

Solidarity in Struggle:

Photography on the Threshold between Revolution and Humanitarian Violence

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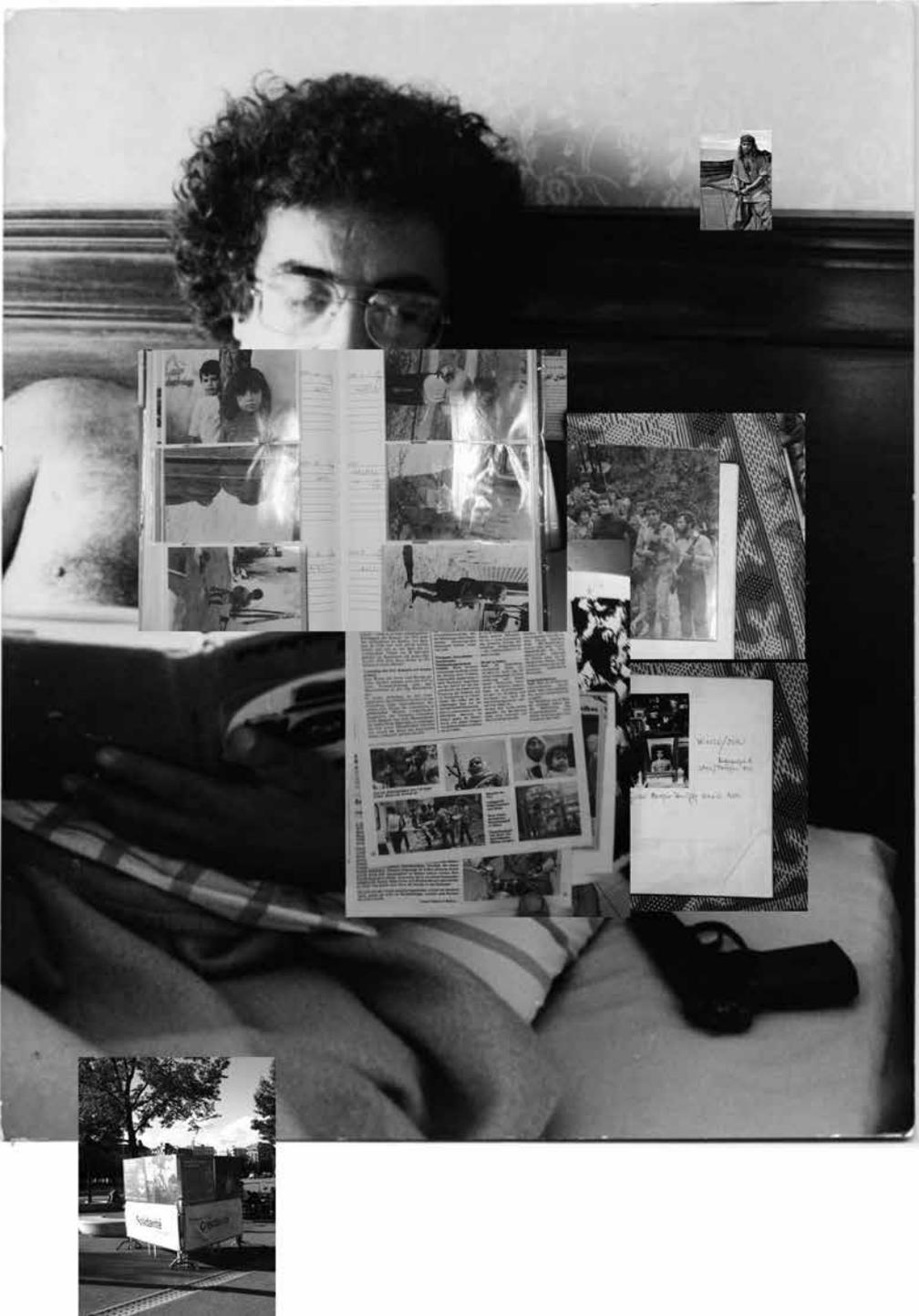
Between October and November of 1981, Khaled, a Lebanese-Palestinian *fida'i* (freedom fighter, pl. *fida'iyyin*) from Fatah, the largest faction within the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), was commissioned as bodyguard to Horst Sturm (1923–2015), an East German photojournalist from *Zentralbild* (central image) of the East German press agency ADN (Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst – General German News Service). Horst documented his bodyguard in a room that the two shared in the Hotel Beau Rivage, a mile from the Corniche in Beirut, in a photograph titled *KHALED Beirut PLO “Mein Sandokan” für meine Sicherheit! Im Hotel* (KHALED Beirut PLO “My Sandokan” for My Security! At the Hotel). Sturm frames a young man, chest bare, with a moustache and a head of curly hair. Khaled wears glasses with gold-colored frames. He rests on the hotel bed with his naked back leaning against the bed support; he reclines more than sits. He is reading, holding a book with his left hand while his gaze absorbs letters and images, as if engaged with a lover. The green book jacket reads “PENTACONSIX PRAXIS, W. Gerhard Heyde, VEB Fotokinoverlag” – it is a manual for the Pentacon Six, the only professional camera available in the German Democratic Republic (GDR – East Germany’s official name).¹ Next to Khaled on the bed “rests” a handgun.²

