privileging wide-shots, the importance of the land as a capsule of this temporal experience.

Admitting that a film´s opening scene is a declaration of intentions of sorts[85], this analysis will depart from the initial sequence towards a non-linear analysis of the narrative. This approach is facilitated and encouraged by the fact that, albeit presenting a biographical and somewhat chronological sequence of events, the movie is a construct based in sketches connected by two elements: the protagonist´s gaze and the landscape.

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[84] Hereafter, *The Time that Remains*

[85] For Elsaesser and Buckland (2002) the first scene is revealing of the films´ content, form and style.

In this vein, instead of presenting an account of the film´s events according to the diegetic order[86] the events will be grouped according to their importance for the analysis of the entanglement between politics and temporality within images of Palestine. Adapting the notion of "improvised theory" (Cerwonka and Malkki 2007), this chapter develops an interdisciplinary analysis on the issue of time in Palestinian films that depart from sets of images, film scenes and sequences to collect traces which might be added to the research´s visual cartography.

10.2 LANDING IN NAZARETH

The opening sequence (00:00:34s- 00:00:51s), shows a man storing a suitcase into a car´s trunk. With the sobriety that characterises the film, the camera depicts a man in the background of the frame between[87] two posters[88]. The sings evoke traditional posters adopted by both Zionists in nationalist propaganda and Palestinians in their resistance struggle. There, oranges in the foreground highlight the soil's fertility whereas the settlement[89] in the background the promise of a homeland, suggesting a reference to the Zionist posters that evoke the building of a "Jewish nation".

Figure 51 - The time that remains, "Eretz Acheret" (another country/land) poster

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[86] The narrative structure can be loosely divided in events: Suleiman´s return to Nazareth (in the present day); the Palestinian resistance (in 1948); the surrender of Nazareth (1948); The private life of the Suleiman family until the boy´s exile; Suleiman´s return to visit his mother; Suleiman´s trip to Ramallah.

[87] Symmetry is another characteristic of the film. The characters are often places in symmetric relation to each other and framed by doors, walls or, in the case of the opening scene by the trunk itself. Given the objective of the analysis, I will not focus on the formal characteristics of the films except when related to the general problem of temporality.

[88] The posters may be a reference to the homonymous Israeli Magazine (Eretz Acheret).

[89] The presence of an Israeli settlement is particularly evident in the poster due to its red roof. The style was adopted by the Israeli architects, among other reasons, to distinguish the Israeli houses from the local Arab architecture, making the settlements easily identifiable from the air (See Weizman 2017).

Figure 51 –film still (00:00:38s).

For the sake of illustration, the advertising poster below (Fig. 52), sponsored by a French airline, presents similar graphic guidelines. Both cases present references to the fertility of the soil represented by oranges, a settlement in the background, and the colours orange, green and blue, to portray the landscape in the region. Ironically, the commercial poster has an even more ufanistic style than the one in Suleiman's film. In the image, the star of David replaces the sun, an Israeli flag is placed on the top of the building, and the farmer celebrates in pure joy while working the land. Apart from the word Air France the only term that deserves attention in the poster is "ISRAËL" in capital letters in the foreground. The poster, thus, is a piece of propaganda displaying the company's support for the new country[90].

Air France poster (1949)

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[90] The support, however, needs to be considered within the historical context of the post-World War II period. At this point, the foundation of Israel was, to the Western public, a gesture of reparation. The same cannot be said about the current occupation and land-grabbing process in the West-Bank.

Figure 49 - Jean Even, 1949. (Source: The Palestine Poster Project Archive)

Still in *The time that remains´* opening scene, the posters' location deserves a detained attention from the spectator. Suleiman places the driver between the two boards, allowing the viewer to read different messages. On the image on the left side, it reads "Acheret", Hebrew word which indicates difference translatable as "other" or "another", along with the image the settlement in the background. On the right side of the viewer, the poster displays the full message "Eretz Acheret", thus "another land" or "another" "country/place". Therefore, the first word to be read by the spectator suggests otherness which is underlined by the image of a settlement. The second poster, on the right, clarifies that it refers to another land, or another country, built over Palestine, which is identifiable by the elements that appear only in the second poster: oranges and olive branches.

The appearance of such texts, bear multiple implications for the film analysis. Initially, it points at the obvious fact that the Palestinian landscape in the poster is now referred to as Israel. However, when the character who was forced to go on exile, Palestine had already been taken. The country he left was already what the Zionists called "Eretz Israel". In this vein, the otherness might not be coming simply from political change. The posters illustrate the protagonists' feelings of otherness and displacement to be developed

throughout the film[91]. Another aspect of the poster´s iconography is the use of the landscape, which in this case appears in the nostalgic format of a poster and will be explored throughout the whole film.

More than a simple comment on the problem of Zionism, the presence of the poster in the film´s opening scene is symptomatic of the argument of an extended present fuelled by the past in Palestinian visual culture. Considering the graphic style of the film poster, it looks like an intentional revamp of the old Zionist propaganda. By rebranding the Zionist graphics, and preserving its core elements (the land, the building, the worker, the star of David as a national symbol), Suleiman indicates the intention of establishing a dialogue with the past[92], a stylistic trace of his filmography. This dialogue, however, is developed from the present. It is a visit from a person who returns[93]. The irony of the image of return is also remarkable. The suitcases in the scene belong to Suleiman´s character, his alter ego, who is back from exile. A patent analogy with the Jewish narrative of a return to the promised land, which also evokes the Palestinian claim to a right of return.

Between his departure and return, however, the same elements remain - at least from the Palestinian side. In other words, while Israel can afford to adopt a progressive perspective on time (see New Year's Eve Scene, Fig. 53) for the Palestinians the maintenance of the past is a form of resistance. The act of bringing the past into the present, instead of being nostalgic, symbolizes the value of memory to the political debate. More importantly, it recreates an affective territory, that cannot exist in the present.

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[91] Playing the protagonist of the film, through whose perspective most of the scenes are presented, Suleiman always appears as a strange, foreign body in his own homeland.

[92] About one of Suleiman´s films, Gertz and Khleifi underline that "*Divine Intervention* employs virtually *the entire inventory of symbols used by Palestinian culture in general* and Palestinian cinema in particular: the black-and-white checkered *kaffiyeh*, the rifle, Kalashnikov and hand grenade, the Muslim symbol of star and crescent, the map of Palestine, a stuck car, a blocked road, the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, pictures of Arafat, kites and birds in the sky – almost all of the many symbols that typify recent Palestinian cinema and literature appear in this film" (2008:180, *my emphasis*).

[93] The return to the homeland is not a strange theme to Suleiman. In his first feature film, *Chronicles of a disappearance* he also plays himself in the semi-autobiographical role of a man called simply "E.S". Chronicles of a disappearance counted with the participation of Suleiman´s relatives and non-actors. This sense of repetition present in the notions of return, and in the reenactment of his biography reinforces the argument of a temporality that requires elaboration and favours an insistence on certain topics. On the backdrop of both films, the Nakba appears as a traumatic event perhaps triggering not only the fictional returns but, more importantly, the authors' necessity to elaborate on the matters of displacement, dispossession and homeland.

10.3 THE LAND AS TESTIMONY

At this point, the argument must return to the notions of the Warburguian notion afterlife (*nachleben)*, and Didi-Huberman´s interpretation of the same concept as survival, referred to in the previous chapter. Here, the reproduction of elements from posters from the first half of the 20th century does not represent necessarily a survival, or afterlife. In terms of Palestinian visual culture, the (ironic) appearance of orange trees and a settlement in a film is more connected to the insistence in certain visual elements than to any form of survival.

Insistence is a cardinal notion for this assertion. It is a gesture that consists in the preservation of an idea of Palestine in the memory of the world, despite pressures to erase it. Palestinian iconography never disappeared to, then, re-emerge. Nor have they "survived" certain events, for they remained in the surface of the conflict. Instead, they became part of a highly political interpretation of what Palestine is. This visual argument is unfolded throughout the film and by can be illustrated in the observation of two distinct film sequences. One of the sequences, in the very beginning of the film privileges wide open spaces and deals with the Nakba from the point of view of the public sphere, whereas the second focuses on the impact of the time passage from the intimacy of quotidian life.

The first sequence, is the crucial moment of the film´s first episode, the siege and surrender of Nazareth. The sequence takes place after a few scenes depicting the resistance in the city. In an especially comic sequence, the camera follows a frenzied car with two men. One of them holds a white flag while the other, who happens to be the former mayor of Nazareth, drive the car in a hurry (see the board in Fig. 50) while it is persecuted by a small plane. The satirical sequence portrays a clumsy mayor who is since the first appearance presented as incompetent even to drive (guide) a car. More importantly, the sequence which resembles an action movie serves the purpose of presenting the city to the reader. The mayor´s route maps a great deal of Nazareth´s landscape, from its beautiful city centre to a hilltop (Fig.51) where the surrender will be signed.

A city run sequence

Figure 53 – Film sequence (00:07:24s – 00:08:37s)

With a wide shot, the filmmaker presents the building on the hilltop where the surrender agreement is to be signed. A wide-angle shows the ceiling of a house and the curves of the hill where the mayor´s car can be spotted as a small dot on the background. The choice for such a shot is emblematic of Suleiman´s insistence in documenting the elements that have not changed in the region: the landscape, and particularly its hills and trees.

Figure 54 – Landscape in Nazareth (film still, 00:08:33s)

In this vein, the sequence is not only a filmic strategy to introduce Palestine to the audience. Beyond that, it performs a historical accounting of the Palestinian territory and its emblematic elements. For that purpose, the circulation through the city is a key element to Suleiman´s narrative. Moving from one site to another, Suleiman and its camera provide the audience samples of a dissonant territory. A land that, seen from a Palestinian gaze, remains Palestine despite a quotidian pulse that indicates otherwise. This pulse is perceptible in the presence of soldiers, New Year´s Eve celebrations (Fig. 56) and, above all in the melancholy of those who managed to stay in the homeland (Fig. 55).

The second sequence depicts Suleiman´s mother contemplating the view from her balcony. This trivial homely shot is observed from the perspective of the son[94], Es (Elia Suleiman). Without a word, he carries a speaker to the balcony and plays an Arabic song. Still in silence, and despite the melancholic face, the mother follows the song with her foot. It is a discretely positive response within her introspective behaviour.

The mother is too absorbed by the view and does not turn her look to her son, who has returned from exile. In a state of anomy, she seems to be attached to the landscape as if it kept her in a long-gone past (Fig. 9). At this point in the narrative, time seems to be suspended. In the mother´s face, however, instead of melancholy, a discrete smile and some traits of contempt are perceptible. Once again, her general state is one of melancholia, even anomy. Notwithstanding this, the landscape, perhaps the realm of memory, and his son´s kindness seem to be sources of consolation.

Figure 55 - Mother contemplating the landscape in Nazareth (film still, 1:21:57s)

Subsequently, during the New Years' Eve, Es observes his mother in the same position (see Fig. 53). This time, however, he looks from the kitchen´s window, which offers the spectator a lateral perspective. Now, the progress of time is visually evident. Due to the change in perspective, the landscape becomes visible to the spectator who witnesses fireworks in the sky. Image and soundscape suggest that time is moving, in

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[94] The character Es is (Elia) Suleiman´s alter ego in the film, and the role is played by himself, as it is the case in all his feature films.

contrast with the previous scene where the silence is broken only by the Arabic song, which privileged a subjective rhythm.

Figure 56 - New Year's Eve (film still, 1:30:9s)

Moreover, the portrayal the New Year's Eve reveals a visual contrast with the previous scene, shot during the day. Not only the daylight favours the clarity in the first scene, but also the framing in the second one privileges the darkness of the night, which accentuates the mother´s melancholy. If the scene (Fig. 9) was filmed with plenty of natural light, the New Year´s scene is much darker and reflects the character´s gloomy mood.

The sound and movements of the fireworks pervade the cinematic space with the notion of passing time, on the outside. In contrast, the lonely character, sitting at the balcony, gazes at her cup of coffee while completely disregarding the outside world. The scene points at a disconnection between the mother´s character and the celebrations of the time passage in the country. She seems not to recognize this passage of time, nor does she seem to be willing to celebrate it.

These sequences are especially important for their relationship between territoriality – in the home and the country – time, and memory. They present the estrangement between the mother´s character and her surroundings (Fig.53), while she seems to be deeply involved with the inner world, represented by the inside of the house, her memories and the Arab song (Fig. 52). In other words, living in-between spaces and

temporalities, represented by the bench, Suleiman´s mother is still attached to the country that once was theirs. A country which is not entirely lost and is still visible in the small traits such as the ritual of having a hot beverage, listening to music, and above all, in the familiar, almost immutable natural landscape which has been resisting invasions for centuries.

Leaping back in the diegetic time, in the first phase of the film, the spectator testimonies Suleiman's mother writing a letter at the same bench where she will appear a year later. In the letter, she writes about her family´s quotidian life, delineating the familiar and memorialistic tone of the film.

Figure 57 – Young mother (Film still, 00:58:16s)

In a metonymic relation, Suleiman's home represents Palestine. The balcony, where his mother drinks her hot beverage, is a place of habit, affection and routine. That house is where she lived most of her life, and his father also lived until his death and the place from which he (Suleiman) was expelled by a foreign authority. Stressing the identification between the homeland and the physical space of the building, Suleiman is at home when a police officer appears to give the news about his deportation.

In this sense, the balcony is a testament to the passage of time in the film. It appears as a hybrid space between the interior landscape of the family life and its exterior. The relationship between the outside world and home is underlined in the balcony scenes

by the fact that the camera, identified with the protagonist's perspective, shoots the mother from the inside of the house, through the window, and from the balcony, offering a lateral perspective. The first shot, frames the landscape as a background to the mother´s image, whereas the lateral view focuses on her subtle movements such as serving the coffee or stepping her foot rhythmically on the ground in response to some musical stimuli.

