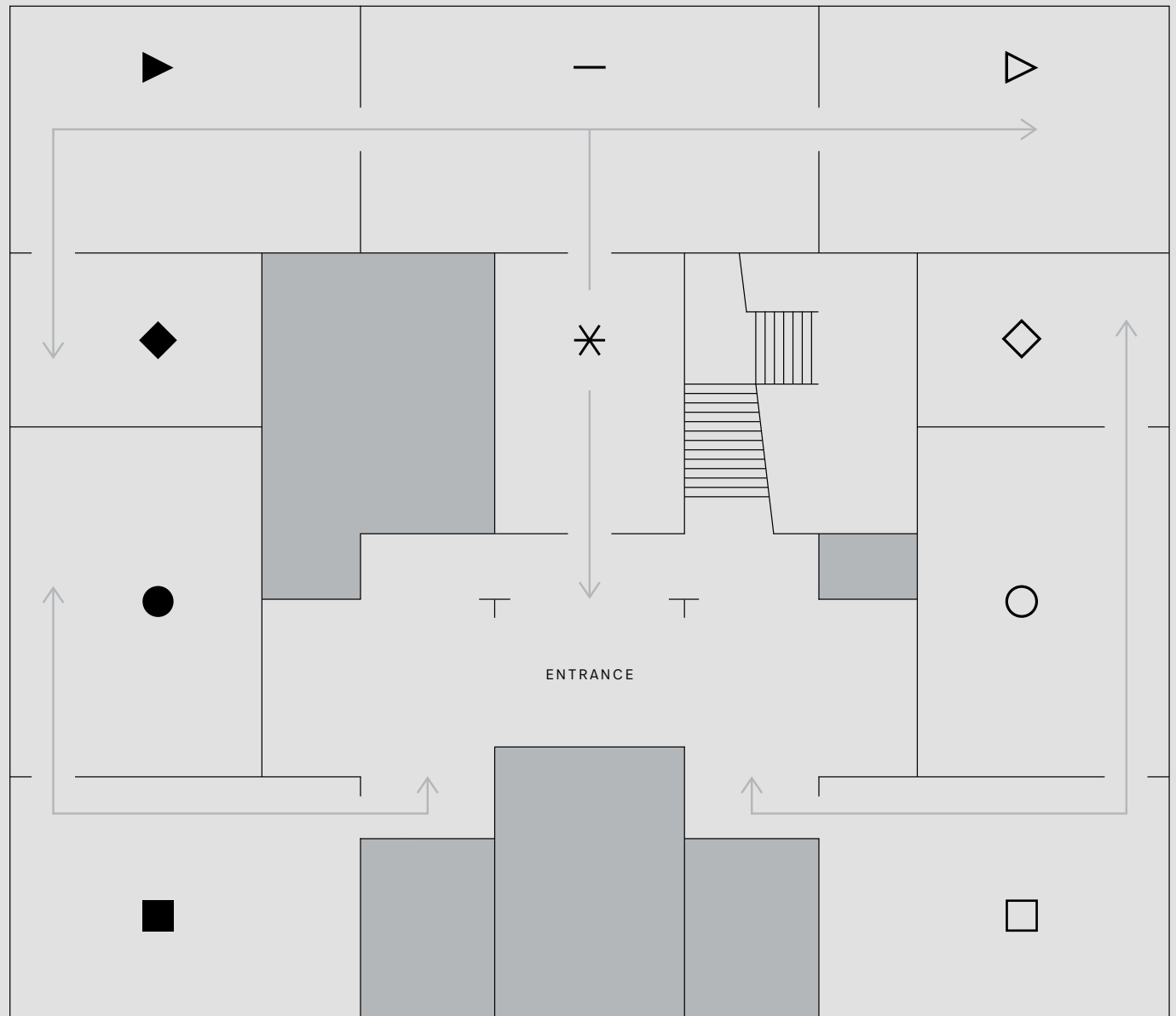


STATIONERY
REVISIONS

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19.11.2022

VAN ABBEMUSEUM

30.04.2023

REWINDING INTEFNATIONALISM

BOOK

SCENES FROM THE 1990S, TODAY

EN

01 'Rewinding
Internationalism',
Netwerk Aalst,
Belgium, 19 February
– 1 May 2022;
*Rewinding
Internationalism:
Scenes from
the 1990s, today*,
Van Abbemuseum,
Eindhoven,
19 November 2022
– 30 April 2023; and
Villa Arson, Nice,
17 June – 28 August
2023.

Introduction (Nick Aikens)

This publication accompanies the Van Abbe-museum exhibition *Rewinding Internationalism: Scenes from the 1990s, today*, the second iteration of a project that began with a 'rehearsal' at Netwerk Aalst in Belgium and is followed by a manifestation at Villa Arson in Nice.¹ *Rewinding Internationalism* comprises work by over 35 artists and collectives, including 5 new commissions, 4 collaborative research projects and several loans – in short, it is an undertaking by a huge number of collaborators and partners that has drawn on long-term alliances while forming new friendships.

The project is driven by a wish to explore 'internationalism' from the construct of a multitude of positions and through exhibition making. Rich in historical resonance related to emancipatory movements in the nineteenth and twentieth century, internationalism has a certain looseness of meaning now. Our purpose is not to fix a definition, but to navigate through art what internationalism might mean amid today's multiple, overlapping crises. The project is part of 'Our Many Europes', the multi-year programme of the European museum confederation L'Internationale, which takes its name from the nineteenth-century workers anthem composed by Eugène Pottier. In this context the exhibition asks what that history – and alignment – means today. The confederation has also been the structure through which a number of collaborations in the exhibition have taken place, a framework for internationalist collaborations to be developed.

'Rewinding' is adopted in the exhibition as a conceptual and semantic device, a means to revisit a moment out of sequence, divorced from its 'before' and 'after', so that it can be looked at with fresh eyes. It also points to video and sound as media prevalent in the exhibition, technologies on the move during the 1990s when the construct of internationalism was in a heady flux: the recon-

figuration of global geopolitics after the Cold War, the ascendancy of globalisation, and critiquing of these processes in the art system have had lasting implications for internationalism.

The five contributions here are written by participating artists, curators, or colleagues (past and present) within the confederation, offering a certain proximity of relations. My essay 'Rewinding Internationalism: Political Imaginaries at Work' opens the book in an attempt to bring together strands, from the motivations behind staging the exhibition, its methodology and ultimately its form, to close readings of display in individual rooms or of singular artworks, to mapping multiple contexts within the galleries. I propose approaching internationalism as a political imaginary, as both an analytical device and speculative proposition that the exhibition form sheds light on and brings forth.

Three conversations testify to the dialogic nature of the project's relations and how integral the exchanges with artists, curators and colleagues are to the overlapping processes in the project. In the first, curators Bojana Piškur, Grace Samboh and myself discuss our jointly conceived presentation, whose starting point is the exhibition *Contemporary Art of the Non-Aligned Countries: Unity in Diversity in International Art* held in Jakarta in 1995. The conversation moves through our interests and expertise that brought into view a constellation of research interests stemming from the original exhibition, the relationship between Yugoslavia and Indonesia as founding members of the Non-Aligned Movement and the movement's being 'out of time' in the shifting geopolitics of the 1990s. It is this element of exhibition-as-research that hovers over many of the speculative propositions contained within *Rewinding Internationalism*.

From here the focus moves to an analysis of a single artwork: Allan Sekula's slide piece *Waiting for Teargas (white globe to black)* (1999–2000) by curator and writer Pablo Martínez. Pablo's reading

of *Waiting for Teargas* reveals how the work marks the anti-globalisation movement of the 1990s and the emergence of the multitude through Sekula's particular use of the camera – among bodies on streets – and to resist a single representation of the multitude's struggle. Pablo's insistence on interlacing context, content and form similarly resonates with many aspects of the exhibition.

In the second conversation, artists Didem Pekün and Susan Pui San Lok / Lok Pui San discuss their new works during a meeting prior to the Netwerk Aalst iteration, with Lok Pui San's work subsequently developed for the Van Abbemuseum version. The presence of new work produced for the exhibition ensured the 1990s was never viewed from a distance, but rather from subjectivities today, and as part of an ongoing present. The conversation also unpicks the artists' different, complementary strategies for archival work that resist representing or reproducing archives to instead create scripts or scores that inhabit and re-enact them and the stories they contain.