The portrait evokes an intimate moment of solidarity that seems close to the revolutionary struggle in Herbert Marcuse’s *Eros and Civilization* or a continuation of Jean Genet’s affinity toward the fighting body of Arab men.³ However, it is not the representational power that concerns us here. Rather, the photograph’s potency lies in the possibility of articulating the

threshold between the revolutionary and the humanitarian eras in the Palestinian cause, between the people's strength and the crimes of the "declared enemy."⁴ Sojourning in this particular photograph, which speaks of socialist solidarity with the Palestinians, directs our thinking toward a "postcolonial imaginary" that includes the global Soviet-socialist alignments during the Cold War. *Khaled* marks the last moment of a group sensibility that existed shortly before the PLO was expelled from Beirut and before reports and images of the massacres of Sabra and Shatila filled media channels reaching out to the international community. It marks a situation of revolutionary intimacy as a social, educational, and friendship-formatting condition across borders of languages and territories soon to be surpassed by another form of visual culture: the image of the lone child.

Certainly, *Khaled* – "*Mein Sandokan*" can be considered a "militant image" in the sense that it is a product of ideological intimacy in the context of the visual narratives of liberation movements.⁵ It speaks to a visual culture of the Palestinian cause linked with its political movements, armed struggle, transnational alignments ("international solidarity"), social relations, pedagogical formations, and the revolutionary's strength. At the same time, it is an "incurable image," because *Khaled* – who seems strong, knowledgeable, and relaxed – seems to prepare himself for a visual regime that will become known for framing Palestinian children and women as victims under the conditions of the ongoing war.⁶ The "incurable image" speaks of complex "modes of inheritance" that demand from us an historical understanding beyond the single frame/narrative: *Khaled* articulates a reflection on the means of photography, both by the East German educator-photographer and the *fidai*'i-photographer himself. It speaks of the transformation from the hero, who we see here sitting bare-chested in a hotel room, to the victim, an image with which we are familiar from its excessive distribution via magazines, television reports, exhibitions, films, and websites. It is incurable because *Khaled*'s highly seductive sensuality, which invokes a kind of pin-up figure of the revolution, cannot be looked at without thinking of the other end of the camera's lens, that which exists beyond the frame, that which we cannot see: the lone child as the victim – of what? Tarek Elhaik suggests that the "incurable image disorients us by forcing us to return to chaotic affects that cannot be curated in the professional sense of the term."⁷ *Khaled* – "*Mein Sandokan*" is a symptom of the transition from one visual regime to the other. More precisely, it forces us to learn to understand the chaotic affects which state protocols of international solidarity produced in the context of the Palestinian revolution. If that image cannot be curated in the professional or conventional sense – that is, put on display as an indexical imprint – then, as a curator, what to do with it?⁸

Khaled is more than a visual document of a moment: it contains the political stratification of the "entangled geography" between Palestine and Germany.⁹ The "entangled geography" consists here of various layers, composing an *image-diagram* made of image-technology, social-collective encounters in the framework of the photographic-educational collaborations, embedded in political programs of socialist solidarity, which echo the conditions of the global Cold War. From 1980 to 1986, a number of photographic-educational collaborations took place between Sturm and former Palestinian *fidai*'iyyin who had become photographers for Wafa (*wakalat al-anba' al-*



Doreen Mende, Image-Diagram Solidarity in Struggle: Horst Sturm's *Khaled* "Mein Sandokan" (Beirut, 1981), © DM 2016.

Filastiniyya – the Palestinian News and Information Agency) in Beirut, Aden, Tunis, and East Berlin.¹⁰ Sturm photographed Khaled during a five-week-long photographic-educational collaboration between ADN and Wafa in Lebanon, Sturm's second time working with the *fida'iyyin*-photographers.

Multiple Dimensions of East German–Palestinian Solidarity

Khaled's presence was not simply that of a bodyguard during a time of political and military tensions; it was also the product of the "delegation system" that informed geopolitical alliances since the early moments of socialist internationalism, and which turned Sturm, too, into a delegate of socialist internationalism. The socialist GDR photographer, then, traveled like a "tourist of the revolution,"¹¹ taken out for dinner every day and introduced to political leaders, including a secret meeting with Yasir Arafat. Photojournalism acted as a lubricant for ideological intimacy between the GDR state socialism and the PLO's transition from a revolutionary movement to a political organization to an ever-emerging Palestine state. Solidarity operated here in the double bind between macro-political dimensions of the GDR and the PLO and micro-political potencies of social-collective motivations amid a group of photographers.¹²

The interpenetration of images, militancy, and politics of this sort, resonates with Carl von Clausewitz's *On War* (1831), which redefined war to include elements beyond the battlefield. Clausewitz argues – based on the active role of the people in the French Revolution in particular – that war must be placed within a wider frame that also takes into consideration executive forces of state politics and the impact of social relations.¹³ Only recently have Cold War histories paid attention to the effects of geopolitical warfare on social formation; one that moved toward "a national liberation movement that seized the world's attention . . . explains how the world's greatest superpower recalibrated its international security strategies to meet the challenges of this global offensive and shore up its position throughout the global South."¹⁴ In other words, the photographic-educational collaborations between the Palestinian and East German press agencies took place within the framework of global Cold War policies, or, put more bluntly: the Middle Eastern conflict, as a proxy war of the East/West split, became the extended battleground for German-German division.