Hence, the images of the mother at the balcony constitute one of many symptoms. Its symptomatic nature appears in the repetition of the protagonist's look, who always stares at her with a mixture of melancholy and resignation. The question, then, is what is behind the symptom, what exactly is the source of anguish underneath those images. My hypothesis leads me back to 1948 and the Nakba.

10.4 A NEVER-ENDING TRAGEDY – THE QUOTIDIAN NAKBA

The Nakba is a foundational episode not only of a spatial but also a temporal regime in Palestine. It is the inaugural source of repression, which triggered a process that involves the seizure of Palestinian and a systematic burial of its culture. Hence, the term symptom is adopted to refer to images that appear as a response of the Palestinian subject to this historical process. Not coincidently, Suleiman's film narrates[95] the history of the nation from the moment of surrender of Nazareth (See Fig. 60). In this context, the city functions as a microcosm for Palestine, until his bitter return, which finds its climax in the surreal scene where he faces and jumps the separation barrier as a pole vault athlete (see Board in Fig. 67).

The scene depicting the surrender of Nazareth is emblematic of Suleiman´s capacity to convey a message that is at once nostalgic, comic and deeply political, all building upon an object of memory. The object, in this case, is a photograph of the moment when Yousef al-Fahoum, who was, then, Mayor of Nazareth, signs the document that makes the surrender of the city official (see Fig. 58).

The surrender of Nazareth (16/07/1948)

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[95] The film narrates the occupation of Nazareth by the Israeli army and the Palestinian armed resistance. An early scene from the depicts with a mixture of humour and tragedy the moment when the mayor of Nazareth, Suleiman´s hometown, signs a document surrendering.

Figure 58 - Mayor Yousef al-Fahoum signs the Surrender of Nazareth. Archive Photo. Source: Zochrot[96]

Unlike other formerly Palestinian cities, which were part of the United Nations partition plan for the British Mandate Palestine, Nazareth was captured by force in a special operation called *Operation Dekel*. Zionist success submitting the city resulted in the surrender, documented in the image above. In this emblematically melancholic image, the Arab mayor appears surrounded by Jewish bureaucrats and soldiers[97].

Recreating the event, Suleiman brings the image to life maintaining some of its characteristic elements, such as the mayor´s hat, the presence of a doctor, the two soldier´s wearing binoculars. The director, however, takes the liberty of emphasising the colonial nature of the event by placing an Israeli flag on the left corner of the table. It is also interesting to notice that the original photo holds an even more oppressive character than the film still. The number of men surrounding the mayor, their physical distribution closing the area around him and their bodies bending towards the table, set the tone of a hostile atmosphere.

The photo revisited by Suleiman illustrates a remarkable characteristic of Palestinian politics: the Arab leader following the command of Israeli military officials. This situation, inaugurated with the end of the British mandate in Palestine and the

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[96] Picture from Zionist archive, retrieved from Zochrot's website. Available at <https://zochrot.org/en/singleImage/viewVillage/52866>. Access in Jan. 2020.

[97] One of the soldiers in the photo, on the left side of the frame and at the mayor´s right, is Haim Laskov, who eventually became the fifth chief of staff of the Israeli military.

creation of Israel, was aggravated by the six-day war, which resulted in the occupation of Jerusalem and part of the West-Bank. Israeli political control over the West-Bank was formalised by the Oslo accords which granted the Palestinians some degree of control over civil matters whereas it remained under Israeli security control. The accords, as Weizman (2017) observes, formalises Israeli prosthetic control over the Palestinians, which serves the Israeli government for it releases Israel from the obligations related to a formally occupying power. In such fashion, the Israeli occupation can impose its interests by force, while claiming that the political responsibility for the region, which includes the responsibility of granting the citizens basic human rights, are under the responsibility of the Palestinian authority.

This element of prosthetic control is underlined in the film scene by the usage of light. If in the original black and white photo the right side of the scenario is brighter and on the left darker, in the film the soldiers almost fade out in the dark background, whereas the light privileges the mayor in the centre. At the centre of the room, the camera gives the spectator the privileged position of a witness of history. Choosing to report the scene in a somewhat historically accurate fashion, the director establishes a relationship of complicity with the viewer.

The option to re-enact an archive photo is revealing of the blur between fiction and documentary in Suleiman´s films (see Abu-Remaileh 2008). Taking advantage of the liberty offered by fiction, Suleiman retells real events, which include his own life, and parts of the history of Palestine. Furthermore, in an operation that resonates other films (see Fig.56) such as *A Sketch of Manners* (Norway, Palestine 2012) and the previously mentioned *Your father was born 100 years old…* (Palestine, Lebanon, USA 2017) and *Looted and Hidden* (Israel 2017). In doing so, the director casts a light over historical material about Palestine and places it once again in the public debate.

Figure 59 – Photograph of Alfred Roch's Last Masquerade, 1924 (upper left), Jumana Manna´s archive. Film stills: A sketch of Manners (upper right), Your father was born (bottom)

This exercise, beyond an excavation of sorts, is a gesture that maintains Palestinian historical legacy present. Evidently, as it is the case with any other culture, in Palestine, history would be ingrained in the present. Notwithstanding this, it is symptomatic that so many filmmakers in dealing with the topic of Palestine, regard necessary to display historical artefacts. Such gesture, which resonates with the insistence in the same iconographic elements, is interpreted here as a form of historical reparation.

Moreover, it consists of a political and aesthetic strategy that identifies the historical past, with the present. It is not a coincidence that in the three films, the reference to historical photos dos not simply evoke the past. They construct a present saturated by the unsettling past. Despite the internal melancholy that permeates the scenes, these films do not expect to contaminate the audience with its anomy, on the contrary. In *The time that remains*, the clumsiness of the Nazareth´s mayor contrasts with the popular resistance displayed moments before. *A sketch of manners* in its turn, shows the alienation of Palestinian bourgeoisie, in sharp contrast with the ordinary image of Palestinians struggling against poverty. Finally, *Your father was born 100 years old…* uses old photos to illustrate the Palestinian claim to their homeland.

Together, the films articulate a specific timescape where abstract claims to open signifiers such as "home" and "land" become visible and documented. More specifically,

this tactic reveals with visual accuracy the metaphor of a "resistance time", a condition when the past is exposed into the present to politicise it.

In this vein, the overlap of images and re-enactment historical events, materialise a temporal experience. This experience refers to the past as a horizon, as discussed by Benjamin (1933). In consonance with the Jewish philosopher, the filmmakers excavate the history of the defeated throwing it at the contemporary political debate. These forms, however, are not simply recovered. In their identification with the present, they acquire new traits, as it is posed in Suleiman´s work. It is relevant to point out that *Sketch of Manners* consists essentially in a performance that departs the photo to re-enact a masquerade hosted by Alfred Roch[98], in Jerusalem in 1942. The masquerade appears as an allegory of the decay of Jerusalem´s elite in the period preceding the Nakba. Similarly, *The time that remains*, uses a historical photo as an allegory and metonymy for the fall of Nazareth and Palestine. In both cases, the photos are points of departure, from which the filmmakers elaborate their critics. In Suleiman´s work, all the most important elements are present, but small details are added or erased from the image according to the director´s necessity to comment on the event.

Figure 60 – Film still. Nazareth surrenders (00:10:56s)

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[98] Alfred Roch was a Palestinian National Front member.

In the film, the decision to approach the subject in a comic vein underlines the absurd in contrast with the oppressive realism of the original photo. Moreover, the re-enactment of a historical archive is a trace of the recurrence of history in Palestinian culture. After all, Palestine has been ruled by Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Seljuk Turks, Crusaders, Egyptians, Mamelukes Ottomans, British among others. As the most recent element of the list, Israelis are currently the hegemonic power in the region. Nevertheless, the illustrative capacity of the photo goes far beyond that. It suggests the powerlessness of the local leader in the face of one more defeat. Recovering this image, the filmmaker insists in the debate on objects of memory, and more importantly, on unresolved issues of the past. In this vein, the emergence of this historical register, along with many other tokens of reality[99] throughout Suleiman´s oeuvre, appear as traces of personal necessity to discuss problematic memories. These cases, however, find special relevance precisely because of the collective nature of such trauma.

In accordance with Suleiman´s style, *The time that remains* is a collection of visual symptoms, a portrait of pain and loss with humour and absurdity. Within the context of this research, the film composes an atlas, a constellation of images as proposed by Benjamin (1933). These images are points in space and time, not simply memories but an embodied reality in filmic material. They meet other mediums such as the Palestinian walls in the West-Bank and Gaza, PLO political posters, and even conflicting objects such as the Zionist posters, and an extensive filmography. Overall, a look at these images provides a cartography of ideas and temporalities.

An allegoric, yet expressive example of this sense of resistance under occupation appears in the final part of the film when E.S visits Ramallah. There, he witnesses a sequence of scenes that depict the oppressive life under occupation and what the author suggests as a Palestinian response to it. The first scene in a sequence of three was already mentioned in this work. It depicts a woman walking her baby in a stroller under the aim of soldiers during a riot (see Fig. 61). Confronted by soldiers who tell her to "go home",

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[99] The references to documents incorporated in Suleiman´s narratives are extensive. From the poster and photo mentioned in this chapter to a poster of Handala in *It must be heaven*, to the presence of many of his relatives in *Chronicles of a disappearance*, Suleiman systematically challenges the borders between fiction and reality, especially in its political and affective dimensions.

she replies that the city is her home and they are the ones who should go home. The situation is witnessed by Suleiman from his hotel room.

Figure 61 - Woman walks with her baby in Ramallah (Film still, 1:34:20)

In the sequence of events, E.S takes the elevator to the ground floor of his hotel. From the wall, he observes a man leaving a neighbouring house to drop the trash across the street under the aim of tank´s gun. As he crosses back the street, followed by the gun, his phone rings and he takes the man takes the call. Walking back to the opposite side of the street, and appearing to be strictly focused on his ordinary tasks, the neighbour completely ignores the weapon pointed at his head and keeps on living (see Fig.62). In what appears to be a conversation with a friend, the young man mentions a party that will take place on that same day at "Stones". The conversation is a lead for the following scene.

Figure 63 – Man talks on the phone in Ramallah (Film Still, 1:35:32s)

The last scene of this sequence of sketches shows a military *Jeep* parking in front of a disco (Stones). From the *Jeep*, soldiers use a speaker to warn them that the city is under curfew. Ignored by the crowd, soldiers insist that the party must end. Dancing and listening to loud music, the group of young Palestinians continue dancing and completely disregard the insistent orders. Adding a touch of humour to the scene, after a couple of warnings, the soldier gives his last warning bouncing his head in the rhythm of the disco´s song. Once again, he is ignored, and the party continues.

Figure 65 – "Stones", Nightclub scene (Film still, 5 1:32:23s)

This last sketch illustrates one of the film´s most remarkable characteristics. In the dynamics between the army´s hostility and the citizen´s response, tension and joy are smoothly balanced, as if the scenes were not to be interpreted as real conflicts but rather as a dream or a fading memory. The sense of joy and detachment from reality is underlined by the name of the club[100] "Stones", clearly displayed in the frame (Fig.65). Informally, the term "stoned" means to drunk or under the influence of drugs, which in the context of the film appears as a metaphor for a certain numbness from the youngsters, which is also visible in the latter scenes of Suleiman´s mother.

In addition to that, stones are also an iconic element of Palestinian and Israeli iconography. In this sense, the limestone present in the facade of the club, notoriously used in the reconstruction of Jerusalem (see Weizman 2017) and very much present in historical Mediterranean cities (such as Athens), evokes the antiquity of the city. Thus, in the frame above (Fig.65), Suleiman synthesises both his anguish in the face of a generation who seems to have given up, and simultaneously, the long-lasting history of resistance of that land, and its stones.

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[100] Similarly to *The time that remains*, Suleiman´s last film *It must be heaven* (2019) ends with a nightclub scene. In the case of the latter, however, it is an LGBT nightclub, and the sense of numbness is replaced by a delightful sense of joyful resistance.

Pervading such atmosphere, however, lies a sense of desperation as if the young people knew that they do not have much time left. A tacit knowledge that the circumstances will keep on changing and that at some point, the army might break into the party and end whatever is left hangs in the air. The young crowd does not ignore the warnings or disregard the threat posed by their presence. However, they have been living under the aim of weapons (see Figs.63,64 and 65) their whole lives and will not stop or suspend, their lives because of that. They also do not present a planned opposition. Their only action is to keep on living their lives, which, in this case, implies in a subtle challenge of the institutional power of the foreign army.

Such an impression seems to be printed in each of the film´s scenes, for the most part, tokens memory from ordinary moments embedded in an atmosphere pervaded by a decades-long occupation. Nonetheless, *The time that remains* delivers the promise in its title. It narrates Palestine through "chronicles" of a present that, according to the title, is missing (absentee). In doing so, these "chronicles of a present absentee" follow, in the fictional realm, a similar exercise to that conducted by Ronal Sela in *Looted and Hidden (Israel 2017)*. In this case, Suleiman forges images of memory, under the premise of absence[101].

In the lack of a present, at least in its common terms, Suleiman connects (*sews*), personal and collective memories, composing a landscape that functions as an ad hoc present on the screen. In this vein, perhaps in direct contradiction with the director, I shall argue that *The time that remains* is precisely about *a* present. This present, whose primary trait is to be absentee[102], is Palestinian temporality since the Nakba. In the context of Palestinian cinematography, the movie becomes part of a larger constellation of works committed with the political task of narrating Palestinian present as a gesture of resistance.

