TRACES OF SOLIDARITY IN THE ARCHIVE: MAPPING COLLABORATION BETWEEN PALESTINE AND YUGOSLAVIA IN THE NON-ALIGNED NEWS AGENCIES' POOL

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADN:	Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst
ALN:	National Liberation Army of Algeria
IISH:	International Institute of Social History
NAM:	Non-Aligned Movement
NANAP:	Non-Aligned News Agencies' Pool
PFU:	Palestine Film Unit
PLO:	Palestine Liberation Organisation
WAFA:	Wikalat al-Anbaa' al-Filastinya (Palestine News Agency)

What is the legacy of non-alignment in the archive? In 2013, an archival collection of Algerian cinema was repatriated from the archive of the Yugoslav newsreel company Filmske Novosti.[1] Yugoslavia was the first home of the National Liberation Army of Algeria (ALN) cinema archive, and an important example in the restitution of moving image archives.[2] As a result, writer and researcher Nikolaus Perneczky opts to turn to the history of international solidarity in audio-visual archiving in the socialist and nonaligned countries that "contain numerous, if informal, instances of 'really existing' moving image restitution," instead of approaching the history of these collections through a colonial framework.[3] Following this example, we asked ourselves: can we trace other paths of these alternative structures of distribution and solidarity in the archives?

In 1975, Yugoslav press agency Tanjug initiated the formation of an international news pool within the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), which until 1990 remained an important aspect of NAM's cultural infrastructure. The Non-Aligned News Agencies' Pool (NANAP) arose from the need for self-representation, agency, and an alternative representational structure to counter the information imperialism by Western news agencies. Based on NAM's principles of decolonisation, cultural independence, and collaboration, NANAP was concerned with factual representation *of* the non-aligned countries *by* the non-aligned countries, thereby counteracting cultural imperialism and increasing the mutual exchange of information between members. Participating news agencies were able to submit their own news items as well as make use of those supplied by the other participating agencies.

1 Viktoria Metschl, "Détours et retours: la mobilité des archives du cinéma algérien," *Africultures*, no. 101–102 (2016): 118.

2 In this text, "Yugoslavia" refers to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia unless otherwise noted.

3 Nikolaus Perneczky, "African Film Heritage: The Case for Restitution," in *Accidental Archivism*, ed. Stefanie Schulte Strathaus and Vinzenz Hediger (meson press, 2023), 400–401.

In this paper, we explore the international and alternative representational structure of the NANAP in general, and particularly, we follow two different trajectories within the NANAP: that of the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug on one hand, and the Palestinian news agency WAFA on the other.[4] In this way, we juxtapose how these agencies operated differently within the framework of NANAP and trace intersections between two news agencies: one that was the main proponent of the NANAP, operated from the heart of a founding member of the NAM, and was an established media institution; and a news agency that was established shortly before NANAP and operated between 1972-1994 as a news agency in exile.[5]

We chose to follow these two trajectories because they oppose each other in many ways–in their foundation, operation, and preservation of the archival materials. WAFA, as the news agency of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and the most important news distributor of occupied Palestine, was operating from exile and was displaced multiple times, which ultimately resulted in the destruction, looting, and displacement of their archives. Meanwhile, it is a vestige of Tanjug's past stewardship that not only is the collection so diverse (owing to Tanjug's expansive international presence during the 1970s and lasting until the Yugoslav wars), but also that it is so united. In comparison to WAFA's intermittently necessary relocations, Tanjug has always occupied a central office in Belgrade. Tanjug managed to hold fast to that centre even through the wars in the 1990s, though it emerged changed by both internal turmoil and external economic pressures.[6] However, Tanjug's leading position as a representative of the NAM's only European country complicated NANAP's decolonial ideals.[7]