The final conversation is with Sara Buraya Boned, project manager for 'Our Many Europes' and a key ally within the L'Internationale confederation. Sara touches on her relationship to, and experience of, internationalism, both within the museum network and through her role working in Museo en Red at Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía in Madrid. Reflecting on her own shifting understanding of the term during the initial onset of the Covid pandemic, the life span of *Rewinding Internationalism*, Sara points to internationalism as a space of solidarity, a horizon at once deeply situated as well as outwardly facing.

Across the book are three sequences of images showing installation shots from the exhibition, allowing readers to see both the varied content of the exhibition and the way it was spatialised through the scenography of Natascha Leonie Simons. The three groupings in the book

correspond to the different parts of the Van Abbemuseum's old building, which we divided for *Rewinding Internationalism*. By closing off doorways we interrupted the logic of the building's parkour, forcing visitors to turn around, rewind, and experience rooms, histories, sounds and objects from multiple perspectives and in alternative sequencing. The selection here offers one – of many – possible ways the exhibition was experienced. The floor plan at the front and list of works at the back of the book further allow readers to understand the choreography of the exhibition.

A project of this ambition and complexity is only possible because of the energy and commitment of those involved. I would like to extend my warm thanks to the contributors to this book, the exhibition's many lenders, my colleagues at the Van Abbemuseum, and the partners across the confederation and beyond. Most importantly, I thank the artists, researchers, designers, scenographers, curators and coordinators who, through their *practice*, as well as friendship and trust, gave the proposition of *Rewinding Internationalism* material form.

Rewinding Internationalism:
Political Imaginaries at Work (Nick Aikens)

Lubaina Himid's series *Zanzibar* (1999) – eight pairs of beautiful, fragile, watery, abstract canvases – hang from the ceiling at one possible starting or end point in *Rewinding Internationalism*. We avoided fixing them to the wall to create a more bodily encounter with the works. Lubaina was revisiting the works with long-time collaborator, sound artist Magda Stawarska-Beavan who I had invited to compose a sound piece for this presentation. Magda's piece builds on the references, emotions and stories contained within the canvases: water, the ocean as a place of travel and Lubaina's own relationship to Zanzibar. I remember Lubaina's astute comment in observing the markings on the floor that we had used to simulate the hang, that viewing and experiencing the combinations of canvases in different foregrounds and backgrounds would require continuous movement and looking. There was, she said, no place in the room where all the works, and later all the sounds, could be experienced together.

Perhaps this sense of needing to move through, to see things from multiple sides and angles, to deny the possibility of a single point of view, led me to propose hanging the works from the ceiling instead of on the wall. But if it was, it wasn't conscious. When we came to the space to hear Magda's mesmerising eight-channel sound piece that included found and composed material – soundbites from BBC Radio 3 Lubaina listened to when she made *Zanzibar*, passages from a guidebook to Zanzibar that her father gave to her mother then pregnant with Lubaina and just before the artist was born in the archipelago in 1954, shipping forecasts – movement

emerged in sonic form. One was prompted to move through the room and place one's ear next to the speakers, in part to overcome the acoustics of the original 1930s Van Abbemuseum building, but principally to catch interlacing extracts. Leaning in, glancing at Lubaina's characteristic cube forms hovering on the canvases on top of teary drips, one travels across the 1950s, 1990s, and today, and also the shorelines of Zanzibar the artist left as a baby, her studio, the BBC radio recording suite, and the ports and bays named in the shipping forecast. Neither marked, represented, nor explicated, these moments and places co-exist, reshaping and rebounding off one another, like waves hitting a pier.

Rewinding Internationalism: Scenes from the 1990s, today is an experiment in how the process and form of exhibition making produces meaning. The exhibition does not set out to offer an account of a period (the 1990s) or topic (internationalism). Instead, it draws on the tools of exhibition making and the context of the Van Abbemuseum (the building and the museum's position within an international network) to search among ideas, temporalities, and stories, and the sensorial encounters exhibition affords. This experiment in meaning making seeks to explore the construct and practice of internationalism – its potential, and limits – for society at large and within the art system in which I am situated. The experiment carries with it an explicit hope that internationalism offers a precedent and possibility to 'face the world', to counter the sense of foreboding, uncertainty, and flux that underpin the multiple socio-, geo-, and eco-political crises that define the present. And it takes place through the speculative space of art, the context of a public museum, and a network of institutional colleagues that aligns itself with the history of internationalist solidarity.

- 01 Ariella Aïsha Azoulay, *Potential History. Unlearning Imperialism*, London and New York: Verso, 2019, pp. 38-40.
- 02 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso, 1983.

Something happens in the act of rewinding back to a part of a song or a scene in a film: the magnetic tape of a cassette or VHS gets scrambled; the sample is played out of sequence, abstracted. If you continuously 'rewind and replay' to borrow the title of Susan Pui San Lok / Lok Pui San's new work for the exhibition, the fragment takes on completely new meaning. 'Rewinding' in this exhibition is an invitation to revisit and rethink histories once they have been played out to open them up to new interpretations. Theorist Ariella Aïsha Azoulay suggests that rewinding frees us from reading events as they 'really were'.¹ To rewind in the context of this exhibition is also to point to the primacy of videos and cassettes, 4:3 screen ratios and hand-held camcorders when technology was on the move. To rewind is a material act: the tape spins back before playing the same sequence but viewed differently, precisely because you've seen it before.

Internationalism is a term full of historical resonance but remains an elusive concept. Benedict Anderson famously described nationalism as based on 'imagined communities' of people, culture and place that are perceived but can never be fully apprehended.² Arguably, internationalism operates on a similarly imagined plane of solidarity and allegiance across borders and contexts. In this sense, and as numerous projects in *Rewinding* attest, internationalism is perhaps more a space of possibility, of relation and solidarity across temporalities, contexts and communities. It is often highly situated, rather than being reliant on the physical crossing of borders. The archives of Association pour la Démocratie à Nice, a militant organisation set up in the early 90s to counter the rise of Jean-Marie Le Pen and the Front National in France – tell a story of this form of internationalist-

situatedness. The protests, street happenings, exhibitions and films orchestrated by its circle, including the collective *Diablos Bleus*, were highly specific to the context of Nice and its history of carnival. Yet their vision was internationalist, insisting on being *in relation* to others.

The framework for *Rewinding Internationalism* is the programme 'Our Many Europes', supported and run by L'Internationale of which the Van Abbemuseum is a founding member. The confederation name L'Internationale comes from Eugène Pottier's nineteenth-century workers' anthem; internationalism was key to forming transnational, anti-imperialist alliances throughout the twentieth century, most noticeably through the Non-Aligned Movement. Similarly, internationalism or internationalist approaches were the frame through which many micro-alliances across anti-hegemonic political and cultural projects were formed.³ Resonances with these histories linger in the many communities of solidarity in the exhibition – AIDS activism and social movement, the history of the Association pour la Démocratie à Nice, the bodies gathered in anti-globalisation protests in Seattle in 1999 or the 1995 exhibition under the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement. These communities linger in a decade, the 1990s, when the declared 'end of history', the rampant ascendancy of globalisation, and a seismic realignment of geopolitics as a result of the end of the Cold War meant internationalism – as a concept, or even political horizon – went through fundamental fluctuations and permutations. The waves caused by these ruptures now constitute our present reality. They linger on from a decade when spectrality itself was a way to understand a relationship to the past and the fading history of really existing socialism.⁴

Thinking through internationalism takes on a new currency in the context of the past few years, the life span of this project. The prolonged closure of national borders during the Covid pandemic

03 See, for example, the case studies presented in Doreen Mende's PhD thesis 'The Itinerant: On the delayed arrival of images form International solidarity with Palestine that resonate towards a geopolitical exigency in exhibiting processes under global conditions', Goldsmiths University, 2012 or the current long-term research project: 'Decolonizing Socialism: Entangled Internationalism. An Intersectional Study of Cold War Projects from East Germany in Cinema and Cybernetics with Relevance for the 21st Century' led by HEAD – Genève, CCC Research-Based Master Programme, Fine Arts.