Why did the official photographic-educational collaboration between the ADN and Wafa take place when it did? Why not earlier, during the 1970s, when a range of "political tourists" arrived at Palestinian refugee camps and militant bases in Jordan, whose capital, Amman, hosted the parliament in exile until 1971?¹⁵ Or after the events of Black September, which marked a decisive moment for the liberation movement, when the PLO's headquarters found a new base in Beirut, until 1982.¹⁶ During this period, which Sturm experienced as it was coming to its end, Western sympathizers – including Bruno Barbey, Masao Adachi, Jean Genet, the Dziga Vertov Group, Carole Roussopoulos, Gérard Chaliand, and members of the Red Army Faction – came to put themselves at the service of the Palestinian struggle. They did so either independently or invited by

the Information Services Bureau of the PLO, having aligned themselves first with its different factions ideologically.¹⁷ What was the promise of the image around this time, 1980, when the revolutionary period had faded and the PLO had risen to prominence?¹⁸

The enactment of “solidarity” by photographic means operated as an instrument to continue the global binary division at a time when the tectonic plates of the Cold War were shifting profoundly. The GDR sought to prove to the world that the crimes committed against the Palestinians under Israeli occupation were implicated in the political geographies of the “class enemy,” represented by West Germany and the United States. As Tariq Ibrahim, one of the participants of the photo-educational collaborations, recalled:

Horst used to say that he came to the East to see other people who are facing the American beast before they get rid of Europe. He used to talk about capitalism and gave examples of how cruel it was. Back in the past, when we were young in South Lebanon, we used to sing songs from Russia, Cuba, and Che Guevara. We used to talk how [East] Germany succeeded in confronting America. We hated American movies and loved people who were against America.¹⁹

In that framework, one possible motivation to initiate that paradigm shift in the visual regime of the Palestinian struggle, supported by the GDR, included the production of visual evidences to prove to world that the individual – the lone child – suffers from the violation of human rights. With this in mind, the ADN organized a “Conference of the Arab and European news agencies” in Tunis in 1976, with subsequent conventions in Istanbul (1977) and London (1981).²⁰ Image production under the umbrella of socialist “solidarity” was the visible and material means to create ideological-political evidence (photographs) of the enemy’s (Israel’s/the West’s) atrocities.²¹ At the same time, “solidarity” became the buzzword of United Nations policies when, in 1977, the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Amnesty International and Jimmy Carter announced at his inauguration speech: “Our commitment to ‘human rights’ must be absolute!”

When Sturm arrived in Beirut for the first time, the PLO was struggling to retain a unified voice for Palestine and the Palestinians. The living situation for Palestinians in Lebanon had deteriorated during the Lebanese civil war; less than a year later, the military and political aggression against the Palestinians resulted in the expulsion of the PLO from Beirut.²² Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin had received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978 for signing the Camp David Accords, which had led in 1979 to the Egypt–Israel Peace Treaty. The signing, witnessed by U.S. president Jimmy Carter, both revitalized the armed militancy of the liberation movement²³ and prepared the ground for the Oslo accords several years later.²⁴ In particular, the PLO’s (and Fatah’s) increasing popularization of the role of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon had echoes in the image of a society-in-exile: a civil society under the conditions of the permanent threat of Israeli invasion.²⁵

The Palestinian press agency’s search of a new image-strategy for the internationalization of the Palestinian cause, particularly after the reinforced exile of the PLO after 1982,

reflected the transformation of the PLO from a revolutionary movement of various factions (with Fatah under Arafat as its ruling voice) to a pre-governmental political party for a Palestinian state-to-come.²⁶ Educational collaborations in photography gained relevance through the medium's re-unifying potential. Sturm writes in his final report on the photographic course in Beirut in 1980 that the participants were members of various political and militant groups within the PLO: "Such composition [of participants of different factions] happened for the first time, I was told."²⁷

The collaboration thus played a critical role, both in the formation of the then-fragmented PLO as a parliament-in-exile in Beirut after the first stage of the Lebanese civil war,²⁸ and for international relations between the GDR and the PLO.²⁹ Further, these collaborations, which helped place the Palestinian cause (and image) on an international stage for public debate, contributed to the transition from the "revolutionary image" to the "humanitarian image."³⁰ This transition was made possible by the GDR's mobilization, enabled by its Soviet-socialist protocols, of the concept of international solidarity in support of the Palestinian struggle during the last decade of the Cold War.

Whose Revolutionary Technology?

From the East German perspective, photography, or image production, served not only as a means of conveying information and ideas, but also reflected the commitment to technology associated with Marxist-Leninist concepts of state-socialist internationalism. As Sonja D. Schmid writes: "Marxism, and accordingly Soviet doctrine, saw science and technology as the driving force of a historical process that would eventually culminate in communism. This legitimized the emphasis that Soviet leaders placed on science and technology as the vehicle for the communist civilizing mission."³¹ The proposal for a course for Palestinian photographers led by Sturm in Yemen in 1983 captures the intermingling of technology and politics:

light sources . . . film sensitivity, which film for which purpose. . . . Optics, the basics: focal width – from wide-angle to telephoto and its applications – lens aperture – depth of focus – aperture – exposure time. . . . Photos in journalism. On the work of the photojournalist, particularly in agency. genres of news, reportage, portrait. The relationship between Image and text. Partiality and truth. Protocol photography. On the conscious lie of the image . . . equipment, on flash technique, panorama photography, when, which filter! . . . Chemistry of photography, the basics. Negative–positive processing, development. Negative–positive, how chemicals influence the image!³²