Following the nightclub sequence, one of the most emblematic pieces of the reality, as mentioned earlier, appears in an especially symbolic sequence. Fixed at a Suleiman´s back, the camera captures the confrontation between the character and the

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[101] Chapter two discusses the stolen Palestinian films and photos. Materials that are, therefore, absent from the Palestinian public sphere and are partially returned by the film.

[102] The notion of absence in relation to Palestine already appears in Suleiman´s early works, such as the short film *Introduction to the End of an Argument* (1999, Canada), co-directed with Jayce Salloum. In the short film, absence names one of three chapters of the film, and refers to the Zionist denial of a Palestinian presence/heritage in the land where the country of Israel was established.

wall. The frame captures the absurdity and discomfort of the relation between the Palestinian body and the impressive greyish barrier.

Figure 66 – E.S faces the separation wall (Film still, 1:38:15s)

In the sequence of events that succeed Suleiman´s reflection in the face of the wall, the film turns to territory familiar to Suleiman and to this narrative: that of the absurd. The film sequence shows the protagonist facing the wall, holding a pole taking impulse and jumping over the wall. Such extraordinary and unrealistic leap serves to delineate the movie´s ambiguous tone which runs over the thin blade of tragedy *and* comedy.

Images board of the separation wall sequence

Figure 67 – Separation Wall sequence (Frame 1- 1:38:15s Frame 2- 1:38:20s Frame 3- 1:38:41s)

Between denouncing a crude reality and flirting with the surreal, the filmmaker shows the absurdity of the Palestinian quotidian, where ordinary events can be confused

with surreal order and vice versa. Equally relevant is the fact that the scene displays the desire for justice and for a solution which seems unfeasible. More importantly, instead of focusing on the nonsensical nature of the attempt, the gesture filming the jump highlights the capricious nature of reality itself. In other words, with his body, Suleiman creates an imaginary arch around the immense separation wall, a concrete monument of insanity.

Reaching the final part of the movie, longing and separation will be materialised in the scene when the character visits his mother in the hospital. In the scene, the saturated temporality suggested throughout the film becomes evident and is condensed in a frame.

Figure 68 – Film Still (1:41:12s)

Here, the foreground presents Suleiman´s hand holding a picture of his father contemplating the landscape at the same spot occupied by his mother in previous scenes. On the background, his sick mother on the hospital bed incarnates the passage of time and the bitterness of ageing under occupation. Both temporalities, however, are present in the viewer´s perception. He looks at his mother through his father´s picture; a father who never appeared in the second phase of the narrative since he died during the protagonist´s exile.

The frame synthesises many of the elements of Suleiman´s filmography. In the foreground, the protagonist´s hands holding an old photo underlines the primary importance of memory to the film. Contrasting with the picture of the surrender of Nazareth, a collective remembrance, this photo is an intimate portrait of the protagonist's

father. The contrast between the young hands and the photo underline the prosthetic character of memory. Holding the photograph, the pair of hands connects two layers of time through two generations of the family. A closer look at the photo reveals a relationship between the intimate gaze of the photographer and the father´s look at the city. As a historical document, the picture composes a bridge between personal and social memories. Even in this family moment, the land is present as an integral part of the family album.

Echoing the importance of the land, in the background of the film´s frame lays a fainting mother, a figure often identified with the notion of homeland. The mother´s fragility echoes the exhaustion of the land itself. Looking at both the photo and the scenario, the spectator for the first time in the film occupies a position independent from Suleiman´s. Once again, the spectator follows the situation from the protagonist´s point-of-view as if they were holding the picture in its hands.

In this exercise of looking at the present with the past in hands, Suleiman puts into practice a common strategy in Palestinian visual culture. That of telling a tale where present and past are mingled, whereas the future is held in uncertainty. As Abu-Remaileh underlines, "Suleiman chooses to represent the *cracks in the story – the negative space –* rather than the story itself" (2008: 14, *my emphasis*). In the representation of these "cracks in the story", lie the basis of a process of sewing time. After all, Palestinian visual culture is filled with examples of narratives which focus on personal accounts, and spaces of oblivion ("negative spaces").

Such inversion of perspective is in line with Benjamin´s (1940) proposition in his thesis on history, and illustrate our argumentation on resistance time. In the terms proposed throughout this thesis, the sense of time that appears in Palestinian cultural production is anchored in continuous present fuelled by a notion of past. In this counter-intuitive movement, artistic gestures translated the decades-long conflict and the contemporary precariousness into a comprehensive map.

In the look of the artists who follow Palestinian images from the Nakba to the present, the image of a child emerges. Created by Naji al-'Ali, who went into exile when he was ten due to the Nakba, Handala does not grow old, remaining with the same age for all the post-Nakba years. Departing from these two images, and visual concepts, the next chapter discusses the notions of revolution, resistance and temporality in the quotidian of a Palestinian village. More specifically, it addresses the Palestinian resistance from the point of view a farmer who films the quotidian in his village. It is the

case of Emad[103], a family man who was pushed to the condition of filmmaker and activist due to the circumstances involving the building separation barrier over his village. Through Emad´s story, the analysis aims to cast light over the Palestinian struggle from its core, the daily life of ordinary people who had their land invaded by the construction of the Separation Wall.

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[103] Although almost the totality of the scenes was shot by Murat, a few scenes were shot by other cameramen, including the co-director Guy Davidi. Davidi also had a decisive influence in the film´s structure. It was Davidi´s idea to depart from Emad´s personal life to film the protests

Chapter 11 - Loss as time measurement in five broken cameras

11.1 ON THE NECESSITY TO NARRATE: FIVE BROKEN CAMERAS

A shaking camera records a series of blurred images. The movement and sounds suggest a complete lack of control form the part of the person shooting the images. Contrasting with the scenes, a male voice calmly talks to the audience: "I've lived through so many experiences" the voice declares. His feelings resonate on the screen where the protests appear. The man continues stating that his feelings "burn […] like a hot flame. Pain and joy, *fears and hope* are all mixed up together". The scenes described above are part of Five Broken Cameras' opening sequence.

A few minutes later, the spectator is introduced to Emad Burnat, a Palestinian villager who decided to document his life events with the camera he bought to film his new-born son Gibreel, in 2005. As the episode suggests, Emad becomes a filmmaker by a combination of chance and circumstances. Were Emad not in Palestine, he probably would not have been pulled into the role of filmmaker. It is precisely this intuitive approach of a common man under pressure that makes the documentary appealing.

Emad is not involved with politics on an institutional level and seems to be sceptical when it comes to party politics[104]. He also does not claim to be an artist, on the contrary, he admits that his interest in filming was casual at first, and afterwards became a therapy of sorts. In his own words, he is just trying to "keep track" of his life.

The result of this experience is the documentary s *Five Broken Cameras* (Palestine, Israel, France, Netherlands 2011)[105], co-directed with the Israeli filmmaker Guy Davidi. The narrative is developed around Emad's routine during the demonstrations against the Separation Wall in the village of Bil' in (Palestine). As the first sequence suggests, the film is narrated from the Emad's perspective, which, as the sequence above suggests, is often disturbed by the circumstances. In this vein, the narrative presents an interesting combination between Emad's declared intentions and the contingent developments of his endeavour. Structured around the life-spam of the

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[104] In the poem "Silence for Gaza", Darwish claims that "Resistance in Gaza did not turn into a profession or an institution". The English version of the text is available online at <https://mondoweiss.net/2012/11/mahmoud-darwish-silence-for-gaza/>. Access in Jan. 2020

[105] The film received multiple prizes and a nomination for the Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature.

cameras[106], the film is a visual diary[107] of a villager´s quotidian during the construction of the wall.

The documentary is emblematic from its very foundations. Firstly, it is one of many films portraying the Separation Wall, which cuts through much of the Palestinian territory. The wall not only imposes a brutal separation between Israel and the West-Bank but, more importantly, cuts much of the Palestinian territory. Secondly, the film discusses the problems of narration and testimony in Palestine. Echoing Said's (1984) "permission to narrate", the documentary bears the implicit question on whether Palestinians are *allowed* to narrate their struggle or not.

As the first words in the footage suggest, Emad's account of his motivations to shoot the documentary is an outburst of a man living under pressure. A tension that is visible in the precariousness of the shooting in the sequence, an indistinguishable series of dizzying and discomforting images (see Fig 69). In this sense, the opening monologue functions as a manifesto of sorts. A somewhat improvised yet meaningful riot against the occupation through the eyes of a villager and its cameras. Emad, similarly to Suleiman, films from his point of view, with a camera that is almost never static and reflects the unsettling environment. In the fragility of the cameras, the narrative seems to be hanging by a thread.

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[106] Six cameras were used to shoot the film, and some of them had to be fixed during the process due to damage caused by Israeli soldiers who smashed or shot the cameras. The title refers to the five cameras which were irreversibly damaged.
[107] Emad claims that he films to "hold onto" his "memories" (00:1:20s).
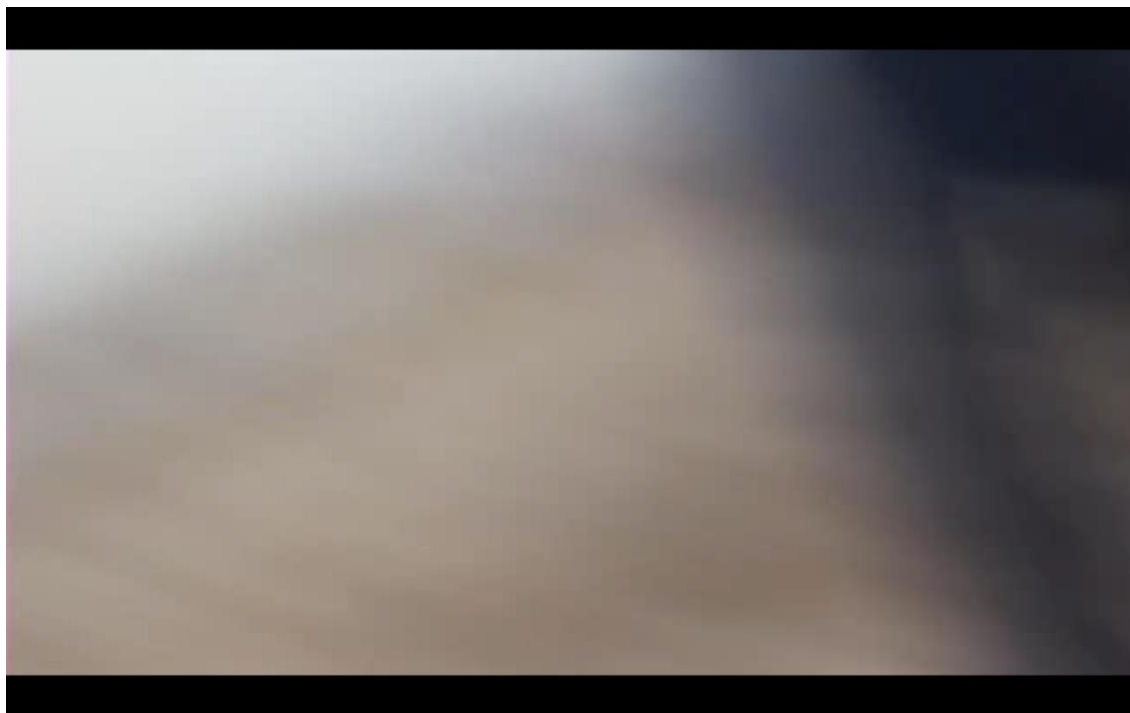
Figure 64 – Blurred shot (Film still, 00:00:48s)

Reacting to overwhelming circumstances of the life under occupation, aggravated by the construction of the separation wall, Emad reports a natural feeling of anguish and confusion. These emotions, he admits, are all "mixed up together". Such confusion is illustrated by unintentional the camera movement in the shot above (Fig. 69). Despite not planned, the camera captures the Emad´s hassle amidst a confrontation with the army.

Admitting that he is "loosing track", Emad claims that filming is his way of coping with the intensity of the life under occupation. Recording the events becomes Emad's way of keeping track of time and structure his life. According to him "the old wounds don't have time to heal, new wounds cover them up", and he films to "hold onto […his] memories". Showing the cameras used in the project, he explains that each of them is "an episode" in his life.

Given that the cameras are not broken due to obsolescence or lack of care, it is symptomatic that they represent episodes in Emad's life. Each of them holds a testimony on violence and a process of silencing. In a brutal materialization of the dynamics in the region and of the film's message, one of the cameras was shot while Emad filmed the action. The camera served as a shield and protected the filmmaker from a shot in the eye.

In this sense, the Palestinian resistance is performative. In the face of the unpredictability generated the political circumstances, the subjects are forced to live under a state of permanent uncertainty. Therefore, it embraces the contingency as an

element without being driven by a teleological view of the future. Thus, the future is no longer part of a "horizon" but rather a part of the "space of experience", or as Emad said, it is difficult to find hope in the adults (00:09:20).

The brief comment on the rarity of hope is illustrative of the sense of resistance defended in this research. As Safatle (2015) points out, fear and hope are central categories for political theory. They define the horizon of individual and social experience and are often manipulated for political ends. More importantly, hope is a category that describes expectation. Conversely, resistance, in the terms deployed here, is a condition of radical focus on the present. In the lack of a clear horizon, which tends to manifest itself as negative perspectives, to focus energies in changing the present is the only viable way.

From a political standpoint, the shift between a teleological interpretation of the future and a radical present is crucial for a pragmatic approach towards the challenges presented by social reality. In a more general sense, Emad´s words are symptomatic of part of the contemporary Palestinian culture and its visual productions. In order to keep track of his own life, to elaborate on his "pain and joy" he did not simply shoot a film on the quotidian of his family life. Instead, what he did was a film that blurs the boundaries between personal life, as well as the subjective perception of time, and social events and temporality. It is precisely in this opaque zone between one´s private life and the social struggles that the notion of resistance as a mode of being in time is perceived.