04 Most noticeably in Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, London: Routledge, 1994.

05 In the opening section of the book Azoulay introduces a number of key concepts and strategies for what she sees as the urgent task of 'Unlearning Imperialism'. These include sub-headings such as 'Unlearning the New, with Companions' where she asks that we refute conceptions of the 'new', central to notions of historical 'progress' or the urge to 'discover' untold histories. Rather Azoulay invites readers to 'unlearn' these concepts by engaging with 'companions' of the past – either through 'modalities, formations, actions and voices that were brutally relegated to the past and described as over [or] obsolete.' Azoulay, *Potential History*, p. 16.

made visible a global border regime that is often hidden, or ignored, in the privileged space of the Global North. At the same time, the abrupt halting of so many parts of public and private life radically ruptured people's sense of place, of what it meant to move and be *in relation*. In some respects, the war in Ukraine has taken us back – rewound us – to a pre-1990s moment, where the intervening 30 years of Russian integration in the global world order now feels like an exception. Only rather than going back, the historical has revolved with the complexities of the present conjuncture coming, as Stuart Hall would say, from below. Indeed, while the 1990s was the departure point for this project, the exhibition insists on the interlacing of temporalities, that history – as Azoulay so persuasively tells us – is never over or closed off but constitutes an ongoing reality.⁵

In this regard the new film by artist duo Pejvak (Rouzbeh Akhbari and Felix Kalmenson) *Shokouk* (2022) brings an exquisite piece of circular speculative time travel into the exhibiton. Beginning at a rocket launch at Baikonur, the space station in Khazakistan that was used to take cosmonauts, including the 'Last Soviet', to Mir, the international space station, the episodic film traverses centuries – fact and fiction of a pre- and post-Soviet space. By the time the film ends we are aboard Mir and zoom in on a television showing the launch of a shuttle, in Baikonur, then back to where we were, but it's different precisely because we have seen it before.

Entering the room conceived and developed by Paulina Varas, visitors walk over a Venn diagram in red, green and blue (RGB) projected on the floor. This room is probably where most visitors begin given that its entrance sits at the centre of the foyer and the doorway is higher, more inviting than the two galleries that flank the building. Natascha Leonie Simons, the show's

scenographer, proposed to project the diagram on to the floor, alluding to the interlocking circles often used by French philosopher Félix Guattari to illustrate his principle of the three ecologies, the subject of his 1991 lecture (and 1989 publication) in Santiago de Chile when he visited, and one of the three 'nodes' of Paulina's proposal. The *Three Ecologies* – named by Guattari as society, subjectivity and the environment – extends the notion of ecology to include human and social relations, foregrounding the necessity to forge connections between humans and the nature. The proposition was a markedly early acknowledgment of profound ecological damage as a result of capitalist extraction and for understanding the interrelations necessary to imagine an alternative future.⁶ Thinking with Guattari, the Venn diagrams were a way to acknowledge his ideas as resonating with the various relations in the show. Yet, unexplained on the floor of the gallery, they were also a purely scenographic device, a visual prompt to allude to sets of intersections.

Making this exhibition *in relation* with others so that meaning might emerge *across* contexts felt necessary as a premise for internationalism to be formed, rather than represented. Early on I asked L'Internationale colleagues to join a working group that might propose artworks, artists and research topics as entry points into navigating internationalism. The conversations with Farah Aksoy, Sara Buraya Boned, Hiuwai Chu, Nav Haq, Pablo Martínez, Bojana Piškür, and later Paulina Varas drew on existing relations and situated knowledges across the confederation to operationalise internationalism within exhibition making. These were people whose work I knew, admired and felt affinity with – their practice invested in research, exhibition making and institutional change.

⁶ See Félix Guattari, *The Three Ecologies*, London: Bloomsbury, 2014 [1989].

Documentation of images from the two 'Keepers of the Waters' festivals in Chengdu and Lhasa in Tibet and China (1995 and 1996), conceived by artist Betsy Damon but involving dozens of artists, rest on freestanding metal display structures. The images, often grainy, are stuck to milky acrylic panels. On the back of some of the images are short quotes by participating artists – Dai Guangyu, Li Jixiang, Liu Chengying – either describing the multiple actions or their motivations. These quotes, Sebastian Cichocki's idea, a curator who proposed Betsy's work for the show, were perceived as postcards, written from today back to the 1990s. On two walls of the gallery are a number of Betsy's exquisite, recent abstract ink and charcoal drawings sitting in and on a thin U-shaped metal shelf and leaning against the wall. The drawings are at once micro- and macro-scopic, a single drop of water or a whole galaxy. The room shifts between documentation and abstraction, registration and evocation. Presenting *The Keepers of the Waters* project is a means to mark and celebrate an internationalist gathering of artists and activists in the 1990s at the vanguard of fights for climate justice. At the same time, the drawings and projection of rain drops falling on a lake, propose water, the source of all life as Betsy powerfully reminds us, as a physical and planetary connector. Encountering Betsy's video of rain, projected on a curved semi-transparent curtain as you enter the room from *Zanzibar*, extends the meaning and implication of water in both projects. The artists performing in Chengdu and Lhasa's relationship to water becomes infused with the sounds of shipping forecasts, water as a place of travel or trade, and of Lubaina's own travel back and forth between Africa. The sound of rain falling from Magda's piece – poignant and melancholic – lifts *in relation* to Betsy's insistence on water as the source of life.

Walking through the curtains of magnetic tape and alternating images comprising *susan pui san lok / lok pui san's Rewind / Replay* (2022), visitors encounter a metal stud structure lined with grey MDF panels. On the outside are photographs by Norbert van Onna depicting the empty Philips factories in Eindhoven in the 1990s. On the inside of the structure is Allan Sekula's *Waiting for Teargas* (1999–2000) from the MACBA collection, proposed by Pablo Martínez in these early meetings with colleagues (and the subject of a close reading in this book). The work, consisting of 81 slides of images captured by Sekula on the streets of Seattle during the anti-IMF protests in 1999 both mark the resistance to globalisation in the 1990s – prompting us to consider where that resistance has gone, or how it has changed – as well as provide an astute critique of forms of photo-journalism, of what it means to 'represent' a protest, a political struggle. Philips's decision to move its headquarters and main production factories away from Eindhoven in the 90s is a story of globalisation. In contrast to the bodies that line the streets of Seattle, images in the exhibition contain no figures, a reminder of the silence that followed this seismic shift in the identity and economy of the city.

Leave this room and walk back through the alternating lights of *Rewind / Replay* and you encounter a selection of material from the AIDS Anarchive by the collective Equipo re. Pablo was rightly adamant that any consideration of 90s conjuncture and solidarity needed to consider AIDS activism. What strikes me about the presentation, which focuses on the work of activist and performer Miguel Benlloch, the activities of ACT UP-Barcelona, and the organisation CEPSS formed by Christian Rodriguez in Chile, are the multiple

07 See Jean Fisher (ed.), *Global Visions. Towards a New Internationalism in the Visual Arts*, London: Kala Press, 1995.

formal registers of the room. Miguel's *Epigrams Against War* (1990–2018) is both an inventory of international struggles and conflicts in the 1990s – Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, Kosovo, Palestine – and set of concrete poems, an alternative alphabet (there are 26 epigrams) that visitors are invited to take. The artist's repeated presence in the room in documentation of his performances, *Mapuche Eh!* (1999) or *SIDA DA* (1985), as well as the street performances of ACT UP-Barcelona projected on the wall highlights performativity as a political act, in the sense of performing the reality we want to inhabit. This performativity, which extends solidarity across contexts through language and body, becomes a lens through which to read multiple presentations in the exhibition.