Photography was the continuation of militant struggle by other means. The entanglement between image-technology and global Cold War politics is also evident in non-historicized and non-institutional voices from Palestine as well as East Germany. The geopolitical

reading of the photographic practice that emerged from the photographic-educational collaborations is embedded in a *network of practices*. *Khaled – “Mein Sandokan”* indicates such a network of practices that included discussing, eating, walking, waiting, longing, reading, gathering, traveling, and forging alliances.³³ The privately archived photographs that emerged from the collaborations, of which *Khaled – “Mein Sandokan”* is one example, act like souvenirs from life-long friendships between Palestine and East Germany.

I was only able to access much of the photographic material in question through building trust among practitioners as well as through the creation of a closeness and distance that enabled me to hold trans-generational conversations with photographers, former *fida’iyyin*, artists, filmmakers, editors, fellow travelers, and friends. The embodied knowledge of these voices puts pressure on image production as a definitive frame for artistic processes in the contemporary globalized era – what film scholar Laura Marks has analyzed with regard to the Arab world as “a germ of Marxist ideals that have never been fulfilled.”³⁴ Further, the kind of minor histories that emerged from undocumented observations, collective formations, social relations, and lived experience inevitably put pressure on traditional Cold War histories, which only gradually came to appreciate the relevance (though they always noted the symptoms) of Third World liberation struggles. It is in this sense that, as historian Paul T. Chamberlin argues, the international solidarity movement around the Palestinian cause appears to operate like an international “bottom-up” dynamic in the wide-ranging story of globalization.³⁵

Former participants of Sturm’s workshop provide a crucial source for exploring the Palestinian *fida’iyyin*-photographers’ understanding of image production in the context of their struggle for liberation and international solidarity with that struggle. One participant, Tariq Ibrahim, still lives in Beirut and works for a military magazine. In an interview in 2011, he described a direct connection between photographic practice and the Fatah movement through its militant leader Abu Jihad:

I travelled with Abu Jihad more than once. We used to talk about photography on the plane. I still have the Canon F1 that he brought for me from Abu Dhabi in ‘81. It was expensive. . . . Yes, it was from Abu Jihad. He used to give many cameras as gifts. I once asked him why he gave cameras as gifts. He answered that he once was [a] photographer like us.³⁶

Regarding the educational collaboration, Ibrahim stated: “We didn’t need their [bourgeois European] experience. We had already built ours!” The *fida’iyyin* were not waiting for the “tourists of the revolution” from the West. In alignment with a Soviet-socialist internationalism, they ideologically refused any form of capitalist logic of image production/distribution and sought a distinctively different visual culture. Similarly, reflecting on the foundation of the Palestinian Film Unit in 1970, the unit’s co-founder Mustafa Abu ‘Ali pointed out in a 2006 television interview: “We were aware of the importance of finding our own cinematic language, which can be summarized as: ‘the people’s cinema is for the people.’”³⁷ It is worth pointing out that the photo section

predated the film unit: as Wafa's editor-in-chief Ali Hussein explained, "the Wafa press agency was created in Beirut upon the decision of the Palestinian National Council, which is the Palestinian parliament-in-exile, in 1972. But the Photo Section of Wafa was created earlier than Wafa. In the Palestinian revolution, there were the wounded people. For those wounded people, they created a unit of photography . . . Wafa was part of the PLO Unified Information [Department]."38

The group of *fida'iyyin*-photographers discussed industrialization and the economic systems of Nicaragua, Berlin, Potsdam, Holland, or Baghdad as part of their practice. They were not unaware of the implications of the distribution, exhibition, and consumption of their images in (to borrow the language of Susan Sontag) "industrial societies [that] turn their citizens into image-junkies"?39 Youssef Khotoub – a former *fida'i* and photographer for Wafa from the late 1970s or early 1980s to the present and who trained with Sturm in 1980 – recalled his refusal in 1982 to sell to a French photographer an image of a girl crying during the bombardment of al-Damur, Lebanon.

He [a French journalist] had said, "You're the only one that won't sell his pictures." . . . Usually he would buy them for one hundred dollars . . . a hundred dollars at that time. He offered me three hundred dollars for the pictures of al-Damur, but I refused to sell and [the Frenchman] called me a stupid man for not selling.40

Beyond the refusal to sell, though, what was the relationship between Khotoub's photograph of the lone child and educational ethos of socialist solidarity?41 What kinds of images did the photographic-educational collaborations in Beirut, Aden, and Tunis produce, and what emerged from them in terms of a Marxist "ideology of photography"?42 In the context of the Cold War, the role of the photographic image in the Palestinian question shifted dramatically in around 1980, exactly when the East German press agency sent Sturm to work with Palestinian photographers. The 1970s could be understood as the period of the "revolutionary image," portraying the strength of the Palestinian people in their struggle against Zionist occupation and, as part of the ethos of the *peoples' image for the people*, giving exposure to the healthy, strong freedom fighters.43 However, the photographic-educational collaboration between the GDR and the PLO provided the conditions to turn the "revolutionary image" of the 1970s into the "humanitarian image" of the 1980s. And the lone child became a central character in the human rights moment, particularly after the Sabra and Shatila massacres of September 1982.44

From Revolutionary to Humanitarian Image

The "humanitarian image" is a repetitive motif. The image of a crying, kindergarten-aged child standing alone amidst a bombed out environment, for example, does not speak the same language as the classical portrait that attempts to capture the personality, features, and sociability, of the human face. In the "humanitarian image," the lone child often

appears as a half-length portrait, the body placed within the surrounding space, the facial features blurred.