Moreover, it is also symptomatic that in the film´s opening scene, Emad chooses the shooting of men taking measures of the land to build the separation wall and a bulldozer uprooting a tree. The uprooting is Emad´s way of presenting the struggle to be portrayed in the film. In doing so, Emad repeats one of the most typical clichés of Palestinian visual culture. Nevertheless, the repetition of such a scene in the documentary is revealing of a long-term pattern: the Israeli ongoing colonial occupation of Palestinian land. In these terms, a question that shall be posed is whether the film is repeating a cliché, a trait of lack of creativity, or if the reality of that landscape is trapped in a temporal loop of sorts.

Transcending the condition of objects the cameras are a strategic element to the film´s narration. The cameras have trifold importance. Firstly, as already mentioned, they establish the temporal limits of the film, since for each of the cameras one chapter is drawn. Secondly, the cameras depict Emad´s lack of control over many of the situations in his life. An example of this lack of control is the number of broken cameras in the title.

In this regard, a comparison with another film with the same background is illustrative. The film in question is *Avenge but one of my two eyes* (Israel, France 2005), shot by the Jewish director Avi Mograbi. In Mograbi´s documentary, he is also reproached by a soldier for filming the army in a zone under the IDF´s control. The scene starts with the soldier walking in Mograbi´s direction and asking him to stop shooting (See Fig. 70). As the filmmaker refuses to obey and keeps shooting, the soldier approaches him and places his hand in front of the camera.

Figure 70 – Israeli Soldier blocking the camera (Film still, 1:19:57s)

Defying the soldier, the director commands him to remove his hands from the equipment and a discussion on who the right to film, or to order the filming to stop, takes place. Clearly under pressure, the soldier calls his superiors and, apparently, receives orders to retreat. As convoy leaves, Mograbi provokes them by yelling that they don´t know the word "sorry".

The entire scene lasts for roughly three minutes (1:19:05s-1:22:22s), which is already indicative of the difference the treatment received by Mograbi and Emad. More important, however, is that Mograbi´s camera was barely touched, and the soldier was not only reproached by the filmmaker but also had to leave with his colleagues due to superior orders. The entire negotiation, however, only happened due to Mograbi´s filiation. As a Jewish citizen, he is free to narrate, even if his goal is to criticize his home country. Emad, on the other hand, had his cameras broken and went to jail for shooting his documentary during a protest.

In an analogous situation as that described before, now with Emad as a protagonist, the outcome is somewhat different. At some point in Emad´s film, soldiers enter his *home* and order him to stop filming. Responding to the filmmaker´s refusal to lower the camera, the soldier covers the screen with his hand and forces Emad to move the camera. The whole process is recorded and appears in the film, in a demonstration not only of the invasive attitude but also of a stylistic choice in favour of the camera´s autonomy to create images. At times, these images, as already demonstrated by the opening sequence (see Fig. 69) reflect the director´s lack of control over his circumstances. The third element to be considered is the level of investment the project receives[108], and Emad´s maturing from peasant to filmmaker.

A look at the five (broken) cameras (see Fig. 73), gives a clear notion of the evolution of the documentary from homemade footage to a more professional endeavour. In this sense, the cameras display the temporal experience also in the quality of the images they produce. In the contrast between Emad and Mograbi´s experiences lie some cues on the different positions from which the conflict is narrated. Unlike Mograbi´s film, in Emad´s narrative, time is urgent, conditions are precarious, and there is a permanent sense of insecurity. This uneven relationship can be illustrated by the shot below.

Filmed from below, the scene shows the moment when a military Jeep arrives in a camp where Emad is filming. As soon as the soldier opens the car´s door, he yells at Emad "why are you filming me?!", to what he responds "You just arrived here, I was already here. Did I ever film in your house?". The soldier insists "who cares…" and makes an ultimatum: "if you ever point that camera at me again, it will bust it, ok?". Naturally, Emad responds with the only logical answer: "ok" (00:31:25s – 00:31:50s). That is the end of the sequence, which lasted less than 30 seconds.

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[108] Emad admits that he "never thought of making films" but once he had a camera his neighbours' started to invite him to film the village events and he became "the village´s cameraman". In the same sequence, he complains that his (first) camera does not "work well" and what he has "to film demands a stronger camera". (film sequence 00:07:57 – 00:08:26).

Figure 71 - Soldier threatens Emad (Film Still. 00:31:50s)

The uneven relation is materialised in the perspective from which it is shot and in the soundscape, which reveals a soldier who speaks much louder than the filmmaker. If Emad starts the scene trying to keep his position claiming that he was "already here", a recurrent and awfully innocuous statement, the sequence ends with "ok", in the acceptance of the impossibility of the situation.

In Mograbi´s narrative, the temporal dimension is radically different from Emad´s. In Mograbi, despite the inherent tension to such confrontations, there is a sense of predictability in the director´s behaviour. The confident attitude, the claim that the solider is the one who needs to present documents for him to stop shooting or the comment that the solider is a "public servant" are all distinctive of a citizen in a democratic country. This predictability culminates with the conclusion of the scene when the convoy leaves and Mograbi stats that they should apologise. From a filmic point of view, all this is evident in the careful distance the soldier takes from the camera, even when placing his hand in front of it. The camera is relatively steady in Mograbi´s firm hands. In that relationship, there is a distance and a respect characteristic of a civil relation.

Now, contrasting with this scenario, most of the scenes of confrontation in Five Broken Cameras show a moving camera, as if the equipment were under imminent danger. A danger that is not only perceptible in the images but demonstrated by the fact that so many cameras ended up broken. With that in mind, the research will move onto

the field of politics of representation and performance within the realm of the documentary film.

11.2 POLITICS AND PERFORMATIVITY IN THE IMAGE

The production of images and discourses of the conflict, from a Palestinian perspective, is in line with Laclau's claim that "the *essentially performative* character of naming is the precondition for all hegemony and politics" (Laclau 1989: XIV, Preface of Sublime Object of Ideology, *my emphasis*). Following Lacan, Laclau stresses the importance of naming to open-up flanks of political action. He argues that the very notions of hegemony and politics are bound with the symbolic order.

The emphasis on the notion of performativity is noteworthy. To name is more than to define. It is a process that happens through time and, consequently, is at once intentional and contingent. The very gesture of saying something (naming), is both an act of creation in the sense that it establishes a new order, for it requires the acceptance of another to be rendered socially valid. To name, thus, is an utterly political gesture, an act that creates the conditions for political life.

In this sense, Emad´s trajectory is emblematic. He buys a camera to keep a record of his son´s growth and ends up dragged by the surrounding conflict, which turns him into a filmmaker and a political figure. Also importantly, the key moments of this process were not, and could not be planned. The construction of the wall happened regardless of Emad´s desires, and his process of becoming a filmmaker was both a product of his doings as well as a product of the surrounding circumstances.

On the bright side, the apparent spontaneity of these scenes does not only present violent images. The frame below shows a moment when Gibreel hands an olive branch to an Israeli soldier while they wait for the soldiers to open a gate they need to cross. In the child´s apparently spontaneous gesture, tacitly accepted by the soldier, the film operates one of many cuts in the series of unsettling sequences to register a moment of kind cohabitation in a landscape marked by machine guns.

Once again, the repetition of a symbolic sign appears. The olive tree, which appears to exhaustion in Palestinian visual culture, emerges as an almost incidental element in Gibreel gesture. The brief scene, however, holds immense expressive value. In the brief period of an instant, when the child handed the uprooted branch, an entire history of uprooting takes place. In the figure of both agents, two people´s marked by

collective uprooting are framed. In the background, the landscape where the uprooting of Jewish and Palestinian peoples took place, lays its quiet horizon.

Adding symbolic value to the shot (see Fig.72), every element in the frame seems to point at the scene. On the bottom left of the viewer, a Palestinian kid observes the scene while, on the opposite side, another young soldier observes. Moreover, the scene takes place in the middle of a crossroads, as if the scenario were suggesting the multiple roads of history.

Figure 72 - Gibreel hands an olive branch to a solider (Film still, 00:36:09)

In a way or the other, Emad´s work became a vector linking the small village of Bil'in, its inhabitants and the rest of Palestine and the world. After all, the cinematographic discourse plays the role of bridging concrete reality and the realm of representation. This exercise can be better understood in Derrida, who claims that "the movement of signification adds something, which results in the fact that there is always more, but this addition is a floating one because it comes to perform a vicarious function, to supplement a lack on the part of the signified" (Derrida 1993: 237). Following this logic, the repetition of the image of an uprooted olive tree is not a repetitive gesture as it is an innovation.

If, on the one hand the image has been exhausted by several narratives throughout seven decades, on the other hand every time the image is evoked it supplements the original reference. For instance, in the case in hand, it fills the screen with the very decades throughout which it has been represented. In other words, the image is not a

simple repetition, it is a re-inscription of the signifier in time. The image here, more than representation is deviation of form, it appears as to install a new regime. This regime can be illustrated by Emad´s relationship with the cameras. They materialize his life´s episodes and give him a sense of movement through time. Each new camera means a new phase, and therefore, contributes to order the temporal experience of a man who was "loosing track".

Furthermore, deciding to document the struggles of his village, and his personal one´s[109] Emad articulates his confusion in the form of an intrinsically political narrative. In this sense, *Five Broken Cameras*, is a reaction, to the occupation and to the wall, but it is also a gesture of creation. In the encounter of these two elements in the realm of politics – that of the symbolic – the documentary establishes itself as a work of resistance. In this vein, Emad´s case is paradigmatic. The way he elaborated his feelings into a practice (filming) illustrates how the resistance to the occupation can be effective, specially in pacific endeavours. Emad´s film produces forms of looking at the conflict and speaks to the Palestinian capacity to elaborate political interventions out of the oppression.

From a theoretical standpoint, these activities correspond to what Butler describes as strategies to reorder power relations not only from in the economic dimension but also in the symbolic order. In a dialogue with Derrida´s *Structure, Sign, Play* (1993)[110] and Laclau and Mouffe´s work on hegemony, Butler questions the single focus on capital, and structures as fixed entities, in order to point at the necessity of social and political theories capable of embracing contingency and the strategies that allow a "rearticulation of power" (1997:13). In her own words, which form a specially convoluted[111] yet insightful argument,

> The move from a structuralist account in which capital is understood to structure social relations in relatively homologous ways to a view of hegemony in which power relations are subject to repetition, convergence, and rearticulation brought the question of temporality into the thinking of structure and marked a shift from a form of Althusserian theory that takes structural totalities as theoretical objects to one in which the insights into the contingent possibility of structure inaugurate a renewed conception of hegemony as *bound up with the contingent sites and strategies of the rearticulation of power* (Butler 1997:13)

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[109] Emad admits fear for his child´s future and claims that the best he can do as a father is to raise him to become "a strong man".

[110] The English version was originally published in 1970.

[111] This sentence was chosen to justify the ironic election of Butler as winner of The *Philosophy and Literature Bad Writing Contest of 1998*. Available at: <http://www.denisdutton.com/bad_writing.htm>. Access in Dec. 2019.

At this point, Butler´s argument overlaps with Warburguian approach. If Warburg suggests that the arts leave prints of a certain historical period, potentially re-inscribed in different epochs, Butler advocates for the importance of aesthetics in the making of political innovations. It is in this spirit that Laclau and Mouffe, defend that "a notion of the *social conceived as a discursive space* - that is, making possible relations of representation strictly unthinkable within a physicalist or naturalistic paradigm - becomes of paramount importance" (Preface X: 2001, *my emphasis*). In the level of the discourse, as constitutive of the very social space, Palestinian aesthetic production operates.

Along these lines, the very title of the film is a lead on the repression of narratives. In this way, the cameras are evidences of a systematic repression of the look. They are also a measure of time, of material losses, and of the capacity to endure violence. After all, despite the pressures Emad keeps registering the violence, one camera after the other.

Throughout a total of six cameras, the resistance against the separation wall and the life of a child are narrated. In this process, the cameras destroyed are markers of frequent losses. On the other hand, the growth Emad´s son Gibreel is an emblem of the fact that this a trajectory holds its tokens of joy.

Figure 73 - Cameras broken during the shooting (Film Still, 00:01:38s)

Not coincidently, Gibreel´s birth coincides with the acquisition of Emad´s first camera. The camera was bought to film Gibreel and ends up as a tool to document the conflict, which is inseparable from the Gibreel´s childhood. The four years of shooting are the first four years of the boy´s development, from his first words to his first world cup and reactions to the military repression.

In the identification between the imbricated lines connecting the life of a Palestinian child, and perhaps every Palestinian child since the Nakba, and the conflict, lie a story of resistance. As any other kid raised amidst an armed conflict, Gibreel becomes used to violence and death. He is also familiar with the hostile presence of soldiers´ around him.

The absurdity of the environment is highlighted in the sequence (00:41:28s – 00:42:08s) of a conversation between Gibreel and his mother. Following images of a protest, with the sound of a boy coughing, the scene starts with the boy telling his mother about a confrontation between protesters and the army. Confident, he reports that "the soldiers came. They were everywhere. *But I wasn´t afraid*. They were in front of daddy´s car". Listening carefully, the mother asks "and you weren´t afraid? Weren´t you afraid that they´d take you? Weren´t you afraid Gibreel?" the mother insists playfully. Bowing his head down he admits "yes, I was [afraid]". Smiling, the mother condescends: "if there was tear gas, just smell an onion… You´re a hero". Gibreel´s voice replies dryly "No!". She insists: "a hero".