When decisions over the content – or frames of reference – of an exhibition are given over to collaborators, the frames cease to be contained. An understanding of internationalism, as Olu Oguibe rightly pointed out when speaking at the conference 'Global Visions: Towards a New Internationalism' in London in 1995, depends on where you are pronouncing it from, which of the many possible viewing points you are looking from.⁷ When the project manager of 'Our Many Europes' Sara Buraya Boned invited Paulina Varas, a researcher working as part of Red Conceptualismos del Sur in South America, to join the group, Sara pivoted focus away from Europe to Chile in the wake of Pinochet's dictatorship during the so-called democratic transition. The resulting display included material that spanned over 50 years of work and ideas from the 1970s to the present. It moved between the resonance of Guattari's three ecologies theory, to the network of artists and intellectuals involved in *Revista de Crítica Cultural* (founded in 1990 by Nelly Richard) including Eugenio Dittborn, CADA, Lotty Rosenfeld, and Diamela Eltit, to the lived experience

of 30 years of internationalist feminist struggle in Cecilia Barriga's remarkable *Memory Re-Edited. From 1995 Beijing to Santiago de Chile (2022)*.

Prompted to consider the relations between, for example, 'Keepers of the Waters' and *Zanzibar, The Three Ecologies*, and *Rewind / Replay*, frames of reference spill over, to continue the water metaphor, running in different directions – conceptually, formally, temporally. Yet when these rooms of documents and images are experienced together, in space and in-and-out of sequence, and are given time to resonate, relations start to emerge. This is what drove the decision, by myself and Natascha, to intervene in the standard parkour of the museum's old building, blocking doorways between rooms, insisting that visitors turn back, retrace their footsteps, rewind through rooms to experience different sequences, creating the spatial conditions that overturn a linear reading of history. It also drove the decisions to think through a formal scenographic language across the galleries that could allow these resonances to form. Never wanting to homogenise the displays – rather, the intention was to construct a set of scenographic principles that, through form and space, allow material and histories to speak to one another.

Walk through the exhibition and you begin to notice that the walls of the museum are not used to fix artworks. Reproductions of archival materials form the AIDS Anarchive, *Keepers of the Water*, or works by CADA, Lotty Rosenfeld, or Diamela Eltit appear on a modular metal structure. Metal stud walls, with grey MDF, host Norbert van Onna's photographs, the archive of AdN and the paintings connected to the Non-Aligned Movement. Betsy's video of rain falling is projected onto

08 See Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987.

a hanging curtain, Olu's *Many Thousand Gone (2000)* appears on a curved structure that comes off the walls. Early on in the conversations with Natascha we circled repeatedly around the idea that the stories and figures in this exhibition appeared like ghosts: ghosts, in that many of the artists or people referenced were sadly no longer alive. But more than that perhaps, that the stories lingered in the present: from the history of Philips in Eindhoven and the changes wrought by globalisation to the need to imagine new democratic possibilities in Chile – these are stories of the 1990s that haunt today. And rather than fix them to the museum wall as a means to contain them, we decided to let them hang in space so that they could be walked through and around, enhancing their spectrality. Less two dimensional, representational images to be read from a distance, they are presented as stories to be materially and spatially negotiated.

Political imaginaries, like internationalism, carry a slipperiness that lend them utility. They are concepts in circulation for some years and are increasingly widespread across the humanities. In a 2006 article Claudia Strauss traces the use of 'imaginaries' in anthropology back to, like many have done, *The Imaginary Institution of Society* (1989), in which the author Cornelius Castoriadis argues that societies are filled with 'imaginary significations' that give rise to a 'social imaginary'.⁸ These significations are not based on image or representation, 'they are of another nature'. Key to Castoriadis's conception of the social imaginary is its collective character, that common signifiers exist for people in society but there is no common 'signified'. These 'imaginary significations', however, do not operate in the role of fantasy but help society answer some of its most fundamental questions: 'who are we as

a collectivity? what do we want? what do we desire; what are we lacking?⁹ The use of the imaginary is furthered by Anderson and his exegesis on nationalism as ‘Imagined Communities’. Castoriadis and Anderson’s limitations come in their ‘staggering Eurocentricity’ pointed out by recent critics such as Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar and Partha Chatterjee that rightly identify their inability to accommodate ‘particularity’ and ‘difference’.¹⁰ Indeed, it is Edward Said’s conception of ‘imagined geographies’ that underpins his work on Orientalism and that allows for the creation of a vision of the Orient from Europe and casts it as other.¹¹ Surprisingly, Said’s notion of ‘imagined geographies’ does not feature in received genealogies of the imaginary. It is, in fact, in the 1990s that the very notion of the imaginary starts to gain traction. Charles Taylor’s *Modern Social Imaginaries* (2003) defines the social imaginary as ‘something deeper than the social schemes people may entertain when they think about social reality in a disengaged mode, I am thinking, rather, of the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows’.¹²

If the idea of the imaginary – social, societal, political – feels allusive, shaky even, it is because it remains a loose scaffolding, strong enough to prop something up but not a robust architecture in itself. Yet this looseness, I am coming to understand, is ideally suited to exhibition making, or a form of it to explore rather than proclaim meaning. As you move through the gallery of shifting lights and curtains of magnetic tape in Susan Pui San Lok / Lok Pui San’s *Rewind / Replay*, to arrive and be presented with the absurdist poetry of Miguel Benlloch’s *Epigrams Against War* as the rolling bass lines of 90s Detroit techno humming from Tony Cokes’s *Microhaus or the Black Atlantic?* (2006–08) are heard through

09 Ibid., p. 146

10 See Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, ‘Towards New Imaginaries: An Introduction’, in *Public Culture*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2002, pp. 1–19 and Partha Chatterjee, ‘The Nation and Its Peasants’, in Vinayak Chaturvedi (ed.), *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial*, London: Verso, 2012, pp. 8–23.

11 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, London: Routledge, 1987.

12 Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries*, Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2003, p. 23.

13 See, for example, Stuart Hall, Lynne Segal and Peter Osborne, ‘Stuart Hall: Culture and Power’, *Radical Philosophy*, vol. 86, November/December 1997, pp. 24–41.

the walls, this slippery notion of a political imaginary, or more specifically of internationalism as a political imaginary is given material, spatial, and sonic form. It emerges between a recognition of events in time and place signalled by *Epigrams* – the AIDS pandemic, the Iraq War – and a desire to struggle for a more just and equitable world, and the networks of solidarity and friendship that formed around those struggles, the moving bodies in the dance halls of Detroit and German techno clubs and the roots, or routes as Hall would say, of that music across the Black Atlantic to Western Europe; through the remixed, performed quotations and excerpts of an art system stuttering through a New Internationalism in the 1990s.¹³ It is not represented or defined, but comes into view fleetingly, through a combination of references, senses and affects that cast the visitor *in relation* to what they encounter, where internationalism itself emerges as political imaginary.

Standing, listening to the base of *Microhaus or the Black Atlantic?* or similarly, in the space-time travelling world of Pejvak’s *Shokouk* (2022), both ‘dead ends’ in the exhibition’s scenography, you notice the wooden panels that block the doorways do not reach the floor. Light from the adjacent room creeps underneath, pointing to the proximity of another set of stories, of relations. Sit at the half-circular table looking through a readout of the 1991 Non-Aligned summit in Jakarta and you hear the voices of male bureaucrats, in Didem Pekün’s *Disturbed Earth* (2021) failing to avert an imminent catastrophe. Throughout the exhibition light and sound spill across rooms. Combined with having to pass back through them, the affect is at first disconcerting, creating a lack of audio-visual clarity as images and sounds fold into one

another. Start to tune in, however, and these bleeds and echoes, what lies *in between* and *across* works starts to overtake the singularity of each sound, of each image. This sense of spatial, sonic, visual bleed is unique to the form of exhibition. In the case of *Rewinding Internationalism* it allows for seepages across histories, to experience relations in the space so that the different explorations of internationalism audibly and visually resonate in one another, creating pockets of convergences, glimpses or snapshots of pieces coming together, of relations forming only to fade away. It is in this momentary, fleeting space that the political imaginary gets to work.