We aim to map out the effects of the Yugoslav and Palestinian news collaboration in the NANAP via archival news material, along with their echoes within the archives where they have been stored and are being kept today. This mapping also reveals effects of transition on these archival collections, both locally–with the collapse of Socialist Yugoslavia and the ongoing Israeli occupation of Palestine–and globally–with the shift out of Cold War dynamics. Furthermore, we explore questions of solidarity and safekeeping of audiovisual newsreels in archives of NAM member countries and how this type of mutual exchange can function as an example for restitution of audiovisual heritage today. We look into the period of 1975, from the foundation of the NANAP, until the early 1990s, in which both countries experienced significant political

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WAFA is the abbreviation of Wikalat al-Anbaa' al-Filastinya/ Wikalat Anbaa' Filastiniya (that translates to Palestine News Agency). In addition, the word 'wafa' (الوفاء) can be translated as 'trust' or 'loyalty.'

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Compared to Yugoslavia, one of the founders of the NAM, the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation), as official representative of the Palestinian people, joined the NAM in the same period the official plans for the NANAP were drawn; in 1973 as an observer state, but in 1976 as an official member. As a result, more PLO offices were established in non-aligned countries. See: "4th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement," Non-Aligned Movement, 5-9 September, 1973, Algiers, Algeria, 5, https://www.ris.org.in/sites/default/files/NAM%20Summit-4-Sep%205-9-1973-FinalDocument-AlgiersDeclaration-min.pdf; "5th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Goverment of the Non-Aligned Moverment," Non-Aligned Movement, 16-19 August, 1976, Colombo, Sri Lanka, 9, https://www.ris.org.in/sites/default/files/NAM%20Summit-5-Colombo-%20Aug%2016-19%201976-FinalDocument-Colombo%20Declaration-min.pdf; Alain Gresh, *The PLO the Struggle Within: Towards an Independent Palestinian State*, trans. A.M. Berrett (Zed Books Ltd., 1985), 135.

6
Christian Vukasovich and Oliver Boyd-Barrett, "Whatever happened to Tanjug? Re-loading memory for an understanding of the global news system," *the International Communication Gazette* 74, no. 8 (December 2012): 702-704.

7
For Paul Stubbs discussion of Yugoslavia's "liminal hegemony," see: Paul Stubbs, "Socialist Yugoslavia and the Antinomies of the Non-Aligned Movement," *LeftEast*, June 17, 2019, https://lefteast.org/yugoslavia-antinomies-non-aligned-movement/#_edn17.

changes: the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1992 and the return of the PLO, and therefore WAFA, to Palestine in 1994.

Our methodology includes a review of the literature on the NANAP, Tanjug, and WAFA, and the institutional and historical contexts of the archives in which these materials were produced, stored, and are currently held. It should be noted that even though NANAP was created for the distribution of news materials, and not for archival safekeeping, we deliberately chose to analyse it through a framework of archival studies since we are looking at the archival materials and collections. Furthermore, we tried to locate the archival collections of Tanjug and WAFA and assess their accessibility, along with a review of accessed materials. We are well aware that our findings are based on bits and pieces we found in the archives we were able to access.

There are many gaps in the information we were able to find, due to both the stewardship and degradation of the materials over time. Paolo Cherchi Usai, film history philosopher, writes: "The ultimate goal of film history is an account of its own disappearance, or its transformation into another entity."[8] We attempt to create a narrative alongside the information we find to include and account for these gaps. We think of the archive itself as a narrative, similar to how film studies scholar Viktoria Metschl notes that inside the archive, the placement of objects and collections that each contain an individual narrative–through both its content and its history of production, circulation, and distribution outside of the archive–are placed on specific shelves next to other collections, thereby creating a dialogue.[9] In the case studies of this article, the narrative is heavily influenced by the fact that one is kept together and the other is scattered. This essay is part of a larger puzzle in which we seek to discover some lost pieces and hidden connections. We aim to uncover these histories and networks of international solidarity in the archive to, hopefully, discover alliances in safekeeping and to activate the archive to open up paths for lost heritage and restitution.