What could be an ordinary family reunion in the kitchen, is a portrait of the environment in which many Palestinians are forced to grow-up in. The change of having to smell tear gas, when less than five years old, is banal. Since an early age the boy needs to understand how to cope with violence and abuse. In other words, more than having to grow up, or mature, they need to learn how to resist. The necessity to fight does not acknowledge Gibreel´s age. He is part of a territory where a child can be tortured, arrested or shot dead in the same way an adult would. In this sense, his life as a kid is not too different from his father´s. Nor is it different from the life he will probably have in the future and to which he is been prepared.

At this point, Darwish´s poem about Gaza must be revisited. There, Darwish claims that in Gaza, time "does not take children from childhood to old age, but rather makes them men in their first confrontation with the enemy"[112]. Gibreel was lucky enough not to be born in Gaza, where the situation is much worse. He is, nevertheless, Palestinian and due to the deterioration in the political climate, his life seems to fit in Darwish´s radical poetry.

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[112] Silence for Gaza. Translated by Sinan Antoon from Hayrat al-`A'id (The Returnee's Perplexity), Riyad al-Rayyis, 2007. Available online at <https://mondoweiss.net/2012/11/mahmoud-darwish-silence-for-gaza/>. Access in Jan. 2020.

Gibreel lives in the now-time, and therefore he does not have the luxury of waiting to adulthood. In this temporal spectrum, what must be done must be done immediately, the circumstances require immediate action. In this vein, the kid will not be able to afford the luxury of revolution, a future oriented concern. What he does have is a heritage, a father and neighbours who fight and a community doing its best to live as well as possible.

Immersed in a chain of violent acts, the Emad and his family learn about the assassination of another villager by the IDF. The assassination took place in a neighbouring village, but revolted with his death the people from Bil'in decide to go to the streets. As expected, the protest is repressed by force in a sequence of events that include the surrounding of the village by snipers and a man arbitrarily shot in the leg by a soldier, apparently as a form of punishment for protesting. The brutal scene is recorded by Emad, and left unexplained in the documentary which leaves the spectator with the impression that it is simply part of the quotidian state of affairs.

The film continues with an 11-years-old boy is shot dead and, after the funeral, a 17-years-old was also killed. Narrating these tragic episodes, while filming scenes of post-demonstrations destruction, Emad confesses that "these images bring back old memories" (1:03:1s), memories that he would rather keep from his children. In the statement, which is followed by the acknowledgment that his son will have to become "a strong man" to endure life it becomes clear that the narrator does not expect life to improve in this realm. On the contrary, his "old memories" will, at some point, hunt his son albeit on different clothing.

Such sequence of scenes is illustrative of the film´s dynamic. Despite being interrupted by positive scenes, such the celebration for a court decision to dismantle a section of the barrier, the temporality is marked by the systematic attacks on the villagers and consequent losses, illustrated in each of the chapters by a broken camera.

This loop is broken by a moment where the filmic narrative meets its reception by the villagers. In a metalinguistic exercise, the documentary presents the villager´s watching the part of the film´s footage. According to the filmmaker, it was an attempt to boost the morale of his neighbours after a long series of defeats. Although it is not clear whether the film contributed to a change in the morale or not, the following scene points at the spread the resistance against the Israeli wall through other Palestinian villages.

Figure 74 - Bil'in villagers watching the footage (Film still, 1:34:21s)

Even if the strategy of screening the film in the village had not had a practical effect in that environment, this gesture illustrates the iterative relationship between the realm of the aesthetic discourse and the quotidian (political) struggle. In this specific case, the film displayed to the villagers a sense of their own resistance, articulated and represented on the screen. It was an opportunity for self-reflection as well as a moment when they could realize that despite what they might feel, they are part of a larger movement.

The importance of works such as this one is precisely the fact that it not only Palestinian resistance, but it contributes to articulate it. It renders visible the image of a small boy confronting his fears and of a father who protests and risks his safety for his family while exposing this very family. In the process of witnessing the events unfolded by the riots, the film goes beyond a simple capture of images of the present. In fact, it inscribes images in the present supplementing the very idea of resistance undertaken by the villagers. The footage reorganizes the grammar of the protests, expanding the reach of the local struggle and reshaping the ontology of the conflict.

In this vein, Emad´s child occupies the statute not only of a Palestinian child but also that of a child in the conflict. This duplicity, achieved by the representation of the child in the film, is crucial for the politicisation of the struggle. Gibreel is, simultaneously, a paradigmatic and a specific child. The universality of his condition, portrayed locally, is the epitome of politics of representation and of Palestinian resistance in the realm of cinema.

With this context in mind, resistance time is a temporal condition perceptible in the aesthetic and political realms. In the aesthetic dimension, it appears both as disruptive gestures and in acts of healing, as suggested by the narrator of *Five Broken Cameras*. It is perceptible in films such as *Looted and Hidden* (Israel 2017) which at once opposes the Zionist narrative on Israel and returns Palestinian memories to the public debate. This resistance also emerges in the Palestinian cinematography which keeps challenging the imaginary of Palestine while contributing to protect Palestinian history. On the one hand, this notion seeks to deny notions such as linear or suspended temporality, whereas on the other hand, it proposes a structure through which the temporal relations under occupation can be observed.

Finally, the notion of resistance time has a dual purpose. As the outcome of empirical observation, it aims to describe a network of artistic productions from Palestine or about Palestine. In common, these objects share a political usage of memory, translated as resistance time. On a theoretical level, resistance time is also a political proposition. It seeks to cast a light on other forms of insurrection emerging from the peripheries of the world, of which Palestine is possibly the most emblematic piece of land. In this regard, to describe the temporal regime in Palestine as one of resistance, and not of suspension, is both a gesture of naming, as something that brings to life, as it is an echo.

An echo because it resonates multiple grassroots movements from around the world which, not coincidently, deliberately use the word resistance as a motto. After all, the notion of resistance finds its strategic political character in its universality. It is an open signifier which can be applied by anyone anywhere in a condition of oppression. The specificity of Palestine, however, is that resistance has extrapolated the simple dynamics of protesting. It pervades the atmosphere as a temporal condition. It dictates the rhythm of time in accordance with the political action.

The most emblematic metaphor for the conflict narrated in *Five Broken cameras* comes from Emad, the film director. He claims that one of his cameras was broken by a shot. The camera saved him from blindness or even death. As a metaphor, rooted in real events, it synthetises the Palestinian drama, or at least the one depicted in the documentary. If on the one hand, Emad was a greater target because he rebelled and decided to document the injustices, on the other hand he was saved by his narrative. In this spirit, the next chapter shall focus on the narrator in Palestine building upon Benjamin´s theses on history and Palestinian cartoon Handala.

Chapter 12 – On resistance time

12.1 BENJAMIN´S ACCOUNT OF HISTORY

In this chapter, I propose a reading of the Palestinian concrete experience under the light of Benjamin's theses *On the concept of history*. Affected by the turmoil that defined the history of the 20th century, the rise of the Nazi regime, Benjamin produced a singular conceptual and visual synthesis of historical materialism.

Instead of resorting in a strictly verbal argument, Benjamin uses language to evoke images of tragedy, temporality, and revolution. In the essay, the philosopher develops a visual argument on history, presenting his version of historical materialism. In other words, Benjamin's text requires imagination – for it renders visible abstract ideas. Resorting on his characteristically literary style, Benjamin seams images to criticize the "concept" of history while he reshapes it into an argument which relies on Paul Klee's *Angelus Novus* and other visual metaphors.

The first of these images is dedicated to a critique of a certain "historical materialism", mentioned by Benjamin between quotation marks. The use of quotation marks seems to suggest that the critique is not directed to the Marxist historical materialism per se but towards a specific "historical materialism". The image is that of "a puppet wearing Turkish attire and with a hookah in its mouth" (1940: 389). The puppet would be historical materialism, and it is controlled by a "hunchbacked dwarf". The dwarf, in its turn, is the author's figuration of theology.

In Benjaminian vision of historical materialism, puppet and dwarf function as one entity. Theology, and the belief in a future yet to come, are fundamental elements of the desire moving the arrow of historical materialism. Furthermore, the imagery constructed by Benjamin are appealing as a visual argument. In resorting in images to build his argumentation Benjamin seeks accuracy.

Interestingly, the text draws upon Jewish tradition of temporality to subvert it. For instance, in a provocative passage of thesis two, the philosopher claims that "the past carries with it a secret index by which it is referred to redemption". Locating redemption in the past Benjamin renders immediate the necessity and the possibility for redemption. There is no room for waiting in the argument. The notion, thus, directly opposes the teleological notions present in Jewish-Christian traditions. In this light, instead of waiting, the revolutionary shall turn its attention to history and grasp the conditions from reality as it presents itself with an eye at the history of the underprivileged.

Reading of the French revolution, Benjamin claims that Robespierre perceived time in France during the revolution as a past "charged with now time (*Jetztzeit*)". This temporal condition, however, is not merely there. The now time is a construct, as it becomes clear in the assertion that Robespierre "blasted [ancient Rome] out of the continuum of history" (1940: 395). Revolution, thus, would depend on the perception of time and of the manipulation of this perception into a horizon. It is aesthetic and visual, as in "the French Revolution viewed itself as Rome reincarnate". The notion of reincarnation evokes a religious sense of destiny (horizon) and a bodily affect (experience).

Insisting on the visual and aesthetic analogies, Benjamin will refer to fashion to describe the revolutionary movement. According to him, "fashion has a nose for the topical, no matter where it stirs in the thickets of long ago; it is the tiger's leap into the past". To rescue the past from the realm of history and embody it in present terms is the mission of revolution. This leap, "the open air of history" would be the "dialectical leap Marx understood as revolution", claims Benjamin (1940:395). With the leap to the past, Benjamin inverts the traditional movement of historical materialism, which is centred in the future (Beiner1984). It is also noteworthy that the same gesture denies Hegelian dialectic, whose metaphysical concern does not lie under the chessboard.

More than inverting processes, however, Benjamin´s saturated past points "materialism" in the direction of a discussion on material, present, issues. Unlike the future, a construct based on present expectations, the past is inscribed in the materiality of the present. So is the case of the influence of ancient Rome on the French revolution. It cannot be simply regarded as an idealistic relationship, but that of an exercise of political archaeology, according to which the signs of the past fuel the present movements.

The look towards the past, thus, allows Benjamin to emphasize the importance of agency in the revolutionary process. It is not a coincidence that in the Paralipomena to *On the concept of history* he is imperative in writing that "time must be brought to a standstill" (1940:403). The fragment refers to the articulation of the past in history, where, according to Benjamin, the "object of history must be present itself" (1940: 403). Once again, he refers to a "constellation" (see part II), stating that "articulating the past historically means recognizing those elements of the past which come together in the constellation of a single moment" (1940:403).

Resonating with these propositions, still in the supplementary section of the text, Benjamin offers two past related definitions of dialects. The first refers to dialects by evoking the image of a "ball lightning that runs across the whole horizon of the past" (1940: 403). Here, Benjamin repeats the notion of dialects as movement through the past. It is a fast, flaming movement that covers the "horizon of the past". The second definition, which is also visual, underlines that "the dialectical image can be defined as the involuntary memory of redeemed humanity" (1940: 403).

Referring to a tiger's leap, Benjamin once again creates an image and insists in the void of history by referring to an "open-air". The revolution, like a tiger within an arena commanded by the ruling class, leaps over history. This leap is only possible because temporality is not linear, as in the theological model criticized by Benjamin.

Benjaminian critique to a theological structure, however, is not directed to Marx. For instance, he clarifies that "in the idea of a classless society, Marx secularized the idea of messianic time. And that was a good thing" (1940:401). The problem, according to Benjamin, appears when messianic time, through which a "classless society" would be achieved, is turned into an ideal by the Social Democrats (Benjamin 1940). Here, he insists that such idealization renders this task "infinite" (*unendlich*) (1940:401).

Benjamin emphatically states that "the concept of historical time forms an antithesis to the idea of a temporal continuum" (1940:407). Perhaps because to narrate history man must articulate a discourse over the history which is causal and event-based, which inevitably implicates in categorizing moments in time to the detriment of an elastic and continuous temporal fabric. In this vein, the capacity to challenge a temporal continuum with a now-time allowed the French revolutionaries to evoke ancient Rome in favour of their cause. In Benjamin's terms, "Rome was a past charged with now-time, a past which he blasted out of the continuum of history" (1940: 395).

A saturated time is a time which rearticulates notions such as those of present, past and future. In the revolutionary framework in question, Rome becomes a reference point which can be referred to as part of the process lived in France in May 1789. Had the revolutionaries in France considered that they were centuries ahead of ancient Rome, they would have lost the revolutionary spark in the dust of history. The saturation of time, thus, allows ancient Rome to make pressure over the French reality (present) as if one moment were immediately connected to the other. This proximity is propellant of the "tiger's leap".

Departing from these notions, I propose an alternative scenario where the experience of time is not conditioned to a progressive spectrum where revolution is an element of the future. Thus, temporality in Palestine would not be "revolutionary", yet capable of radicalizing the political experience. It derives its political relevance precisely from its focus on the present.

12.2 THE MARTYR´S URGE

The notion of resistance time, thus, implies in a twist in perspective. Instead of a horizon of expectation – linking the present and the construct of future – it suggests a look at a radical space of experience, focused on the survival and immediate change. In this context, the foreseeable future is the continuation of the struggle. And, consequently, the change in the immediate circumstances instead of preparing for a revolution.

In this sense, waiting is but an external symptom of the violence imposed on the Palestinian people. From a cultural standpoint, in the Palestinian literature, the notion of redemption appears in the figure of the fida'i, an Arabic term which has among its possible translations the notions of "freedom-fighter" and "redeemer" (Slyomovics 1998). According to Slyomovics, other English interpretations of the word would be commando" or "guerrilla" whereas the preferred translation in Israel is "terrorist" (Slyomovics 1998: 184). Such difference in the translations are representative of the politics involved in the discourse on the Palestinian resistance. The fida´i, as discussed here, is not someone strictly undertaking acts that could be defined as terrorism. It is rather a soldier, a fighter who engages in the defence of his homeland.