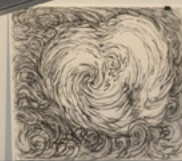
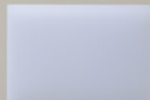
● Installation view of works by Betsy Damon

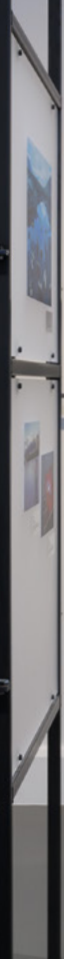


● Installation views of works by Betsy Damon and documentation from 'Keepers of the Waters'











■ Installation views of works by Lubaina Himid and Magda Stawarska-Beavan





ALIGNING RESEARCH AND
THE NON-ALIGNED

BOJANA PIŠKUR, GRACE SAMBOH AND
RACHEL SURIJATA IN CONVERSATION
WITH NICK AIKENS

14 SEPTEMBER 2022

NICK

I'd like to discuss how we arrived at the objects and documents in *Rewinding Internationalism*. First, I reached out to you, Bojana, and some colleagues at L'Internationale to think with me on collections and stories that felt meaningful towards exploring internationalism. In particular, I wanted to feature your work around the Non-Aligned Movement. Could you briefly sketch that out for us?¹

BOJANA

Southern Constellations: The Poetics of the Non-Aligned Movement, resulted from a decade of research on the Non-Aligned Movement, particularly its cultural politics and exchanges, exhibitions and new institutions.² For instance,

1 The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was a transnational political project, a coalition of small and mid-sized states, mostly former colonies and developing countries, from the Global South or the Third World. It was formed in 1961 in Yugoslavia at the Belgrade summit. The NAM represented the first major disruption in the Cold War map, a quest for alternative political alliances, for 'alternative mondialisation'.

2 *Southern Constellations: The Poetics of the Non-Aligned Movement* was shown at Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Ljubljana, 7 March - 10 September 2019 and subsequently at institutions throughout the world. See Tamara Soban (ed.), *Southern Constellations: The Poetics of the Non-Aligned Movement*, Ljubljana: Moderna galerija, 2019.

we focused on the *Contemporary Art of the Non-Aligned Countries* exhibition in Jakarta in 1995 in which only Croatia was invited from the former Yugoslavia despite Yugoslavia being a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement. Yugoslavia was expelled in 1992, a year after the country ceased to be a nation-state and, coincidentally, in Jakarta, which happened to be the location of the 10th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement. The combination at that time of the movement, exhibition, war in Yugoslavia and the political and socio-economic upheaval in Indonesia led us to focus on this 1995 Jakarta exhibition.

NICK

In *Southern Constellations*, that exhibition appeared but at that point you had found very little material on it.

BOJANA

Very little. Some information came from the National Archives of Singapore, and in meeting there with art historian, curator and critic T.K. Sabapathy. From Nada Beroš, a colleague from Zagreb, I learned her reasons for including the Gorgona Group in the 1995 exhibition as curator for Croatia. She gave me images and talked about her personal experience, even though she had almost forgotten about this exhibition more than

20 years back. When she started remembering, new information came out.

NICK

When you first showed me the material, some had come from the post-exhibition catalogue and a seminar with well-known figures like art historian and curator Geeta Kapur and curator and writer David Elliott. The Non-Aligned Movement had, in the wake of the end of the Cold War lost its self-understanding and sense of a political project creating a strange political premise and collection of artists, venues and objects that were framed together with a platform for a new globalised expanded art world that was coming to terms with 'the south' among other realities. As we quickly realised we were ill-equipped to talk about these out-of-joint worlds or engage with the show in terms of proximity or European subjectivity, we reached out to art historian Vera Mey who has done a lot of work in that region. Vera put us in touch with Grace and shared her essay that references the 1995 show.³ Grace, could you

3 Grace Samboh, 'What Does the Elephant Remember? How Did the Ant Win?', in ed. Paul O'Neill, Simon Sheikh, Lucy Steeds and Mick Wilson, *Curating After the Global: Roadmaps for the Present*, Arles: LUMA Foundation, CCS Bard & MIT Press, 2019.

talk a bit about your work with that exhibition and how it featured in your research in relation to the National Gallery of Indonesia collection?

GRACE

My interest in the Non-Aligned exhibition really stems from the history of Galeri Nasional Indonesia (National Gallery of Indonesia), which emerged in 1946 – the year after the country gained independence from the Dutch Empire. It was President Sukarno, an art collector himself, who first talked about it. There was no legal framework in the country yet, many ministers had not yet been appointed, but he stated there was to be a national gallery. It finally opened in 1999, over 50 years later, with the collection only opened to the public in 2019.

Within the collection exhibition is a chapter that includes the so-called international, of which there are only two accounts of events or exhibitions that directly fed into it: first, a donation from the French government with works by Wassily Kandinsky, Hans Hartung, etc. from the late 1940s and 1950s, once exhibited under the title *Paris – Jakarta 1959*; and second, the other half of the collection made up of works from Yemen, the Philippines, Cuba, etc., whose provenance felt unclear and which I

much later found out originated from the 1995 exhibition. There is a digital version of the exhibition guide in the Indonesian Visual Art Archive (IVAA), but not much else. I found other materials through research into the Indonesian New Art Movement (1975-89).⁴ In speaking to sculptor, art critic and curator Jim Supangkat, I discovered that the post-event catalogue was published two years after. There was an unpublished draft of the seminar proceedings. I became more interested in the organisational aspect of the exhibition, particularly because it was done under the watch of the Director General for Culture at the time, Edi Sedyawati, who stayed in her position for ten years. From my point of view, she was the one who pushed through the legal stance of Galeri Nasional so that it could officially exist with the 1995 Non-Aligned exhibition as the pilot project to set an example of its organising capacities as well as potential in making political statements through cultural diplomacy. Through my interest in her, I started looking at the 1995 exhibition.

⁴ The Indonesian New Art Movement, also known as *Gerakan Seni Rupa Baru* (GSRB) was an art movement of young artists from Bandung and Yogyakarta against the institutional concept of Indonesian fine art (Indonesian: *Seni Rupa*) being limited to paintings and sculptures.

I have this inkling that Indonesia's New Order regime never really cared about its international stance, other than for trade or capital purposes. It's curious that this exhibition happened three years before Suharto finally stepped down – he was in power for 32 years. Through the newly added dioramas at the Museum Sejarah Nasional (National History Museum), one being the Non-Aligned summit in 1992, I wanted to read Suharto's act of hosting the Non-Aligned as a way to 'beat' Sukarno, who organised the 1955 Bandung Conference. The competition between Suharto and Sukarno allowed for Sedyawati's proposal to happen. It was a G to G invitation that went through foreign or cultural ministries all over the world who didn't even care who was tasked to make that selection.

NICK

The link back to the 50s, the echoing of Bandung in 55 and an out of jointness with history hungover the presentation in *Rewinding Internationalism*. This is very visible in the Gorgona work. Bojana, could you speak to the Gorgona Group and their work in the 1995 exhibition?

BOJANA

Yes, Nada said that she didn't have a clue what to exhibit in Jakarta because

she didn't receive any instructions. So she decided to send five works from the Gorgona Group, even though it was post-Gorgona, since they worked together from 1959 to 1966. As Nada said, the various thematic groups they put them in were strange: Julije Knifer's painting was put in 'signs and symbols' as a graphic work and Ivan Kožarić's into 'tradition and convention' even though this work has nothing to do with tradition. Many antagonisms and misunderstandings surround the work of Gorgona in Jakarta.

For the exhibition in Eindhoven, we were only able to locate three works. One was the Josip Vaništa work in the form of archival copies; Kožarić's will not be this specific work, but one from the series; and a large painting by Julije Knifer...

NICK

Yugoslavia was expelled from the Non-Aligned Movement and indeed it no longer existed when the exhibition was staged. What do you think it meant for these artists to show there? Why do you think they were invited?

BOJANA

Croatia at that time was an observer in the Non-Aligned Movement. It was a newly independent country, admitted as a member of the United Nations

in 1992. An invitation was sent to the foreign ministry in Croatia, and no one cared because newly independent countries were not interested in anything that had to do with the Non-Aligned, Yugoslavia, socialism. They were looking to the West, to what would become the European Union. Nada received this invitation to Jakarta, not knowing what the concept was. She selected Gorgona but no press coverage exists, nothing. The artists probably didn't even realise what kind of exhibition it was.

NICK

The Gorgona selection in the 1995 exhibition is indeed strange. It is as much part of the avant-garde tradition as you say from the late 50s and 60s. To show them out of time, but also the work they made in the late 80s and 90s as individual artists, there's a disconnect. What are they doing there and what are they doing together? Grace, we started talking about other artists in the exhibition and we hovered for a long time around Semsar Siahaan.