NANAP: INFRASTRUCTURE OF DISTRIBUTION

The NANAP or 'the Pool', is a non-aligned information strategy and infrastructure, which resulted from the desire to establish an alternate model of global news flows that would counter the existing gap in communication between the non-aligned world and the hegemonic media infrastructure of the Global North.[10] The first official concept to create an institutional form for informational collaboration was initiated during the 4th NAM summit held in Algiers in 1973.[11] At that point, there was barely any cooperation regarding informational exchange, and NAM-members were encouraged to establish national news agencies and increase the collaboration.[12]

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Paolo Chechi Usai, *The Death of Cinema: History, Cultural Memory and the Digital Dark Age* (British Film Institute, 2001), 89.

9
Metschl, "Détours et retours," 117.

10
Aleksander Sašo Slaček Brlek, "The Creation of the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool," *Contributions to Contemporary History* 62, no. 1 (2022): 38-39.

11
Vukasovich and Boyd-Barrett, "Whatever happened to Tanjug?," 697.

12
Even though some national news agencies were hesitant to join NANAP because of existing regional news cooperations, Tunisia was one of the first supporters of Yugoslavia's initiative, and at the start eleven news agencies, including PLO's news agency WAFA, had agreed to take part in the pool. The first twelve members of the Pool thus came from Algiers, Egypt, Tunisia, Iraq, Libya, Palestine, Mali, Sudan, Ghana, Cuba, Mexico, and Yugoslavia. See: Brlek, "Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool," 48, 51-52.

The objectives of the Pool were aligned with the anti-imperialist values of the NAM of enhancing both cultural and informational independence and collaboration between its members. There was an emphasis on reinforcing "self-reliance" to counter the reliance on existing unequal news flows and hegemonic Western media representation of the non-aligned world.[13] News agencies contributed to the NANAP by submitting news items and using news items supplied by the other participating agencies to increase the visibility of the NAM and its members, and improve its distorted image in Western media.[14]

NANAP was officially established in 1975, but the concept of an alternative international media pool was already instigated during the early talks about the creation of the NAM. Yugoslavia's president Tito, one of the founders of the NAM, had a vision to counter the existing power blocs in informational cooperation as well.[15] These early ideas were already incorporated in the structure of Yugoslav news agency Tanjug. Consequently, even prior to the creation of the Pool, Tanjug was concerned with encouraging the formation of national news agencies in NAM-countries and fostering cooperation and exchange between the members.[16] Furthermore, in the late 1960s Tanjug supported several (recently-established) national news agencies of NAM-members by offering education to their journalists and providing technical aid in the form of sharing knowledge and sending radio printers.[17]

WAFA was founded in 1972, coinciding with the creation of the Pool, and therefore a relatively new agency compared to the established position of Tanjug.[18] Tanjug's relatively early development allowed it the opportunity to take a leading role in the NANAP, and perhaps also motivation to support a pooling of news resources that would allow it to further expand its own news coverage at a lower cost than establishing and maintaining its own outposts. Tanjug did send material aid to other smaller news agencies that participated in the Pool, but their expansion and information sharing also materially benefited Tanjug itself.[19] This relationship is close to an ideal outcome of solidarity, one where everyone involved benefits and so is incentivised to continue aiding each other. However, perhaps Tanjug's head start in development allowed it to dominate among its NANAP peers early on and, through its presence in the global market, prevent the growth of fellow Pool

13
Bojana Videkanić, *Nonaligned Modernism: Socialist Postcolonial Aesthetics in Yugoslavia*, 1945-1985 (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 141.

14
Bojana Piškur and Đorđe Balmazović, "Non-Aligned Cross-Cultural Pollination: A Short Graphic Novel," in *Socialist Yugoslavia and the Non-Aligned Movement: Social, Cultural, Political, and Economic Imaginaries,* ed. Paul Stubbs (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2023), 163-164.