Along these lines, Rasha Salti underlines that the root of the term lies in religious, not necessarily Muslim[113], vocabulary. In the gospel of John, Christ appears as the Lamb of God, who gave his blood in sacrifice to save humanity. Still according to Salti "a common attribute for Christ in Arabic is al-fadi, the sacrificial saviour, a term that shares the same extraction as al-fida'i" (2010: 40)[114]. Echoing Ivan Strenski, Asad (2007:43) underlines that sacrifice is a gesture of "making holy" (*sacri-ficium*).

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[113] Asad (2007) claims that the notion of sacrifice making someone, or something, holy dos not find justification in Islamic thought. According to him, this idea would be more related to a Christian theology, particularly in the example of the sacrifice of Christ in the cross.

[114] At this point, under the risk of incurring in redundancy and common sense, it is relevant to clarify that the references to religion in general, and Islam in particular, have nothing to do with a belief that acts of violence are motivated by religious beliefs. In fact, neither the violent acts nor religion are objects of interest to this work. In any case, due to the frequent link between Palestinian resistance and religious motivations and terrorism, it is relevant to stress that such relationship is denied by specialists. For one, Robert Pape

According to Amal Jamal (2003), the fida'i is the most common representative image of Palestinian nationalism in the post-Nakba period. As an idea, however, the fida'i has a much older history which precedes the Nakba. As Salma Jayyusi explains,

> in pre-1948 Palestinian poetry, the fida'i often appears faceless and nameless and bent on carrying out his mission. The other aspects of his life are ignored. […] There are no human contradictions in him, no place for contemplation, no past, no human relations, no regrets-only a man, a cause, and a single-minded action at a specific moment in time (1977:38)

In the excerpt, the fida'i would be a man bound to a cause without a past or even a face or name. It is a figure of the present whose sole purpose is redemption. Not coincidentally, fida'i is the title and theme of the Palestinian national anthem adopted by the PLO[115]. It is in the fida'i that the ultimate notion of temporality in Palestine can be illustrated.

Interestingly, Tlal Asad (2007) highlights that every Palestinian killed in conflict with Israel received the status of martyrs (*shuhada*)[116]. Asad claims that such status would be justified by two main reasons. Firstly, the fact that the "they have been struck by a catastrophe" whereas the second would be the fact that "their mode of death gives them immortality" (2007:49).

Notwithstanding this, the most interesting interpretation on the relationship between the future horizon and resistance seems to come from a poem from Mahmoud Darwish. Describing the struggle in Gaza the poet declares that time in Gaza "does not compel people to cool contemplation, but rather to explosion and a collision with reality". Furthermore, in a more explicit reference, not to suicide bombing but to the armed struggle, he highlights that "time there [in Gaza] does not take children from childhood to old age, but rather makes them men in their first confrontation with the enemy"[117]. Further ahead, Darwish stresses that Gaza "will continue to explode. It is neither death, nor suicide. It is Gaza's way of declaring that it deserves to live".

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clarifies that "the data show that there is little connection between suicide terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism or any one of the world's religions" (2003: 4).

[115] The notion of resistance is also evidenced in the Palestinian anthem as illustrated by the verse "Palestine is my vendetta and the *land of withstanding*" (my emphasis). Evidently, as a PLO anthem, it is in line with the notions spread in the posters analysed in part III and it is charged with political content related to the liberation of Palestine.

[116] As Asad himself clarifies, *shahīd* is not an exact match to the term "martyr". In the context of the Palestinian usage, however, the western term martyr is the one who better describes the meaning of the Arabic vocab.

[117] See dialogue between the boy Gibreel and his mother in chapter 10.

In the same poem, Darwish explains that "time in Gaza is not relaxation, but storming the burning noon". It is to this kind of temporal experience, in its many expressions that this chapter and the thesis in general refer to. A temporality conditioned by extreme circumstances, by constant unsettling presence of an enemy, and pervaded by a collective sense of resistance that in the words of the poet is like the relationship "of skin to bones", as opposed to that between teacher to students. According to this logic, resistance would be a constitutive element in that territory.

Along these lines, the dystopic scenario in Gaza, which has motivated a series of recent protests, and the historical struggle in the West-Bank materialize the image of the catastrophe of history. These events are described by Benjamin as an incontrollable storm of debris moving towards the future and illustrated by Paul Klee´s *Angelus Novus*, portraying the image of an angel with the arms wide open and an enigmatic face. Benjamin claims that the angel, who witnesses the tragedy, "would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed" (1940: 392), but he cannot do it. The angel is paralysed by the strength of the storm. It can only witness human disgrace.

Figure 75 – The angel of History (Angelus Novus)

Figure 75 - Angelus Novus, Paul Klee 1920.

Interestingly, the figure of the angel picked by Benjamin turns its back to heaven, and to the future. It focuses its attention into history in its present, and to the past with to its heaped set of tragedies. Handala (see Fig 76, centre) is absorbed by the tragedies, while Suleiman, is often in a state of melancholic contemplation (see Fig 76, left and right). In both cases, between Handala´s eminently political view and Suleiman´s poetic approach

to politics, the matter of visuality, gaze and the Palestinian body are central for the narration of history.

In the images board below, two film scenes[118] are connected by a drawing of Handala[119]. From a visual standpoint, the scenes seem to be symmetric opposites connected by a common denominator, Suleiman´s presence standing in the middle part of the frame. The landscape, however, has more in common than the photos might reveal. Firstly, in both cases they represent physical and symbolic borders. The sea is Palestine's "natural" border, it separates most of the historical Palestine from its neighbours in the West. However, that specific sea is no longer part of post-Nakba Palestine. Instead, it is a place of departures, as the scene itself suggests.

In the context of the film, it precedes the passage from the first chapter in Nazareth and the second, set in Paris. If Nazareth was Suleiman's hometown, Paris hosted him, and many other Palestinians, during exile. The wall, on the other hand, is Palestinian artificial, and more recent border. Unlike the sea it marks a conflicted, yet recent, period of Palestinian history. Interestingly, the wall, is also not an insurmountable obstacle. As commented, before, Suleiman´s character crosses the wall in an astonishingly unrealistic scene.

Visually, the scene is revealing of the similarly between Suleiman and silent comedy star Buster Keaton. In both cases the audience is limited to the character's perspective, who are limited by the frame. As a result, the action is based in a fundamentally visual and, in Suleiman just like Keaton, in a very geometrical fashion. Moreover, Suleiman also resorts in mostly in his facial expressions and body language to convey messages. A crucial distinction between Keaton and Suleiman, however, is the fact that the latter relies in an essentially bitter and political humour. The appearance of lightness in this case, only underlines the darkness of the matter in question. Suleiman's style delivers a sense of loss and powerlessness that echoes Palestinian ancestral anguish.

Images board - Handala and Elia Suleiman

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[118] The first scene, from *It must be heaven*, was extracted from the film´s poster, for the movie is still being screening in the theaters. The second, already mentioned scene, comes from *The time that remains*.
[119] In what might be a cue to this relationship, a cartoon of Handala appears in It must be heaven opening scene. The episode´s narrative arch is closed with the scene displayed on the left-side of the board.

Figure 76 – from left to right: It must be heaven (poster fragment); Handala; and Suleiman as E.S. at the wall in The time that remains

Between the two film frames is Handala with his crossed hands behind his back. The gesture, repeated with precision[120] by Suleiman in the left frame. The similarity between Suleiman's acting and Handala was already stressed by Nurith Gertz and George Khleifi who also underline the coincidence between Handala's autobiographical nature and Suleiman's narrative perspective. If Handala represents a caricature of al-Ali, Suleiman performs himself as the narrator whose point of view will guide the spectator throughout his film's (Gertz 2008: 41).

Beyond the homage, the identification between Handala and Suleiman points a way of seeing Palestine. In the scenes portrayed in board above, Suleiman observes two of the most emblematic icons of Palestinian loss. On the left side, the sea, point of departure of many Palestinians during the Nakba, as referred in the analysis of *Your father was born 100 years old…* in chapter one. Significantly, in the scene in question, from *It must be heaven* (2019), it is the character's last stop before the film switches scenarios to Paris.

More than a regular border, the sea is a fundamental extension of Palestinian land, converted in a monument of impossibility, since it is controlled by Israel. The frame on the extreme right, from *The time that remains* (2009), reveals a more literal blockade: the separation wall (or West-Bank barrier). In both cases, however, the visual metaphor indicates a focus on the horizon. If, in the first case, Suleiman flies out of Palestine, in the second he jumps across the wall. Before the crossings, though, a time filled with uncertainty, memories of conflicts and, above all, a blocked horizon.

Looking at similar realities, Handala's creator, Naj al-Ali, and Suleiman are actively engaged in the struggle. Yet, their characters display a melancholic sense of powerlessness balanced with humour and sharp criticism. A melancholy that can be

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[120] Suleiman poses his left hand on his back and the right hand on the top of the left one. The seemingly neutral and meditative attitude is also similar.

explained by the fact that both artists share with millions of Palestinians the history of displacement[121], and so do their creations. Furthermore, they are normally portrayed with their backs turned to the audience, their feet grounded on the moment, and their eyes on the landscape of history.

12.3 HANDALA, BRUSHING HISTORY AGAINST THE GRAIN

Regarded as narrator and character of a nation's struggle Handala is the visual paradigm of this thesis argument. In Handala, resistance appears in the denial of the passage of time, which is not contradictory with the actuality of the character. On the one hand, his body never grows older, on the other hand, he is a newspaper cartoon witness of the most recent events (injustices) of its time. Moreover, Handala became more mature and, created to denounce injustices in Palestine, extended his criticism to global issues.

Bearing this in mind, the figure that illustrates history in Palestine cannot be that of the Angelus Novus. From the perspective of the underdog, history does not present itself in an angelic form. More likely, it comes from the bitter[122] 10-year-old barefoot Palestinian boy wearing ragged clothes. According to Matar Handala "shaped the visual landscape" of the first intifada (2011:162). In fact, the character continues to inspire and represent the Palestinian struggle in multiple fashions, as Suleiman's on screen presence suggests.

Who then, is Handala? A description of the character by his author goes as follows:

> I drew him as a child who is not beautiful; his hair is like the hair of a hedgehog who uses his thorns as a weapon. Handala is *not a fat, happy, relaxed, or pampered* child. He is *barefooted* like the refugee camp children, and he is an *icon* that protects me from making mistakes. Even though he is rough, he smells of amber. His hands are clasped behind his back as a sign of *rejection at a time when solutions are presented to us the American way*. (al-Ali online, *my emphasis*)[123]

From the excerpt, it becomes clear that Handala was conceived as an "icon", meant to represent the less privileged among the Palestinians. Even though he is a child,

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[121] The same can be said about other very emblematic narrators of Palestine: Mahmoud Darwish and Edward Said. Along with al-Ali, Suleiman and their characters, they share a history of exile, displacement, longing and the experience of talking about Palestine mostly from outside of its territories.
[122] According to Matar (2011:162, *my emphasis*) the name Handala "derives from *handhal*, a *bitter* plant with deep roots". Handala, thus, is a reference to the bitter condition lived by the Palestinian people and represents its long-lasting traditions.
[123] Statement published at Handala.org. Available at <www.handala.org>. Access in Jan 2020.

he does not have the features expected from one, at least not from a healthy child. He is *not* "fat, happy, relaxed, or pampered", and his hair is spiky like a weapon. More importantly, his body language means that he rejects (resists?) a temporal regime *when* politics are made in the "American way". Hence, Handala´s body deny the unfolding of time. This denial is evidenced not only by his body language but, more emphatically, by the fact that he refuses to grow older.


Figure 77 - Arab ruler suffocated by U.S soldier[124]

In this sense, Handala incarnates the Palestinian trauma and the sense of stillness in time after such traumatic, and formative event in Palestine. The fact that he does not grow old, however, does not implicate in lack of action or anomy. Handala is the product of a trauma, and yet, he is a sharp observer and critic of contemporary events. Despite his childish impotence in face of the greatness of the events and the enemy he faces, the young boy protests holding his fists clenched and his hands crossed on his back.

As the illustration of a Palestinian consciousness[125], it is not surprising that in the cartoons, Handala often comes across other symbols of the Palestinian resistance

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[124] Available at <https://egyptindependent.com/update-iconic-symbol-palestinian-resistance-german-postage-stamp-photos/>. Access in Jan. 2020.

[125] More than embodying Palestinian consciousness, Handala grew into a critical figure of the global politics and struggle against injustice. As Al Ali explains, "at first he was a Palestinian child, but his consciousness developed to have a national then a global and human horizon. He is a simple yet tough child, and this is

mentioned in chapter three. Among them, the most emblematic is the female figure, which is represented by Fatima[126] another notorious character created by al-Ali, which represents a Palestinian woman.

Figure 78 – Fatima, by Naj al-Ali

Figure 78 – Fatima crying. Naj Al-Ali (online) [127]

During an interview with Radwa Ashour, al-Ali explained that the character served as "the arrow of the compass, pointing steadily towards Palestine […]". The notion of Palestine here is broad and encompasses multiple struggles for justice and freedom. In continuation of the previous excerpt, he argues that Handala represents "[…] Palestine in its humanitarian sense—the symbol of a just cause, whether it is in Egypt, Vietnam or South Africa"[128]. It is not a coincidence that in the previous chapter, posters mentioning the struggles in these countries (Egypt, Vietnam and South Africa) were mentioned. The notion of Palestine in the "humanitarian sense" was produced in solidarity to the peoples who fight against colonialism.

In a way, Handala is a testimony, which he represents the victims, and a historian, since he narrates the events. With his observation, Handala "brushes history against the

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why people adopted him and felt that he represents their consciousness". Quote from Handala.org, Available at < http://www.handala.org/index.html> Access in Jan. 2020.