GRACE

Because Bojana showed Semsar's work in *Southern Constellations*, not from the 1995 exhibition, because we do not know where that is, but from the collection of Astari Rasjid who was then Indonesian ambassador to Bulgaria

(2016-20). Semsar grew up in Belgrade, which we see through the alphabets he uses to write his diary. He sort of embodies this connection between the former Yugoslavia and Indonesia. I think that's why we kept coming back to him. At some point you were also trying to find archives on what he was doing in the Netherlands.

NICK

Yes. And we went to visit a friend of his, Siswa, to learn more about his time here in the 80s, a path that veered a bit too far off that of the exhibition.

GRACE

Semsar had an idea to make a Pusat Kebudayaan Kerakyatan Sedunia (Cultural Centre for the People of the World). This is a completely different take on how the state approaches internationalism as a state-to-state relationship. In his case, it's about people and their personal relationships. We're still interested in him because of that, which we feature in the exhibition along with the work he did at the time and sketches around the cultural centre.

NICK

Semsar was a hugely significant figure in terms of his artwork, but

also his political stance and activism in Indonesia and his time in the Netherlands. Semsar's work is hard to find, certainly in Europe. Could you say something about the two works that are in *Rewinding Internationalism*?

GRACE

One is an untitled painting from 1999 made when he was in Singapore. The other one is *In Memoriam of Santa Cruz* (2002) when he was already in Canada. Santa Cruz was an incident in Dili, in Timor now Timor-Leste, where the Indonesian army were literally killing people who attempted to liberate Timor from Indonesia. This is not a case Indonesian art history, but also history in general, would want to address. There is no mention of Timor in Indonesia. Why he said yes to the invitation to the 1995 Non-Aligned exhibition is also curious given his fractious relationship with the authorities. It could be that someone else said yes for him, because 1995 was a year after he had been badly beaten by Indonesian police.

NICK

What you describe of Semsar's inclusion in the show not making sense is a bit similar to Gorgona's and the Non-Aligned Movement itself then. At the Van Abbemuseum, we decided to

have freestanding structures with two paintings by Semsar on one side and on the other the Knifer painting. The other structure is the Belkis Ayón Manso print and collage Bojana described. There are these encounters with these objects almost with their backs to each other, not speaking to each other in a way that reflects the unlikely gathering of practices in 1995. We did not use the walls as we wanted to have this sense of impermanence, of things passing through, of these objects, figures and histories as ghosts that were temporarily present.

Our conversation centred for a long time on gift giving and that between Sukarno and Tito. Looking back to this relationship between Yugoslavia and Indonesia, who are organisers of Bandung, two of the four founding partners, how did we get there?

BOJANA

I think it was a work from Indonesia's Merdeka Palace, the president's official residence in Jakarta, that Grace and Rachel said was a gift from Tito. Then we realised it was by artist Marta Jirásková and probably gifted by then former President of Czechoslovakia Novotný. We have a list of gift exchanges from the Museum of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, a very detailed description, and images of the gift giving

ceremony and observing the gift, like Tito and Sukarno observing this statue.

RACHEL

What the Galeri Nasional dubbed as the international collection were all gifts, donations. For the Jakarta Biennale 2021 – ESOK project, we worked with Nadiah Bamadhaj whose work takes as its starting point the so-called *Farmer's Monument* in Jakarta, commissioned by Sukarno to two Russian sculptors Manizer and Roshin and unveiled in 1965, but constantly misunderstood as a gift from Russia.

NICK

Gift giving was a way to talk about the relationship between Yugoslavia and Indonesia, Sukarno and Tito, that went back to the late 50s/60s. We've got some of the transcripts of speeches by Sukarno around the gifts in the exhibition. Hovering around gift giving brought us to Nadiah Bamadhaj's work that you proposed, Grace. Could you say a bit about that?

GRACE

Gifts, or the misunderstandings of gifts, was our lead to Nadiah. In the constellation of archives, stories and objects in space, Nadiah's work becomes a bridge to talk about the 50s. When we discussed the Non-Aligned exhibition,

everything seemed to be locked in the 90s. But with Nadiah's work, we could point to things happening in the 90s being rooted in the 50s. The exhibition's subtitle points to the relationship between the 90s and today, but there are also the many relationships with what came before. And in the case of the Non-Aligned summit that sparked the exhibition, it is related to the Bandung Conference. Bandung for us is a constant myth. People keep talking about it, but no one really delves into it. If, in the 1995 exhibition Gorgona is actually post-Gorgona – they were active in the 50s – then Nadiah is somehow the other way around. This is a very recent work, but she looks at the 50s and creates a connection to how the summit relates to the Bandung Conference.

NICK

The location of the sculpture is also significant. What is the name of the roundabout where it's located?

RACHEL

The name of the roundabout is based on the name of the sculpture – not the official name, but that we all know, *Tugu Tani* (The Farmer's Monument). Everyone who came to the Non-Aligned summit – and the 1995 exhibition – would have to pass this sculpture.

NICK

Looking through the catalogue of the show, it's an exhibition that is predominantly male. Bringing this work in that speaks to the role of women in the independence movement pushed up against that a little bit. I remember getting a bit lost in our conversations and went back to the catalogue. The Belkis Ayón Manso print really jumped out at me. It is now in the Galeri Nasional collection, acquired I guess after the exhibition or as a gift from it. We started talking about the artist, one of the few women artists in the exhibition, but also this extraordinary imagery, this figurative print that in a way is a million miles from the abstraction or conceptual practice of Gorgona.

I got in touch with the foundation and realised that it was not possible to bring the work from Indonesia. There was an exhibition coincidentally in the Reina Sofía, our partners in L'Internationale. The foundation told me that there was a piece in the Netherlands, which we could show in the exhibition. This disjointedness or strangeness of having this Belkis Ayón Manso print, a large work in eight panels, and remaking Vaništa's collage on the other side, speaks to this out of jointness in these practices with these histories.

BOJANA

This room is full of antagonisms, but also full of hidden points we will discover. When I was doing the *Southern Constellation* exhibition, when you see all these images from all the summits from 1961, it's just man, man, man, man. And there are a few women that you see, it's Bandaranaike from Sri Lanka and later on Indira Gandhi from India. And that's about it. It's the men's club. That we kind of break it in a way, feels important.

01 The concept of aesthetics that I handle in this essay is closely related to Susan Buck-Morss's reflections when she revisited 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction'. See Susan Buck-Morss, 'Aesthetics and Anaesthetics: Walter Benjamin's Artwork Essay Reconsidered', *October*, vol. 62, 1992, pp. 3-41.

02 See Jacques Rancière, *El Desacuerdo*, Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión, 1996.

03 See Jodi Dean, *Crowds and Party*, London: Verso, 2016.

04 See Max Weber, *Politics as a Vocation* (1921), cited in Buck-Morss, *Mundo soñado y catástrofe. La desaparición de la utopía de masas en el Este y en el Oeste*, Móstoles: La Balsa de Medusa, 2004, p. 27.

Waiting for Tear Gas: Images between the Power of the Many and the Violence of the Police State (Pablo Martínez)

At times of popular uprising, when the people take to the streets to fight for social justice, the resulting collective experience is deeply stimulating for the sensorium:¹ this joint action becomes a political experience that endures in the memory of the bodies. Together, these vulnerable bodies on the streets – expressing themselves, rubbing against one another, affecting each other – form a semiotic machine, and it has a creative strength that serves not only to resist rubber balls, truncheons or any other form of violence deployed by the state powers: by simply being there, protesters shine a light on brand-new worlds yet to come. They generate a specific politics, that is, the politics of appearance, on the streets, and they reveal the power of the many against one – that is, the sovereign of the police state, which goes all out to maintain what it deems to be public order. This 'consensual' fiction,² which the security forces uphold, is imposed by the ruling classes and the way they fight to defend private property, organise the use of space, distribute wealth and shape discourses, with their own vested interests.³ Any force that destabilises this (their) concept of order is considered a *bête noire*, an unrestrained monster that must be suppressed with violence. 'If no social institutions existed which knew the use of violence, then the concept of "state" would be eliminated,'⁴ affirms Max Weber; the survival of the state depends directly on its monopoly of the 'legitimate' use of violence. Everyone who takes to the streets to demonstrate – be it to bring down the powers-that-be or to protest peacefully, anywhere from El Raval in Barcelona to the heart of Santiago de Chile, from Tahrir Square in Cairo to the Mong Kok district in Hong Kong – knows that, sooner or later, they will eventually be subjected to violence. They are, in some way or another, waiting for tear gas.