15
Vukasovich and Boyd-Barrett, "Whatever happened to Tanjug?," 694.

16
Brlek, "Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool," 45-47.

17
Brlek, "Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool," 44; Vukasovich and Boyd-Barrett, "Whatever happened to Tanjug?," 702; We did not find concrete evidence in the literature or archives that affirms the exchange of technical aid and expertise between Tanjug and WAFA, but at the same time nothing that ruled it out either, and the timeline of the creation of both NANAP and WAFA does suggest the possibility.

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Tanjug, although officially established in 1943, inherited journalists and their practices from the Avala News Agency, which operated from 1919 in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Not having to start entirely from a clean slate may have helped Tanjug develop quickly, but what else did it inherit from its pre-revolutionary predecessor? Citing Miloš Konstantinović, International Relations Editor of Tanjug, Vukasovich and Boyd-Barrett claim the influence of Avala reporters and the liberal leanings of Mosha Piade, Tanjug's first director, resulted in Tanjug's "commitment to objectivity and accuracy," giving it a tone that read as more objective and less propagandistic than similar Soviet government-funded news agencies to Western audiences. See: Vukasovich and Boyd-Barrett, "Whatever happened to Tanjug?," 701.

19
For example, to Ethiopia, Tunisia, Algiers, Ghana, Mali, Congo (Brazzaville), Uganda, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Mexico and Bolivia in 1969. See: Brlek, "Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool," 44.

members to its status. Taking this into account, the Pool was perhaps most beneficial to news agencies that were just starting to gain their footing or that were in need of resources without editorial strings attached and, of course, to Tanjug itself.

An interesting regular occurrence early in Tanjug's operation that decreased during the 1980s was the practice of oral news for self-managed workers.[20] This practice placed journalists in the role of an educator, described below by an interviewed Tanjug journalist:

> So, we went to a company, a mine, and we told them about foreign or domestic policy. There was always one journalist covering international affairs, one for the current affairs, and then you had a conversation that lasted for hours. They asked about politics, about everything.[…] It was actually a nice exchange with those people and then we prepared an article.[21]

Domestically, at least, Tanjug reporters were involved directly and rather intensively, informing the workforce about politics and other happenings, both international and internal. Rather than journalists and editors simply disseminating curated information, workers could guide the discussion towards topics they chose to ask about. It is a political decision to have these oral news discussions with self-managed workers in their workplaces, specifically, since the Yugoslav socialist project rested upon them as its defining characteristic. If this practice was taught to Non-Aligned journalists being trained in Yugoslavia, or if it was omitted from the curriculum, it could have interesting implications, speaking to how much of its own political culture Yugoslavia was willing to impart on its NANAP collaborators.

Unlike Tanjug, the Palestinian news outlets were intertwined with the PLO. The foundation of news agency WAFA was the result of the institutionalisation of the PLO in the early 1970s, when several departments were created, including the Unified Information Unit.[22] This department aimed to spread the vision of the PLO, to mobilise the masses for the Palestinian resistance, and to create a common national consciousness.[23] Albeit operating from Beirut, as a news agency in exile, WAFA functioned as the main source for information in that region, even for local news sources in the occupied territories.[24] To achieve media legitimacy, the PLO opted to publish daily.[25]

PLO's WAFA aligned with several objectives of the NANAP's, including an emphasis on anti-imperialism, self-representation, and self-reliance. As a news outlet, WAFA was focused on proof and evidence of the violation of human rights on the one hand, and national

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Igor Vobič, Kristina Milić, and Ana Milojević, "Remembering Tanjug: Analysing the Re-Articulation of Journalistic Roles at the National News Agency of Socialist Yugoslavia," *Contributions to Contemporary History* 62, no. 1 (2022): 117.

21
Vobič, Milić, Milojević, "Remembering Tanjug," 117.

22
Dina Matar, "PLO Cultural Activism: Mediating Liberation Aesthetics in Revolutionary Contexts," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 38, no. 2 (2018): 357.