[126] In the Shia Islamic tradition Fatimah bint Muhammad is the name of the prophet's only daughter and mother of Ali, the last of the Rightly Guided Caliphs (still according to this tradition) and the first Shia Imam.

[127] The image is available at the Jerusalem Fund for education and community development. Access in Dec. 2019, Available at <https://www.thejerusalemfund.org/22691/caricatures-of-peace-how-cartoonists-resist-the-israeli-occupation-with-art>

[128] Naj al-Ali in conversation with Radwa Ashour. Excerpt published online at the Verso Books website. Available at: <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3379-murder-of-naji-al-ali-to-be-reinvestigated> Access in Dec.2019.

grain". Unlike Klee's Angelus Novus, it is not possible to see Handala's face. According to Naji al-Ali, Handala never looks at the viewer because his look is centred in the lost homeland, and he will not turn until Palestine is reunited. His crossed hands would represent rejection to the American idea that Palestine could be a resolution of the question of Palestine without the return to of the Palestinian refugees to the homeland.

Handala is a figure of resistance, and not for his stillness. His refusal to grow older until Palestine is restored as a sovereign country in its rightful territory is not a reflex of a temporal paralysis, but rather of resistance against the pressure of time. The act of standing still with crossed arms and witnessing injustices is also not distant, neutral or related to any form of inaction. On the contrary, it displays the endurance of those who lack the means to win but are not willing to give up.

Above all, Handala is a lesson on the importance of steadfastness in the face of injustice. If one the one hand he stubbornly remains as a 10-year-old child, on the other hand, Handala critically witnesses all the relevant events of his time. These go beyond Palestine and regard injustices around the world. Handala, as an idealized Palestinian, is following Benjamin´s advice of "articulating the past historically" (Benjamin 1940:403). For the philosopher, this exercise requires "recognizing those elements of the past which come together in the constellation of a single moment" (Benjamin 1940:403). Interestingly, in Handala´s case, history is not strictly allegoric. It is as real as the facts displayed in the newspapers on a weekly basis.

Through Handala, Palestinian cultural past is articulated. Albeit having the eyes of a child, he witnesses all the contemporary events establishing an association between the Nakba and the present facts. As it is the nature of the medium, a cartoon regularly published in newspapers, the sketches commented issues beyond Palestine, such as the oil crisis in the Middle East, refugee crisis and United Nations interventions in the region. Furthermore, along with critics to Israel and the U.S, Al Ali criticized authoritarian Arab regimes and the Palestinian Authority.

All these themes, however, become more emblematic if considered that Handala himself is a reminder of the Nakba. In this sense, the presence of a boy who was ten years old as a witness of the distressing news can mean one of two things. Either Handala never grew older, as admitted by al-Ali, or time has not progressed. According to this twist, Handala would be the Palestinian perspective, which focuses on the ongoing events holding a position attached to the Nakba. This operation, thus, implies in a different experience of temporality. It is not a progressive time, nor it is a time that does not pass.

It is a time where the events keep on happening whereas the body, therefore the mind, is fixed in a specific historical moment. From that moment on, every manifestation of injustice, as it happens in Handala, has the face of ratification of one foundational trauma.

At this point, the temporal experience focuses on the present and the branches which connect it to the past. At this point, the future is no longer a primary concern, even though a legitimate and still present one, in favour of immediate needs. This would have happened due to collective trauma and to a political project to put Palestine on the map. Such a project focused on the struggle and the necessity to resist but found an echo in the artistic necessity to elaborate on the traumatic situation, which is the Nakba. Politically, it represents an increased focus on urgent issues instead of the teleological future that characterizes Western theories on history[129].

The replacement of the future as the horizon of revolution by the past has several consequences. In the case of Palestine, it indicates a stillness instead of acceleration. In other words, instead of talking about the revolution as a goal of the future which will bring progress, the temporal marker is that of resistance. At this point, resistance, as stillness against something, meets the idea of "revolution" a vocab adopted to refer to structural changes in society.

The identification between "resistance" and "revolution", as it often appears in PLO propaganda, seems to be justified by the fact that, in Palestine, the future does not suggest progress but loss. To resist, or to stand against, then, is a way of opposing such destructive trend. Crossing his arms Handala stands in the extended present of the Nakba, in defiance of the politics in the Middle-East, and the world in general.

Inspired by the fact that Handala is most likely, the source of inspiration for Elia Suleiman in its position as a narrator, I shall suggest that Handala is the prototypical Palestinian narrator. Still thinking about Suleiman´s option to present the narrative form his perspective and often turn his back to the viewer in emblematic scenes, evokes Handala in its most significant traits.

Handala's subjectivity is tied to Nakba. Likewise, Suleiman also lives this reality shared between the present and the past. And the same is extended to the various contemporary Palestinian narratives. They narrate the present, in its brutality, while excavating the past. All this because, as the filmmakers Annemarie Jacir[130] and Jumana

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[129] As it is the case of Hegelian spirit of history, with its incessant movement forward and Marxist theorization of the proletarian revolution, which criticizes and builds upon a Hegelian framework.
[130] Interview to "Inside the Middle East" published on the

Manna[131] suggested, everything in Palestine is political, all that is needed to notice that is a closer look.

Hence, the body as an actual presence in space and time, and its capacity to look, become a primary element of Palestinian resistance. In this light, the fact that Suleiman narrates his fiction films using his own body and so does Emad, from *Five Broken Cameras*, in his documentary, goes beyond the stylistic choice. These are common features of a people who share their personal anguishes with a much larger number of others. In a sense, all these Palestinian narrators resonate Palestinian experience with their own.

Thus, beyond the mere homage, Suleiman´s relationship with Handala points at a shared temporal experience, which is conveyed into the narrative. Among their similarities, three of them deserve closer consideration: a) Firstly, both characters stand in the frame in such a fashion as to share their (physical) perspective of the facts with the audience[132];b) Secondly, Handala and Suleiman takes a critical stance in silence; c) Finally, their subjectivity is clearly connected to the public sphere, hence, even though they might move on and become more mature, there is always a sense of stillness with relates to the permanence of the Zionist hegemony over the Palestinians life. This third aspect is explicit in Handala since he never grows older, but in Suleiman it also appears in his contemplative look towards Palestinian quotidian.

More specifically, in *The time that remains*, Suleiman testimonies events that go from the resistance and surrender of Nazareth (in 1948) to the moment when he faces the Separation Wall, built during the second intifada (2000-2005). The film describes a temporal arch of the conflict from a subjective perspective and in many of its scenes suggest a sense of longing and nostalgia from the narrator´s side. It is as if Suleiman, as Palestine itself, had not overcome the Nakba, and therefore had to insistently narrate these events in a kind of continuous past extended in the daily life.

The overlap between Suleiman´s biography, his gaze and politics in Palestine is also explicated in an interview with the director. Talking about his latest production (*It must be heaven*) Suleiman claims that he plays himself in all his movies. Justifying this

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philistineFlms Youtube page. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oPbR5mk1_As> Access in Jan. 2020.

[131] In an informal conversation with this author. The comment was also cited in the introduction.

[132] Both in Handala´s cartoons and in Suleiman´s films the scenes tend to be portrayed from a central angle. In Handala this suggesting that the viewer looks at the scene from a point-of-view (POV) behind the character, whereas in Suleiman the viewer usually shares the protagonists POV.

choice, he claims that "maybe it's because of the semibiographical moments I try to capture onscreen […] It was part of the process, of *the way you feel when you compose images*. It's more of an intuitive thing" (Garcia, online) [133]. In the excerpt, the author stresses the relationship between his biography and the images composed as if the territory he sees could not be detached from his personal experience.

In this vein, a remarkable characteristic of Palestinian films is the amount of autobiographical productions and perspectives to discuss the conflict. Such characteristic illustrates the intimate relationship between individual condition, represented by the artists, and the collective struggle. Evidently, any artistic work is connected to its the surrounding circumstances. However, the distinctive trait in Palestinian aesthetics is precisely the relationship between art and a certain experience of time. In the films and posters analysed, time performs an arch connecting the present to the Nakba. In this sense, these narrators are observers who standstill in time, enduring the pressures of the successive tragedies and stubbornly connected to its heritage. In contemporary Palestinian filmography, heritage performs an excavation through the past, as a form of political archaeology of a culture at risk.

CODA

Part IV focused on the most recent years of the occupation of Palestine primarily through the lenses of Palestinian filmmakers. This process began with a look at the multiple representations of a conflicted temporality in Palestinian movies, in chapter eight, towards more specific approaches in chapters nine and ten. Along part IV, an incursion towards Suleiman semi-biographical auctorial piece *The time that remains* and Emad Burnat and Guy Davidi´s *Five Broken Cameras* provided the basis for the analysis of the subjective experience of the occupation in its multiple manifestations. In Suleiman, Israel itself is into question. Burnat, a farmer from a small village, is concerned with the new wave of violence generated by the construction of the Separation Wall.

In the last chapter of the thesis, all these narratives are connected in the figure of the Palestinian Peter Pan Handala. Instead of remaining young to enjoy the delights of youth, Handala is entrapped in a temporality bound to the Nakba. He refuses to grow older until the day when Palestine is returned to the Palestinians. Moreover, Handala's figure as a narrator is the most emblematic synthesis of the struggle. The boy´s

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[133] Interview to Bruna Garcia, from the Brazil-Arab news agency. Available at:
<https://anba.com.br/en/elia-suleiman-defies-cinematic-stereotypes-of-palestine/>. Access in Jan. 2020.

temporality does not progress, he is always standing alongside with the marginalised, and his position is that of a narrator who cannot interfere on the course of the events, regardless of his will to do so. In this vein, a comparison between Handala and Benjamin´s Angel of History is drawn to highlight the peculiarity of Palestinian narratives in terms of temporality. Throughout this research, resistance appeared in several ways, but in Handala, it finds its most emblematic form.

CONCLUSION

Two questions motivated a detour in this thesis. The preliminary, intentionally broad and naïve, interrogation was "why are there so many narratives about Palestine?". From the comics from Joe Sacco and Guy Deslile to Elia Suleiman films, Darwish poems, and news on the "instability in the Middle East" narratives on Palestine have been multiplying, at least since 1968. Addressing this first motivation, this research came to a dead end. Not only there is no absolute answer to that question, but also the number of stories increases as the conditions in the region deteriorate. The fact that this work was written by a foreigner did not help, yet it motivated another change in the investigation.

Acknowledging the uniqueness of the condition of a foreigner looking at Palestine and, consequently, to a conflict framed as "millenary" a few adjustments were required. To discuss Palestine from outside of Palestine can be a tricky task. This led me to the second and even wider question: what is the Global South, and what connects such diverse realities? A few clues to start responding to this provocation appeared throughout the very experience of writing this research. During the four years of PhD, I had the opportunity to start writing in Rio, move to the Southern part of Germany, attend a couple of conferences in South Africa, visit Palestine and write most of part three in Mexico City.

Each of the territories mentioned above left their traces in the research, either in a direct or indirect fashion. Having Rio as a departure point was a privilege due to the academic openness and instigating discussion on decolonial and post-colonial studies. As an outsider to the city, to have an easy-going life in Rio only underlined the gap between those who have their citizenship recognised and people living in open ghettos. Necropolitics, at this point became a crucial term for whatever research I was about to conduct.

The opportunity to go to the university of Tübingen /Germany, as part of the DAAD funded by the project which was then called "Entangled temporalities in the Global South", was decisive in at least two ways. In Germany, the overwhelming influence of German authors made its way into the thesis in the thought of Benjamin and Koselleck, not to mention the German tradition in memory studies. Secondly, the very notion of temporality ingrained in the thesis emerged as a crucial element for the discussion in there.

From Germany, visiting Palestine became a feasible task. During a couple of weeks based in Jerusalem, in the company of my supervisor Fernando Resende, I visited some of the sites that appear in this research. Now, that the memories of this trip reach its

first year, the most present sensation is still the mix of amusement by the antiquity and diversity of the city contrasting with the oppressive atmosphere in a city where one walks surrounded by machineguns. In a sense, Jerusalem is Rio upside-down. There is no physical violence, and yet, the fear is held inside in the certainty that any openness would cause a spark Crossing the wall to Ramallah and Bethlehem also provided vivid insights on how the radical geopolitical isolation feels like.

A visit to Mahmoud Darwish Museum, a luxurious piece of architecture located on a hilltop, illustrated this point on isolation. Despite the monumentality of the Museum, which bears Darwish's tombstone an exhibition room, library, and a spacious theatre, the collection, or better yet, the lack of interesting materials was heart-breaking. Along the similar lines, Arafat´s museum, a much richer experience in terms of exhibition, also seemed to rely very much on digital sources (TV news, digitalized photos) than in original files. In Darwish's theatre in a precarious attempt to have a conversation I and a colleague learned that the word Brazil did not mean anything to a couple of youngsters. Not even the notorious football players. It might have been the communication issue, but they were kind enough to order us a cab. On the bright side, once the wall was no longer visible, the air in Palestine was much lighter. The warmth and kindness of the Palestinians from the street shops to the Birzeit University, will not be forgotten. Leaving Palestine, back to Germany was a relief. It is much more comfortable to talk about the South sitting in a Northern library. From Germany, after a brief conference in South Africa, where the apartheid morphed into a system of discrimination much similar to the Brazilian, I headed to Mexico.

In Mexico City, the notion of Global South stroke me again. In the national library, I stumbled upon a volume on the Palestine from the Global South[134], which in this case, meant a primarily Latin American approach. With the humanities institute paralysed due to a feminist occupation, I looked for alternative spaces to work at. Among them, perhaps the most unlikely, I found a Starbucks café in the corner of my accommodation. If I normally would avoid such a place, my privileged position took me to the one place in Mexico City where I saw as more black people, Asian descendants and white people than indigenous Mexicans. The relationship between capital, race and mobility appears again and certainly contributed to reflections that would be developed latter in the last part of the thesis.