A number of photographs of this type fill Khotoub's albums, which take up a whole shelf inside the cabinet at the contemporary Wafa headquarters in Ramallah. One example archived in digitized format on Khotoub's computer at Wafa, shows a half-length portrait of a three-year-old child leaning against a tree. There are several shots of the same scene: the first shows a child looking straight into the eye of Khotoub's camera. The child's expression is one of curiosity, thoughtfulness, but also anxiety. In the second shot, taken perhaps a few seconds later, the child is crying. The third is a close-up of the tearful child, whose eyes are now closed, the distance between him and the photographer noticeably reduced. In the fourth shot, the child is still crying and now screaming, mouth wide open. Khotoub explained:

He is from Tal al-Za'tar. Look at how he was at first. Then when I put the camera on him to capture him, he thought that it was a gun so he was crying. This is the third one. He was so afraid of the camera itself, now his mother came out, and she was shouting asking what I was doing with the kid.⁵⁴

Khotoub's comments reveal his awareness of the camera's ability to act as a threat or menace, a device producing fear of punishment and defining power. They resonate with Susan Sontag's conception of photography as a violation, one that turns the photographed into an object due to the camera's ability to cut out a "neat slice of time, not a flow." This neatness, Sontag writes, produces "a series of unrelated, freestanding particles . . . which denies interconnectedness, continuity."⁴⁶ In Khotoub's shot, the camera turns the subjectivity of the photographed into an object that operates as an "icon" through repetition, the figure's passivity, the image's capacity to capture the spectator's gaze, the boy's namelessness, and the abrupt halt to the narration. The boy now appears as a singled-out element, more easily consumed by a "possessive spectator" who enacts violence by taking possession of the boy's story.⁴⁷ Violence takes place in the transfer of power from the photographer to the spectator, just as power reproduces itself when it operates within an order of rank, in the tension between subordinate and superior within an institutional structure.

Any attempt to decolonize the concept of "international solidarity" with the Palestinian cause must recognize the entanglement of social-collective formation with official protocols, which can be traced in the "humanitarian image," reproduced in East German exhibitions and weekly magazines of the 1980s,⁴⁸ and in photo albums of contemporary Ramallah, which often convey the lone Palestinian child in a demolished environment – an image with which we are all too familiar.⁴⁹ Reading this photographic practice today through the lens of "solidarity in struggle," requires recognition that a single image consists of contradicting layers that emerge from the intersections of image-technologies, the geopolitics of the Cold War and its aftermath, social struggles, and the tensions between a national liberation movement and the state.⁵⁰

International solidarity in the context of socialist internationalism sits between the

dilemma of the macro and the micro, that is, between solidarity as a “bureaucratic act”⁵¹ and as “psycho-affective motivation.”⁵² This dilemma prepared the conditions in the 1980s for the materialization of humanitarian images as humanitarian violence. This is a form of violence legitimized by the macro-protocols of solidarity; a violence legitimized by the law that builds on the principle of exclusion. The human rights discourse of the United Nations analyzes violence according to the “principle of proportionality [which] has become the translator of the relation between violence, the law, and political meaning.”⁵³ This form of violence is legitimized by the law, which has the power both to recognize violations of human rights and to define the degrees of violation according to real-political structures. Thus, it is not the person suffering from violation who can speak to the degree of violation, but it is the power of the law that defines who is the defeated, the governed, and the non-citizen. Therefore, to engage with Sturm’s photograph of *Khaled* – “*Mein Sandokan*” means looking at the displacement, not only of the militant struggle into the means of photography, but also a displacement of the global Cold War into the battlefield of images. It captures the historical moment when the global Cold War, suffering exhaustion, sought new forms of legitimization.

In other words, while *Khaled* – “*Mein Sandokan*” contains formidable elements of the micro-political dimension of solidarity at a moment of social encounter, the repetitive motif of the lone child confronts us with the obverse of the same project. It contains the macro-political face of solidarity, with its devastating forces, closer to the emergence of the NGO-ization of Palestinian politics as a foundational move toward the Oslo accords.⁵⁴ As Sharon Sliwinski has argued, the critical role of spectatorship in the human rights discourse is related to the principle of reason, as a cornerstone of the European Enlightenment.⁵⁵ The spectator has a starring role, allowing reason to do its work of exposing, revealing, arguing, and judging. To view an image means to process a subject from a subjective-critical perspective, to sublimate an “interior feeling,” as Lynn Hunt translates the operative strategies used in the human rights discourse, which request a “special mode of thinking belonging to the world spectator.”⁵⁶ Image-technologies, in this context, mean nothing more and nothing less than the industrialization of such an “interior feeling.” In other words, photography must be understood in that context as a technology of mass-production that industrializes human thought through the image that operates in distance to the actual situation.⁵⁷