23
Matar, "PLO Cultural Activism," 357.

24
Noha Mellor, *The Making of Arab News* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 55-56.

25
Dina Matar, "The PLO's Political Communication Arena: Arafat and the Struggle for Media Legitimacy," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 50, no. 5 (2023): 1332.

liberation on the other. The PLO aimed to counter the image of the Palestinians as a "powerless refugee" towards an "active participant in the liberation movement."[26] The operation of the news agency WAFA cannot be separated from the Palestinian cause and their right to self-determination. The news outlets were instrumental in representing Palestine as a nation to both the Palestinian people–who were scattered over the occupied territories, or exiled to refugee camps and the diaspora–and to the international community. WAFA was an important factor in creating a national consciousness among a dispersed nation. PLO chairman Yasser Arafat frequently used the platform of WAFA to directly address the Palestinians as one nation.[27] This approach corresponds with political scientist Benedict Anderson's concept of the 'imagined community' in which he argues that nation-states and nationalism are created through the use of language in the printed press.[28] Moreover, the active participation of the PLO in the NAM, NANAP, and other international networks contributed to the PLO's strategy to represent itself as a functioning nation-state to the international community.[29]

Each media had its own fraction within the PLO Unified Information Department. The film department–also working under the name of the Palestine Film Unit (PFU) –functioned as a collective that produced Palestinian film, including newsreels.[30] According to Palestinian filmmaker Mohanad Yaqubi, approximately 70 copies of each film that the PFU produced were distributed to PLO offices abroad, student unions, worker unions, political parties, and film festivals.[31] Following the PLO's displacement from Beirut, the PFU film archive was not transported due to its weight, with plans to return and collect it later, which has remained impossible to date.[32]

MIGRATION OF MEMORY: FROM DISTRIBUTION TO SAFEKEEPING

Tanjug's archival collection is housed mainly within the Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, Serbia. Although 31,000 films of the collection are digitised, they are only available to view in the archive's reading room or through documents obtained by request by communication with the archive, not through the online portal like some of the archive's other collections. Tanjug's collection includes approximately 3.5 million photographs, a visual representation of Tanjug's once-expansive global coverage.[33]

On the contrary, WAFA's materials are dispersed between multiple archives in different countries. In addition to examining the Yugoslav-Palestinian exchange and safekeeping of news materials, we expanded the scope to the distribution of WAFA's materials within the NANAP. In order to locate and assess the archives that keep

26
Matar, "PLO Cultural Activism," 357.

27
Matar, "PLO's Political Communication Arena," 1332; This was also very apparent in the collection of WAFA newspapers we consulted at the International Institute of Social History.

28
Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (Verso, 2006), 46.

29
Gresh, *The PLO the Struggle Within*, 188.

30
Rona Sela, "Seized in Beirut: The Plundered Archives of the Palestinian Cinema Institution and Cultural Arts Section," *Anthropology of the Middle East* 12, no. 1 (Summer 2017): 84.

31
Mohanad Yaqubi, "A Militant Cinema: a Conversation between Mohanad Yaqubi and Sheyma Buali," interviewed by Sheyma Buali, *Ibraaz*, May 2, 2012, https://ibraaz.org/interviews/16.

32
Yaqubi, interview.

33
Vukasovich and Boyd-Barrett, "Whatever happened to Tanjug?," 706.

(parts of) the archive of WAFA, we looked into the relocations of the PLO. From its foundation in 1972 until its return to Palestine in 1994, WAFA has operated as a news agency in exile. It was established in 1972 in Beirut, where it was located until the Second Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. Subsequently, they were forced to disperse from Beirut and relocated in 1983 to Tunisia, which served as the Coordinating Bureau within the NANAP and the Coordinator for Information within the NAM.[34] After the departure of the PLO from Beirut, WAFA resumed its activities in both Cyprus and Tunisia.[35] The fragmentation after 1982 complicated both the operation of a national news agency then and the study of it now. Unfortunately, the inquiry at both the state archives in Tunis and in Cyprus remained unsuccessful.