The history of social movements cannot be separated from the history of its images. These images have served not only to represent insurgency in the public realm, but they have played a key role in terms of consolidating the very collectiveness of the activist movements. In the protesters' different configurations, as peoples, masses or multitudes, images have long been decisive for the emergence of diverse forms of political subjectivity. Images and the visual experience of the masses are intrinsically linked to the political and technical evolution of photography, cinema and their means of reproduction and distribution. For Allan Sekula, 'photography is modernity run riot'.⁵ His installation *Waiting for Tear Gas (white globe to black)* is part of the broader visual atlas of crowds in motion, which has been taking shape ever since the mid-nineteenth century, when photography first appeared. This sequence of 81 photographs was taken by the artist in late November 1999, at the protests against the World Trade Organization summit in Seattle. The slides reveal how, at the end of the last century, the emergence of new forms of internationalism, alongside emerging techniques for the production and distribution of images,⁶ had given rise to a new political subject: the multitude.⁷ At those protests, Sekula portrayed the multitude from below, going against the grain. This approach echoed some of the precepts discussed by Siegfried Kracauer in his *Theory of Film*, published a few decades earlier: Kracauer had suggested, following Vsevolod Pudovkin, that the masses should be portrayed from different points of view. That is, they should be shown not only from above, to gauge their sheer magnitude, but also at a certain height from which the banners can be read, as well as down on street level, so the observer can 'mingle with the crowd' and thus be able to discern the singularity of the individual participants.⁸

The so-called 'Battle of Seattle' lives on in the memory of the left as a landmark event in the

- 05 See Allan Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', *October*, vol. 39, 1986, pp. 3–64.
- 06 The anti-globalisation movement was fully aware of the need to control the production and distribution of images: it needed to confront the narrative of the media owned by global capital. Therefore, online counter-information platforms such as IndyMedia were created.
- 07 At the turn of the twenty-first century, in the wake of the actions of the anti-globalisation movement, thinkers in the tradition of workers' autonomy developed the concept of multitude after Spinoza. In this sense, 'multitude' does not always refer to agglomerations in public space.
- 08 Siegfried Kracauer, *Teoría del cine. La redención de la realidad física*, Barcelona: Paidós, 1996, p. 78.

- 09 See Gerald Raunig, *Art and Revolution: Transversal Activism in the Long Twentieth Century*, Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2007.
- 10 Marcelo Expósito with Nuria Vila, dir., *Frivolidad táctica + Ritmos de resistencia*, 2007, video, 39 min.
- 11 See Judith Butler, *Cuerpos aliados y lucha política. Hacia una teoría performativa de la asamblea*, Barcelona: Paidós, 2017, pp. 125–28.
- 12 See Steve Edwards, 'The Commons and the Crowd: Figuring Photography from Above and Below', *Third Text*, vol. 23, no. 4, July 2009, pp. 447–64.

anti-globalisation movement. It consolidated new forms of staging protests, re-establishing the links between art and activism that had been present in earlier movements of the decade, such as the anti-nuclear and feminist protests, and the response to the AIDS crisis. The carnivalesque, joyous scenes in some of Sekula's images show the strong links between the revolutionary machine and the artistic machine.⁹ The 'tactical frivolity' of the carnival, as the activists from *Reclaim the Streets* put it,¹⁰ was part of a broader strategy to win over public opinion, since, in contrast to the hard image of traditional militancy, street parties offered bright, colourful scenes, seemingly innocent in nature. This reinvigorated activist push also drew inspiration from the environmentalist spirit, and how, in the struggles to protect land, ecocidal bulldozers would be confronted by naked bodies. Given these distinct forms of protesting, it became clear that the body is not just an instrument of expression, and that images are not merely spaces of representation: they work together in order to construct the protest. The description that accompanies the images in *Waiting for Tear Gas* emphasises how the bodies in the streets of Seattle resist, in all their materiality, against the immaterial dissolution of financial capitalism. Along the same lines, and following the wave of mobilisations and occupations of public spaces that started in the Mediterranean in 2010, Judith Butler has described different strategies of vulnerability as forms of activism and resistance. For Butler, moreover, the action of occupying the streets is, in itself, a defence of public space as an infrastructure of the commons, as a platform for the political.¹¹

The anti-globalisation movement had no overt, visible leaders, so the body of a many-headed hydra was formed instead.¹² This image – of many individual, singular bodies, moving with scattered, decentralised power – was unlike the liberal tradition in which, following Hobbes, all individuality

vanished to form a single social body, made up of people standing firm together, whose action was subject to the rationality of the sovereign. The figure designed by Abraham Bosse for the frontispiece of Leviathan was a decidedly vertical representation of the social, contrasting greatly with Sekula's decision to portray the protests from below, which universalises the subjects in all their horizontality.¹³ Sekula's approach to image making is described, in the wall text alongside the installation, as 'anti-photojournalism'. From the beginning of his career, he had criticised photojournalism in its 'corporate form'¹⁴ for having become the flipside of advertising photography and for being at the service of liberal ideology: for him, it applied a rhetoric of individualisation that translated wider social situations into personal tragedies.¹⁵

In the decades following the Second World War, two key shifts took place with regards to documentary photography: firstly, it entered into the museum, as facilitated by the canonisation of the great modern photographers and the configuration of a particular 'documentary style', the leading proponent of which was Walker Evans. Secondly, its production came to be controlled by the media, through the development of a commercial photojournalism monopolised by the news agencies: documentary photography turned into a quasi-scientific method, and the idea of authorship was watered down into a kind of phantasmagorical identity.¹⁶ In the 1990s, moreover, editors stopped publishing photo reportages; instead, they would select a single shot to summarise all the tensions of the event,¹⁷ thus feeding into the spectacle, another tool at the service of societies of control. In contrast to this attitude, Sekula's anti-photojournalism shuns all sensationalism and seeks to piece together the event from the inside, without the pressure 'to grab at all costs the one defining image of dramatic violence'.¹⁸ Presenting images as a sequence challenges any possibility of a single,

13 Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*, London and New York: Verso, 2012 quoted in Edwards, 'The Commons and the Crowd', p. 448.

14 See Sekula, 'Dismantling Modernism, Reinventing Documentary (Notes on the Politics of Representation)', in ed. Terry Dennett and Jo Spence, *Photography/Politics: One*, London: Photography Workshop, 1979, pp. 171–85.

15 Edwards, 'The Commons and the Crowd', p. 453.

16 See Pablo Martínez, 'An index for the global crowd: From images of protests to images that protest', in Willem de Rooij, *Index* (exh. cat.), Bristol: Arnolfini; Frankfurt: MMK Museum für Moderne Kunst Frankfurt; and Cologne: Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, pp. 19–32.

17 Stephanie Schwartz, 'Anti-Photojournalism: Working Against the Grain', in *Waiting for Tear Gas 1999–2000* by Allan Sekula, London: Tate Research Publication, 2016. www.tate.org.uk/research/in-focus/waiting-for-tear-gas-allan-sekula

18 See Sekula in Alexander Cockburn, Jeffrey St. Clair and Sekula, *5 Days That Shook the World. Seattle and Beyond*, London: Verso, 2000.

19 See Sekula, *Photography Against the Grain: Essays and Photo Works 1973–1983*, Bruges: Mackbooks, 2016.

20 See Hito Steyerl, 'The Articulation of Protest' (trans. Aileen Derieg), *transversal*, September 2002. www.republicart.net/disc/mundial/steyerl02_en.htm

21 See Schwartz, 'Streets and Traffic (In Photographs)', in *Waiting for Tear Gas*.

22 Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*, New York: Penguin Press, 2004, p. 199.

23 This is, as I have discussed elsewhere, the shift 'from mass communication to masses that communicate'. Martínez, 'When Images Shoot', in Rabih Mroué's catalogue of his exhibition at CA2M, *Image(s), mon amour: Fabrications*, Madrid: CA2M, 2013, p. 88.