How, then, to unpack the compelling photograph *Khaled* – “*Mein Sandokan*”? It appears a bit like a pin-up *fida*’i or a pin-up for the revolution, a signifier for socialist solidarity and the continuation of the militant struggle by photographic means. Yet the image contains internal paradoxes, its devastating reverse-effect materialized in the image of the lone child, the stereotypical image used in the human rights discourse as a call for aid from the so-called international community. Is *Khaled* a “revolutionary image” or a “humanitarian image”? The weight of the embodied knowledge of photojournalists, committed to solidarity with the PLO, as well as that of the photographer-*fida*’iyyin who refused to sell their images cannot be dismissed. What, then, if we approach the products of their practice as an *image-diagram*, which demands that the “solidarity in struggle” is situated between the act of political (socialist) friendship and the beginning

of humanitarian violence? The notion of “solidarity in struggle” makes it necessary to decolonize the concept of “solidarity” in the context of the global Cold War. Its images cannot be curated in the professional sense. These images reach beyond the solely documentary, unfolding as a composite of layers that cross time zones, languages, and generations, and, perhaps most importantly, presents the opportunity to navigate our way through the political depression emerging from the realization that the “Marxist ideals . . . have never been fulfilled.”

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Endnotes

- 1 A medium-format camera, it took six-by-six negative film, marketed as kit capable of producing professional press images for international distribution to magazines, newspapers, and exhibitions; the camera brings details at a distance into focus, capturing the architecture of a space with a depth and sharpness. My father, a professional, self-employed and independent photographer in the GDR, worked with the same model.
- 2 It is interesting that, compared to the Pentacon Six camera, which was able to capture an image from a distance, the gun appears to be of the sort usually used at short-distance, not a weapon of war like a Kalashnikov.
- 3 Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955). See, for example, Jean Genet, *Prisoner of Love* (New York: New York Review Books, 2003 [1986]).
- 4 See Albert Ditchy, ed., *The Declared Enemy: Texts and Interviews* (New York: 2004), which contains speeches, articles, and manifestos from and about the Black Panthers, the Palestinians, and the Red Army Faction with which Jean Genet felt affinity.
- 5 See Kodwo Eshun and Ros Gray, “The Militant Image: A Ciné-Geography,” *Third Text* 25, no. 1 (Jan. 2011): 1–12.
- 6 See Tarek Elhaik, “The Incurable Image: Curation and Repetition on a Tri-Continental Scene,” in *The Postcolonial Museum: The Arts of Memory and the Pressures of History*, ed. Iain Chambers, Alessandra De Angelis, Celeste Ianniciello, and Mariangela Orabona (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 161–174. Elhaik writes, “Incurables images are sites of complex repetitions and zones of endurance for the spectator-patient who manages to bypass the enclosure of traumatic wounds by official narratives from both left and right sides of the politico-ideological spectrum. They are tormented by the impersonal forces of history. . .” (170).
- 7 Elhaik, “Incurable Image,” 171.
- 8 For a critical analysis of indexicality and photography, see Sarah E. James, *Common Ground: German Photographic Cultures across the Iron Curtain* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013).
- 9 Schmid, “Nuclear Colonization?” 130.
- 10 The educational exchange took place under the aegis of *Verband der Journalisten der DDR* (VJD – the Journalists’ Organization of the GDR). The VJD was a member of the International Organization of Journalists. The partner bodies were the East German press agency ADN and the Palestinian press agency Wafa, the Information Unit of the PLO. It is worthwhile mentioning in addition that Horst Sturm was a