We chose to follow these connections because the framework of international solidarity existing within the NAM has proven to be more promising (in the case of the Algerian cinematographic collection). To illustrate, curator Rona Sela discovered and disclosed a collection of PFU films that was archived but forcibly left behind in the PLO office in Beirut, in the Israeli Defense Forces Archive.[36] The films were catalogued as "seized films from the PLO archive in Beirut" and were looted after the Israeli invasion.[37] This collection includes films and newsreels produced by the PFU. However, the archive's inaccessibility for Palestinians in the first place complicates the idea of preservation and restitution.

Within a list of the Tanjug collection, an initial search for *"Palestin"* (Palestine), "PLO," and *"Palestinska oslobodilačka organizacija"* (Palestine Liberation Organisation) brings up the majority of Folder 626 of the collection (containing approximately ninety items) plus forty-five other newsreels. On review of these newsreels' descriptions, several thematic groupings emerge: state visits, international relations, youth/student activities, and cultural/institutional exchanges.[38] Among these newsreels are also a number of replications of Palestinian publications, which may have originated from WAFA through the NANAP.

Additionally, we decided to look closer to home. The IISH (International Institute of Social History) in Amsterdam holds a collection of WAFA newspapers from the period 1980-1982.[39] This collection provided more insight into the objectives and operations of WAFA, as well as into their international relations and collaborations in that period. In the newspapers, there was a focus on regional Palestinian news and imagery to counter information and propaganda campaigns from Israeli and Zionist allies', such as the

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Arafat refused to move the headquarters to Damascus, because Syria backed out of the support for Palestine and signed a peace-treaty with Israel. The next choice was Tunisia. See: Gresh, *The PLO the Struggle Within*, 237-238, 283.

35
Lucy Dean et al, ed., *Regional Surveys of the World: The Middle East and North Africa 2004*, 50th ed. (Europa Publications, 2004), 934.

36
Sela, "Seized in Beirut," 83.

37
Sela, "Seized in Beirut," 83.

38
In the state visit category, the reporting is often on the visit of a PLO leader (usually Yasser Arafat) to Yugoslavia, and sometimes on the visit of multiple officials or delegations from Palestine. The international relations articles consist mainly of reports on the PLO's actions on the global political stage, such as involvement in meetings at the UN or within the NAM, as well as some articles with a focus on actions of solidarity with Palestine in Yugoslavia, by both the public and the SSRNJ. Newsreels about youth/student activities mention actions by Palestinian students and their student unions in Yugoslavia, and also actions by general Yugoslav students and youth in solidarity with the Palestinian liberation movement, typically protests or assemblies. Reports on cultural/institutional exchanges constitute the smallest category of this initial search, describing a dinner honoring Izzat Tannous, a conference for the press of Palestine's ministry of information, and an exhibition of Palestinian art hosted in Belgrade.

39
WAFA, Palestine news agency, Beirut, IISG ZK 55470, International Institute of Social History.

United States.[40] For the PLO, anti-imperialism often equaled anti-zionist imperialism. In their short articles, often no longer than one paragraph, there was language of armed struggle and a focus on military operations, international solidarity, and diplomatic visits to non-aligned and socialist countries. Another insight from analysing the newspapers was that WAFA was actively engaging in collaborations with news agencies outside the NANAP, namely ADN (Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst) from the German Democratic Republic and Soviet News Agency Novosti.[41] For example, the ADN donated equipment to WAFA, as part of their joint cooperation agreement.[42] This was similar to Tanjug's role in the early period of the NANAP.