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[134] The book was "Pensar la palestine desde sur global". See: García, M. G. (Ed.). (2017). *Pensar Palestina desde el Sur global*. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales.

Moving back and forth, the notion of Global South always pointed me in the direction of Palestine. Now, however, Palestine appeared as a point of departure, a territory whose capacity to make politics despite all caught the attention of the world. Either for the racial divide, especially emblematic in South Africa, but not less problematic in Brazil; or due to the economic inequality, which pervades the entire world, with greater intensity in more neoliberal economies; to the problem of circulation of people, archives and ultimately to the right to one´s own history. Not coincidently, the notion of Necropolitics finds in there its most paradigmatic case, and the best justification for its homonymous and seminal article. If necropolitics became a concept on global violence, mobility and affects, its former intuition departs from the system perpetrated by the Israeli state on the Palestinians[135].

Palestine, thus, is the spearhead of necrocapitalism (Banerjee 2008). The similarities between the reality in Palestine, South Africa, Mexico and Brazil are not coincidental. Not surprisingly, the works that inspired the notion of necrocapitalism – Mbembe's *Necropolitics* and Agamben's *State of Exception* – have in Palestine an exemplary case. Palestine has not only historically been a colony of many different countries and empires, but also, since the end of the British mandate, a handbook case of "state of exception". As such, with the rise of necropolitics, its images are glimpses of the future of the dispossessed, which – not too differently from former slaves – is quickly becoming a synonym for those treated as people below the line of humanity.

In this vein, this thesis is dedicated not only to the Palestinian struggle but to those whose lives are treated as expendable. To those whose ancestors also had to struggle since colonialism and the colonial system does not change every election. The black people in the diaspora, the indigenous people in every colonised country, the Jews who went to Israel after leaving all their goods to the Nazi regime are examples of such reality. All these struggles are still ongoing and have not stayed in the past. As a new wave of antisemitism rises in Europe, it is time to remember that it was never gone, nor has the racism that founded the Modern (*accelerated*) Western World.

The admission that the Palestinian situation as possible evidence of a global phenomenon, however, did not make this task any more specific. To respond to these limitations, my goal became not to talk about how Palestinians narrate or how time in Palestine is from a sociological perspective; instead, I focused on a set of images which

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[135] Much of the original article builds upon Eyal Weizman Politics of Verticality, a paper concerned with the misdoings of the Israeli State in the occupied territories.

departing from Palestine made their way into a global arena. These images were recorded, invented, edited, framed and reframed in many ways. Notwithstanding this, they seem to hold a capacity to tell personal and collective stories with eloquence.

The greatest challenge in this exercise was to coin the notion of resistance time. Initially, it was an attempt to define the impressions of time in Palestinian the visual culture. Such an effort was proven pointless. The myriad of territorialities and artistic expressions contemplated under the scope of Palestinian visual culture does not admit a single all-encompassing notion. Moreover, the width of the chronological scope added the challenge of dealing with different mediums and cultural moments. These mediums and periods accumulated and in a non-hierarchical sense, privileging the entanglement instead of a sense of development. For this reason, the analysis had to deal with the Palestinian posters, an extremely significant medium, especially from 1968 to 2000. This time spam coincides with the creation of the PLO and, for its most part, the existence of the Soviet Union.

The fall of the Berlin Wall had direct consequences on the politics in Palestine and in the past decades films and photographs became perhaps the most significant medium through which Palestinian politics develop. Among the many reasons, this difference between platforms reflects the decay and fragmentation of Palestinian leadership, and consequently its national propaganda, and the sedimentation of the Palestinian cause as an issue of global interest.

Digging into the materials chosen for the empirical analysis, the first realisation was that the Palestinian visual culture has a few remarkable characteristics: a) the most obvious is the repetition of iconic elements. This repetition, however, is linked to the second interesting characteristic; b) a political appeal which can be traced at least to the foundation of the PLO in 1964, during the climax of the cold war, when the Palestinian struggle had many of its affects articulated in a political discourse; c) the relationship between politics and affects is evidenced by the amount of semi-biographical productions. Sticking to the examples in this thesis, one might list cases such as the cartoons character Handala, the film *Your father was born 100 years old…*, and Elia Suleiman´s filmography. Even the documentary *Looted and Hidden* is a fundamentally biographical account from a Jewish Israeli researcher about her relationship with Palestinian archives. For these reasons, I argue that these images to look at these images singly would be to overlook their most important feature, their account on the Palestinian experience.

Linked together, the images of Palestine form a constellation bounding up the Nakba to the present moment, when the reader holds this thesis. These are images of colonialism in its many forms but are also images of a people denying colonial ruling. This is perceptible in the repletion of images of mountains and orange trees in the posters and the Palestinian cinematography, and in the insistence in the use of visual patterns based in elements such as barbed wires, clenched fists and orange trees, whenever the occupation is mentioned. This reiteration, I repeat, is not a lack of creativity, as suggested by Tawil-Souri (2011), even though she is right in the claim that the iconographic elements are repeated to exhaustion. It is the result of a "pathology of atmosphere", to borrow a Fanonian terminology (2007).

In the face of these many mutating scenarios, I propose a morphing proposition, instead of a definition. Resistance time is a notion that plays different roles according to the object and context. In this sense, each of the temporal frames chosen for the analysis has implications in the formulation. In the posters, the resistance is fundamentally related to a lasting presence of icons throughout decades. In the films, on the other hand, resistance emerges as a cultural attitude against oppression. These two examples, however, often overlap. As demonstrated, the films and photos repeat to exhaustion the iconography promoted by the PLO in its posters. Conversely, the association between Palestinian people and its revolutionary moments with resistance is as old as the Nakba (1947).

From a widespread political and aesthetical gesture, resistance becomes a mode of being, a grounding principle, a manifestation of time ingrained in the social experience. Resistance time, thus, is the temporal regime in which the quotidian experience filled with the past. More specifically, the notion of resistance refers to an articulated effort to evoke the past in political manifestations to the point that it contaminates daily life. This gesture is especially significant if considered the importance of the imagination of future (horizon of expectation) in the realm of Western thought and politics. In this sense, it is a notion that resonates the politically unstable reality of areas living under conflict or a structural political instability (e.g. state of exception). Therefore, this is a context with no revolution in the horizon, despite what is suggested by the very posters and the early Palestinian cinematography from the third period of Palestinian film (1968–82) discussed in Part II. What these posters do is to illustrate how a hegemonic vocabulary ("revolution") is applied in different contexts meaning different things. In this case, the way how images of "revolution" in Palestine stretch over time reveal that the real point there is resistance,

political action rather than structural transformation of society towards a planned future. Even an optimistic perspective would admit that the struggle is, in the best-case scenario, for a restitution of the land, therefore a return, rather than a total disruption.

In this vein, the most emblematic fact about the so-called Palestinian revolutionary movements is that they never indented to liberate Palestine from the coloniser, but not necessarily install an unprecedented form of government in terms of political organisation. After all, the major challenge was to release Palestine from Zionist colonialism and free the land. That, nevertheless, would be a major achievement.

In a resistance temporality, observed in the contents analysed in this research, time flows in an irregularly concentric move, from the multiple accounts of the past, towards the present mediated in the images. This proposition can be better understood in opposition to a perception of time that flows towards the future, and therefore tends to escape in the direction of a horizon lying further ahead. It is a temporality that relies on the realm of the traditions, oral memories, and vestiges to excavate a shared history overseen by great museums, collections and colonial institutions.

Acknowledging the impossibility, and logical contradiction, of gathering materials according to a restrictive order, the research privileged the notion of Atlas to compose a visual account of the political experience. Despite the emphasis on written argumentation, the visuality is privileged in the structure of the thesis. The main point was to favour a non-normative interpretation of the arguments. In this regard, the selection of pictures is as much of an argument as the verbal ones. The idea of images is applied to the films instead of footages or audio-visuals deliberately. Albeit recognising the importance of the narrative structure of each film, this research dislocates the images produced in different contexts towards a new construction, that of the thesis. The objective is to create a visual argument that departs from the woman smoking her pipe (chapter 1) despite the hole on her wall to al-Ali´s Fatima crying (Fig.78).

Connected through a shared trail, images of resistance appeared in many ways. In the contextualization (part I) they referred to the bare survival under occupation. Part II discussed the gesture of sewing as a way of connecting affects and documents in the creation of history out of the ashes and dust from a stolen archive. The images here were a glimpse of the conflict in its many forms (e.g. despair and rebellion).

The metaphor of sewing continues to inspire this research in parts II and IV. In part III, the discussion revolved around the many posters published by the PLO and other Palestinian organisation to mobilise political activity and raise attention to their cause.

Beyond the original purpose, these posters became evidence of an experience that did not change in its fundamental elements. As the poster analysis points out, the same crucial elements (e.g. orange trees, clenched fists) pervade Palestinian posters from 1968 to 1999 and continue in its iconography through other mediums.

A look at the Liberation Graphics Poster Collection, analysed in the third part, provides an idea on how the political movements functioned as vectors to establish Palestinian identity. In this process, these same movements contributed to underline the continuation of the struggle through time, which seems to have a direct influence in the cultural articulation of the temporality.

For the reasons mentioned above, the posters collection, layered the ground for an analysis of contemporary Palestinian cinematography. As mentioned in part II, one of the posters in the collection appears in the Israeli film *Looted and Hidden* whereas, the image of a poster appears on the background of Elia Suleiman's most recent feature film *It must be heaven (France, Canada, Palestine 2019)*. Such reappearance, more than little Easter eggs for attentive audiences are revealing of the transmedia nature of the struggle.

In this vein, part four will demonstrate that in contemporary films the Palestinian visual discourse still relies upon similar elements. The final part of the research focuses on contemporary narratives that provide more subjective portrays of the occupation. More specifically, films such as *The time that remains*, *Divine Intervention*, *Salt of this Sea* and *Five Broken Cameras* provide materials for the understanding of basic elements of the life in Palestine, its politics and temporal experiences. Entities such as borders, walls and checkpoints appear here as the visual expression of an occupation that became much harder after the second intifada and the construction of the Separation Wall.

Nevertheless, rather than a change in the temporal dynamics, or a simple acceleration of already dystopic conditions, the visual expressions reveal a sense of intensification of an ongoing situation. In this context, the cartoon figure of Handala appears as the visual synthesis for this investigation. A poor boy, with his back turned to the viewer, beholding injustices and denouncing them. In Handala´s capacity to look at history without growing older, those who narrated Palestine with their lenses turned to the marginalised have their image incarnated.

In this context, the appearance of forms in a different context is not really a reappearance; it is rather a continuation through a different medium. Thus, the option to analyse only one medium or genre was rejected. Because, insofar as this thesis is concerned, in Palestinian iconography, films, posters, cartoons and photos are all part of

a long-lasting response to the occupations. The occupation of British mandate Palestine, due to the United Nations partition plan, and the illegal occupation of the West-Bank by Israel, a result of blunt colonial interests.

Resistance time, though, is not strictly about preservation or permanence. It aims to describe a pattern constant resistance gestures including the insistence to (re)build in ruined areas, imagination (creative productions, such as the films analysed), preservation (memory, archives, tradition) and a consistent and organised political and even civil or armed resistance (of marches, armed struggle etc.). Once again, the gesture is sewing (see Part II). To remember in a context of articulated erasure requires an intensification of memory´s essential traits: invention and preservation.

If notions such as uprisings and revolution are characteristic of Western politics, that in the radical territory of Palestine, time is "different, different, different" (Darwish 2007). The fundamental difference between resistance and conservation is that the former refers to a non-intuitive gesture. It requires persistence, the rebellion of the uprising, the dissatisfaction that motivates revolution, but unlike the previous two, it happens under a different horizon. To resist is to respond to the elimination of a culture because the only feasible destruction is one's own, which becomes acceptable as a personal sacrifice for the sake of all. In this vein, the Palestinian struggle is indicative of an underlying reality approaching every subaltern minority. Those whose right to narrate is challenged by governments, corporations, and more importantly, by a geopolitical architecture that progressively spreads inequality and violence against minorities.

In this spirit, in its next steps, this research shall consider other territories undergoing extreme forms of neo-colonial and necropolitical occupations. To identify traces of resistance in different colonial experiences of time shall contribute to a better understanding of the Global South, a concept of many shifting meanings (West-Pavlov 2018). After all, more than an economic, or geopolitical, related term such as Third-World, the Global South is a paradigm connecting multiple grassroots experiences throughout northern and southern territories. In this vein, a reflection on resistance temporality beyond Palestine is a desirable development for this research.

Another potential development for this research is an analysis of the Israeli filmic production and the impact of the conflict in the cinematographic productions from that country. After all, although the reality in Israel is much different from the one in Palestine, many of the materials in this thesis point at the imbricated dimension of temporality in those territories. As mentioned before, Palestine is a zone of entangled temporalities.

Pervaded by tension, these temporalities are conflicted and in such a realm, resistance appears as a mode of surviving. A better understanding of the reality in Israel and its visual culture shall prove fruitful for the understanding of the conflict, the politics of visuality in the region and ultimately, to the notions of necropolitics and temporality.

Lastly, an "image" of the experience of time discussed in this study comes Elia Suleiman's *It must be heaven* (France, Canada, Palestine 2019). In the final part of the film, two Arab talk at a bar. At some point in the conversation, the non-Palestinian man tells his friend (Elia Suleiman): "…you Palestinians are a strange people. While everyone else drinks to forget, you are the only people who drink to remember". Time in Palestine is indeed different, different, different.

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