- member of the *Federation Internationale de l'Art Photographique* (AFIAP). As a delegate of the ADN, Horst Sturm also went to Mongolia and Yemen, while his agency colleague, Hand-Peter Junge, traveled to Cuba, for example.
- 11 "He [the delegate] is invited. Normally he does not pay his own expenses. He is the guest and is therefore under the aegis of the unwritten laws of hospitality. . . . He isn't supposed to – no, he isn't allowed to – worry about anything." See Hans-Magnus Enzensberger, "Tourists of the Revolution," in *Critical Essays* (New York: Continuum, 1982), 165.
 - 12 The historian Odd Arne Westad convincingly argues that in the context of the post-Stalin Cold War condition, the partition of Palestine was seen as a potent instrument to create a Third World region in the Middle East as a proxy battlefield of U.S. and Soviet powers, including the battle for oil, territorial control, and ideological superiority. See: Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 128.
 - 13 "War is a mere continuation of policy by other means. . . . War is not merely a political act, but also a truly political instrument, a continuation of political commerce, a carrying out of the same by other means." Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–1976*, trans. David Macey (London: Penguin, 2004), 15.
 - 14 Paul Thomas Chamberlin, *The Global Offensive: The United States, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 13. Further studies in this field include the work of the historian Samuel Moyn, who argues in *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), that the explosion of the concept of "solidarity" in the human rights discourse by the end of the 1970s corresponds with the time at which revolutionary movements/liberation struggles and decolonizing processes resulted in the formation of nation-states (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau). From this perspective, "solidarity" in human rights became the "last utopia" for the transitional potency for political independence. However, Moyn's explicitly American perspective dismisses the importance of decolonizing processes; or as Chamberlin writes, "Local peoples and states were minor participants in a story dominated by the architects of empire" (Chamberlin, *Global Offensive*, 7).
 - 15 Irmgard Emmelhainz, "Before Our Eyes: Les Mots, Non les Choses. Jean-Luc Godard's *Ici et Ailleurs* (1970–74) and *Notre Musique* (2004)" (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2009).
 - 16 Christopher Dobson, *Black September: Its Short, Violent History* (New York: Macmillan, 1975).
 - 17 See Emmelhainz, "Before Our Eyes."
 - 18 In 1979, Edward Said described the conditions of the Palestinian national movement's internationalizing its cause. See: Edward Said, *The Question of Palestine* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992 [1979]), 157–168.
 - 19 Tariq Ibrahim, author interview, November 2011, Beirut, translation from Arabic by Hisham Awad.
 - 20 At that time, the tectonics of the Cold War shifted in several directions: regarding the German–German issue, the Helsinki Accords in 1975 led to the mutual recognition of equality of sovereignty for the two German states. Stuart Hall published the essay, "The Great Moving Right Show," *Marxism Today*, 1979, which analyzed the brutal introduction of neoliberalism as "authoritarian populism." Furthermore, the stability of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) went into crisis when Cuba under Fidel Castro was accused of luring the NAM into the hands of the Soviets during its sixth summit in Havana in 1979.
 - 21 Not by coincidence at around the same time, in 1978, Robert Berger produced the TV series *Holocaust* for the NBC television network, which saw the advent of Holocaust studies becoming part of popular culture and mass-circulation of visual projects. Culminating in Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* from 1985, a documentary based on testimonies.
 - 22 On 30 August 1982, almost three weeks before the Sabra and Shatila Massacre took place in Beirut, the PLO headquarter under Yasir Arafat escaped from Beirut by the boat called *Atlantis* to Cyprus, Tunis, and Algiers. See: Fouad Elkoury, *Atlantis*, 13.40min, 2012, www.fouadelkoury.com/install.php?id=25 (accessed 1 October 2016). The Palestine parliament-in-exile, under the leadership of the PLO, moved to Tunis until 1994.
 - 23 In March 1978, Fatah fighters attacked and killed Israeli passengers on a bus on the Tel Aviv–Haifa highway. See Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949–1993* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 424–29.
 - 24 In a chapter titled "De 1967 à l'Intifada," political scientist Julien Salingue analyzes the NGO-ization of Palestinian politics in the post-Oslo period, including its preparatory conditions. See Julien Salingue, *La Palestine des ONG Entre résistance et collaboration* (Paris: La Fabrique, 2015), 62–74.
 - 25 Hanan el-Wazir, in "De la révolution à la construction d'un état: le Mouvement de libération nationale de la Palestine (le Fatah) et l'autorité nationale palestinienne: relation et dilemmes" (PhD thesis, Université de

- Genève, 2001). Wazir detects two main forces for the modernization of radicalization and the institutionalization that accompanied the transformation of the PLO from a revolutionary movement into a potentially pre-governmental political party. See also her analysis of Fatah's founding of the Young Students' Movement at Birzeit University in early 1980, "Les universités et le mouvement des jeunes étudiants," 105–7.
- 26 See Wazir, "De la révolution." Wazir, the daughter of Abu Jihad, analyses the relations and dilemmas in the transition of the PLO (and Fatah) from a revolutionary movement to a political entity; i.e. as it resonates today in the Palestinian Authority with regard to the socially and economically inherent processes of modernization. Unfortunately, Wazir does not discuss her place as the daughter of the "prince of martyrs" (as her father was popularly known) and what this meant for her, socially and educationally, as a young Palestinian woman living post-Oslo Ramallah. However, her thesis provides profound and detailed insight, based on interviews with many protagonists) into the strong entanglement between the PLO (especially Fatah) and the Palestinian Authority.
 - 27 "Eine solche Zusammensetzung sei erstmalig, wurde mir gesagt," original final report, 1980, unpublished: the Horst Sturm archive.
 - 28 Yezid Sayigh, "Palestinian Armed Struggle: Means and Ends," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 16, no. 1 (Autumn 1986): 96–112.
 - 29 Michael Minholz and Uwe Stirnberg, "Solidarische Hilfe des ADN als Instrument der DDR-Außenpolitik," *Der Allgemeine Deutsche Nachrichtendienst (ADN)* (Munich: Kommunikation und Politik, 1995), 345.
 - 30 Although, the photographic-educational collaborations began in official organizational structures, the cooperation agreement between Wafa and the ADN was not signed until January 1982. See: *Palestine – PLO Information Bulletin* 8, no. 2 (Jan. 1982): 15–31, online at www.newjerseysolidarity.org/plobulletin/vol8no02jan1982/events_in_photos.shtml (accessed 24 April 2016). The East German press agency reported on the collaborations from the start, see: "Beim Abschied waren wir Feunde" (At Farewell We Had Become Friends), *ADN Bulletin* (1980–1981), with a series of photographs by Horst Sturm and Youssef Khotoub, in the archives of Horst Sturm and Youssef Khotoub. Sturm's assemblage of images also contains snapshots that document him meeting Yasir Arafat, which supports the idea of the "delegation system." See Hans-Magnus Enzensberger, "Tourists of the Revolution," in: *Critical Essays*, New York: Continuum, 1982, p. 165.
 - 31 Sonja D. Schmid, "Nuclear Colonization?: Soviet Technopolitics in the Second World," in *Entangled Geographies. Empire and Technopolitics in the Global Cold War*, ed. Gabrielle Hecht (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), 130.
 - 32 Proposal for a photographic course with the ANA agency in Yemen in 1983, unpublished: the Horst Sturm archive. In context, the proximity of Horst Sturm's photographic practice to so-called *Arbeiterfotografie* is relevant for a social and political understanding of the role of photography in East Germany. See Sarah James, "Photography's Theoretical Blind Spots. Looking at the German Paradigm," *Visual Anthropology Review* 21, nos. 1–2 (2006): 27–46; Jorge Ribalta, "Introduction: Outline for a Map of the Debates around Documentary in the 'Long' 1970s," in *Not Yet. On the Reinvention of Documentary and the Critique of Modernism* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2015), 16–45; Doreen Mende, "The Itinerant: On the Delayed Arrival of Images from International Solidarity with Palestine that Resonate towards a Geopolitical Exigency in Exhibiting Processes under Globalising Conditions" (PhD thesis, Goldsmiths, University of London, 2015), 82–88, online at research.gold.ac.uk/11395/ (accessed 23 April 2016).
 - 33 Mende, "The Itinerant," 82–88.
 - 34 Laura U. Marks, *Hanan al-Cinema: Affections for the Moving Image* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2015), 97.
 - 35 Chamberlin, *Global Offensive*.
 - 36 Tariq Ibrahim, author interview, November 2011, Beirut. Abu Jihad is the *nom de guerre* of Khalil al-Wazir. Israeli Army Special Forces assassinated him in his flat in Tunis in 1988.
 - 37 In "Off Frame," an ongoing art project initiated by Mohanad Yaqubi and Reem Shilleh in 2009.
 - 38 Ali Hussein, editor-in-chief of the Palestinian Press and Information Service (Wafa), author interview, November 2011. See: Doreen Mende, *Itineraries to Translucency*, 2013, 10:25 min, short-video research essay.
 - 39 Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Picador, 1977), 24.
 - 40 Youssef Khotoub, interview with Armin Linke (for author), November 2011, Wafa in Ramallah; translation from Arabic by Sandi Hilal.
 - 41 The subject of the child alone is not the reserve of Youssef Khotoub's photographs: in 1980, Kurt Tetzlaff realized the documentary *Die Kinder Palästinas* (The Children of Palestine); the location was the children's home "al-Sumud" (Raschedije) in Tyre, Lebanon, for DEFA.
 - 42 Bertold Beiler, *Weltanschauung der Fotografie: Beiträge zu einer marxistischen Ästhetik der Fotografie* (Munich: Kurbiskern und Tendenzen, Damnitz, 1977).