Media and communication scholar Aleksander Sašo Slaček Brlek identifies this as one of the shortcomings of the NANAP: 'self-reliance' became reliance on (or alliance with) the media of the power blocs that the NAM was organised to resist succumbing to.[43] However, since the primary objective of the NAM was to resist and avoid (neo)colonial relations, collaboration with hegemonic powers was not necessarily a failure of the NAM if such collaboration was on mutual terms. In the case of the PLO, sustaining–or expanding–alliances with other socialist countries enhanced the support and mobilisation of the international community.

The distribution of news materials, and its preservation in multiple archives, is what Metschl refers to as the "migration of memory and the memory of the migration of cinematographic images."[44] While this essay focuses on the benefits of distribution and preservation in these alternative international structures of solidarity, it is also important to acknowledge the disadvantages. Unfortunately, migration of memory equals fragmentation of memory, which is the core issue of Palestinian memory and heritage. According to Palestinian literary critic and political activist Edward Said, Palestinian presence is also found in the gaps of the archive. He described the following in 1984, which sadly continues to be relevant today: "a small archive to be discussed in terms of absences, and gaps in terms either pre-narrative or, in a sense, anti-narrative. The archive speaks of the depressed condition of the Palestinian narrative at present."[45]

FROM SAFEKEEPING TO ACCESS

Both in Palestine and Yugoslavia, news production and reporting tended to focus on domestic issues in times of crisis. In Yugoslavia in the 1990s, as war broke out, Tanjug turned inwards, focusing on the Yugoslav Wars, and the reporting of international news slowed.[46] For Palestine, the national focus was continuous due to the

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Matar, "PLO's Political Communication Arena," 1326; Sameer Abraham, "The PLO at the Crossroads: Moderation, Encirclement, Future Prospects," *MERIP Reports*, no. 80 (1979): 7.

41
ADN was also involved in the photographers course of the PLO Unified Information Department. See: WAFA, "WAFA graduates photographers course", November 17, 1981, 7-8; Collaboration and educational exchange between photographers of the ADN and WAFA is discussed more elaborately in: Doreen Mende, "Solidarity in Struggle: Photography on the Threshold between Revolution and Humanitarian Violence," *Jerusalem Quaterly* 67 (2016).

42
WAFA, "GDR delegation visits Palestinian institutions, meets GUPWJ", 27 September 1980, 2.

43
Brlek, "Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool," 59.

44
Metschl, "Détours et retours," 117. Own translation.

45
Edward Said, "Permission to Narrate," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 13, no. 3 (Spring 1984): 38.

46
Vukasovich and Boyd-Barrett, "Whatever happened to Tanjug?," 704.

ongoing occupation, and they needed to oppose both the misrepresentation by other media outlets and censorship. The NANAP and other non-aligned events were mainly discussed in relation to Palestine. Furthermore, diplomatic visits, expressing solidarity and strengthening bilateral relations with other non-aligned countries, frequently recurred in the news items. A focus on domestic issues and perspectives by a national news agency during times of crisis may read as a form of calling for support, rather than a shunning of solidarity.

The replications of Palestinian newsreels found in Tanjug's archival collection are a glimpse into how a freer exchange of information can be beneficial to global cultural heritage, creating copies of which originals may be missing, lost, or in the control of an occupying force. Even though circulation might not have happened through NANAP–since newsreels and other news materials were also sent through other relations, such as socialist parties and worker unions–it does offer an interesting framework to research these connections in the context of preservation, accessibility, and restitution. Even though the Tanjug collection played a vital role in the safekeeping of (copies of) materials from other NAM countries, including Palestine, this information is currently difficult to access remotely and impossible to search by origin of information through the NANAP. Remote access ought to be considered a priority for collections that may contain information for cultures or communities with their heritage dispersed widely, such as Palestine. Expending resources into research on NANAP- and NAM-related collections to enhance their searchability through origin of materials could also make available more items of international interest. Additionally, research into these collections and publication of findings can activate these collections from outside the archive database, making their holdings more visible and findable to others.

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