- 43 The private archive of Horst Sturm contains several photographs depicting Sturm together with fighters in South Lebanon. These images promote the heroic fighter figure as well as bringing the entanglement between militancy and photography in the Palestinian struggle to the fore as early as the 1980s.
- 44 See Jean Genet, "Four Hours in Shatila," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 12, no. 3 (Spring 1983): 3–22.
- 45 Youssef Khotoub, interview with Armin Linke (for author), November 2011, Wafa in Ramallah; translation from Arabic by Sandi Hilal.
- 46 Sontag, *On Photography*, 17, 23.
- 47 See Laura Mulvey, *Death 24x a Second: Stillness and the Moving Image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006).
- 48 One example is the exhibition *Die Standhaften* (The Steadfast People) held in the Fernsehturm TV tower gallery at Alexanderplatz in East Berlin, in November 1982. The exhibition was opened by a representative of the Palestinian delegation in East Germany, the photographer Horst Sturm, and the head of the Committee of Solidarity. In January 1983, *Wochepost* (Weekly Post) published a report on the September 1982 massacre of the civilian population in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in Beirut. One of the photographs by Horst Sturm won an award at the Fotoschau der DDR (Photo Show of the GDR).
- 49 Such images reappear forcefully with each "humanitarian crisis": consider, for example, Aylan Kurdi, a three-year-old Syrian boy of Kurdish ethnic background who drowned in the Mediterranean. His lifeless body, washed up on a beach in Greece on 2 September 2015, made global headlines.
- 50 To consider the fracturing geopolitical changes that took place around 1989 on a global scale, see Terry Smith's response in Hal Forster, ed., "Questionnaire on 'The Contemporary,'" *October* 130 (Fall 2009): 46–57.
- 51 Ralf Schenk interviews the filmmaker Iris Gusner about *Die Taube auf dem Dach* (The Dove on the Roof, 1973, 1990, 2010) a production by the DEFA Foundation. See press material of the DVD release by DEFA Film Library, University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2011.
- 52 Homi Bhabha, "Foreword: Framing Fanon," introduction to Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, (New York: Grove Press, 2004), vii–xli.
- 53 Eyal Weizman, *The Least of All Possible Evil* (London: Verso, 2011), 19.
- 54 Salingue, *Palestine des ONG*, 62–74. Salingue, a political scientist, analyses the NGO-ization of Palestinian politics before and after the Oslo accords.
- 55 Sharon Sliwinski, *Human Rights in Camera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
- 56 Sliwinski, *Human Rights*, 11, 44.
- 57 See Harun Farocki, "The Industrialization of Thought," *Discourse: Journal for Theoretical Studies in Media and Culture* 15, no. 3 (Spring 1993): 76–77.