24 Georges Didi-Huberman, *Pueblos expuestos, pueblos figurantes*, Buenos Aires: Manantial, 2014, p. 252.

totalising one. Meaning is only constructed by stringing together various snapshots, linked by a text, and this reinforces Sekula's commitment to treating social reportage as the composition of chains of meaning that defy the police-like understanding of photography as a forensic tool.¹⁹ Photographic images only present a *possibility* of meaning, so the issue of montage also comes into play. With regards to pictures of crowds in protest, it is especially important to generate a new order, beyond straightforward representation, by combining images: that is, to produce a distinct third image from the collision of two others, just like someone 'tenaciously pound[ing] two dull stones together to create a spark in the darkness'.²⁰ The *Waiting for Tear Gas* installation also implicates the body of the observer, not only because of the size at which the images are projected onto the wall, but also because of the projector's positioning in the centre of the room. It recalls the factographic experiments of the Russian avant-garde, which incorporated the bodily dimension of the viewer in their experiments.

As well as being a paradigmatic visual essay on the multitude, *Waiting for Tear Gas* is also an essay on photographing events.²¹ Here, a range of perspectives highlights the fortuitousness of each individual shot. Sekula's refusal to choose a single image to establish the narrative of his social reportage materialises in snapshots that demonstrate the new 'queer social flesh'.²² In these photos, the bodies not only show their identities: they socialise and communicate with each other,²³ and they stand in all their power, as phenomena,²⁴ without being pigeonholed into stereotypes such as feminists, 'eco-warriors' or anarchists. Unlike the images used in the mass media, where protesters would invariably be dehumanised by the erasing of their differences, in Sekula's work it is evident that political appearance implies, necessarily, the acknowledgement of difference. *Waiting*

for *Tear Gas* offers a whole constellation of relationships and connections in the multitude's becoming a collective political subject; as Hannah Arendt put it, in 'What is Politics?',²⁵ the true political space is that which arises 'between bodies', in the gap that opens up between the self and others, between different bodies on equal terms.

Sekula was always conscious of the role of photography in relation to the body and the archive: it is a tool for both surveillance and emancipation, at the same time. As Benjamin H.D. Buchloh noted, Sekula 'had learned from Michel Foucault that photography, like language, was the very system within which subjects are both constituted as subjects and within which they are subjected to ideology, economic exploitation and control'.²⁶ With the perspective that comes from writing this text in the still-pandemic autumn of 2022, Sekula's work acquires further, timely meaning. The images in *Waiting for Tear Gas* anticipated the spirit of the viral image, multiplying online: in the years after these photographs were taken, protesters themselves began to capture the movements of the crowd from within, using their own smartphones. But not only that: they also began to photograph the violent actions of the police, from below. These images would end up forming a global crowd,²⁷ by contagion, as the precarious subjects realised that their struggles were connected to all the other protesters across the planet who were also standing up against monopolistic capitalism's extractivist acts of dispossession. They were not alone; they were part of the 99 per cent. With these images of police violence, cracks began to emerge in the hegemonic system of representation; they showed how demonstrations, whatever form they take, involve physical action and complete exposure to violent repression by the state. The power of bodies in the public space, and the new autonomy of the distribution of images, generated channels for counter-information, which, in turn,

25 See Hannah Arendt, *Hannah Arendt and the Meaning of Politics*, ed. Craig Calhoun and John McGowan, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

26 Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, 'Allan Sekula, or What Is Photography?', *Grey Room*, no. 55, 2014, p. 128.

27 Buck-Morss in conversation with Aurora Fernández Polanco, 'SNAPSHOTS: Images, Crowds, Thoughts', *Re-visiones*, no. 4, 2014. www.re-visiones.net/index.php/RE-VISIONES/article/view/11

28 They include photojournalists and image activists such as Juan Carlos Mohr and Fermín Grodira, who are currently embroiled in a legal process that could lead to their imprisonment.

29 See Anna Feigenbaum, *Tear Gas: From the Battlefields of World War I to the Streets of Today*, London: Verso, 2017.

revealed the servitude of neoliberal states to the corporations of global capital.

There has been pushback against this new autonomy, via the strengthening of biopolitical control after Covid-19 and various limitations on the use of images. In Spain, in 2015, the majority-conservative parliament, under Mariano Rajoy's government, passed the so-called 'Law for the Protection of Citizen Security', popularly known as the 'gag law'. In this reactionary law, which is still in vigour, the unauthorised use of images of 'members of the security forces and corps' was banned. Breaking this law is considered a serious offence, and can lead to fines of between 601 and 30,000 euros. The enforcement of this law in the following years, which has pursued and sanctioned numerous high-profile activists,²⁸ has quashed much of the image-based activism that had been developing in Spain. Such images had played a crucial role in the development of recent civil struggles, as in the movement to occupy the public squares in 2011, as well as the feminist and anti-eviction movements; without it, much of the police violence would probably have remained unpunished and unknown to most of society. If, as Sekula rightly pointed out in his early text 'The Body and The Archive', the development of photography was a powerful tool for population control, then, through this law, the Spanish state went far beyond this: they limited some of photography's emancipatory potential, controlling what can be photographed and how the photos can be used, in order to perpetuate the impunity of police violence. Without these images, this violence becomes invisible again. As invisible as tear gas, one of the most common chemical weapons used in demonstrations, the use of which has multiplied exponentially all around the world since 2010.²⁹ It's invisible not only because it's a gas, but also because its effects – which range from blindness to skin burns, breathing difficulties or

even death – are never included in the statistics of those injured or killed in protests. In addition to its physical effects, tear gas is deployed for psychological purposes, as it destabilises any sense of solidarity and breaks up the protesting masses: it disorients them, and forces them to assume a position of self-protection. It works in much the same way as neoliberalism among collectivities: it blinds, disperses, nullifies the senses and makes it hard to breathe. If, as Françoise Vergès recently stated, breathing is an act of resistance³⁰ (in an allusion to the suffocating effects of police violence, racism and climate injustice), then images like the ones from Seattle are still necessary for giving oxygen to the feminist, environmentalist and anti-racist mobilisations that, both then and now, bravely fight for social justice and the defence of life itself.

³⁰ See Françoise Vergès, 'Breathing: A Revolutionary Act', in *Climate: Our Right to Breath*, Berlin: L'Internationale Online and K. Verlag, 2022, pp. 20–28.



✧ Installation view of works by CADA, Cecilia Barriga and Eugenio Dittborn



✧ Installation view of works by CADA, Cecilia Barriga, Eugenio Dittborn and Revista de Crítica Cultural



✧ Installation view of works by CADA, Cecilia Barriga and susan pui san lok / lok pui san



— Installation views, susan pui san lok / lok pui san, *REWIND / REPLAY*, 2022






► Installation views of works by Miguel Benlloch



► Installation view of works by Miguel Benlloch and ACT UP-Barcelona



They have always sat uneasily alongside the strategic choices forced on black movements and individuals embedded in national political cultures and nation states in America, the Caribbean, and Europe."

A photograph of a recording studio. A large projection screen on the right wall displays text in white. The text reads: "The feeling of being in a club and feeling the bass and the bass drum and the feelings created in this moment, this is House music." The studio has dark walls with acoustic foam panels. A black speaker is visible on the floor to the left of the screen. The floor is dark and reflective.

The feeling of being in a club and feeling
the bass and the bass drum and the
feelings created in this moment, this is
House music.



► Installation view of works by Miguel Parra Urrutia and ACT UP-Barcelona archives



► Installation view of works by Miguel Benlloch, ACT UP-Barcelona archives and archival material from Centro de Educación y Prevención en Salud Social y Sida (CEPSS)



— Installation view, susan pui san lok / lok pui san, *REWIND / REPLAY*, 2022





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WORKING idea was to move with the flow of protest, from dawn
 if it needed be, taking in the lulls, the waiting and the margins
 nts. The rule of thumb for the sort of anti-protest
 n, no telephoto zoom lens, no gas mask, no auto-focus,
 ss pass and no pressure to grab at all costs the one
 ing image of dramatic violence.
 ter, working at the light table, and reading the increasingly
 typical descriptions of the new face of protest. I read out
 re that a simple descriptive physiognomy was wanted
 nce on the streets was indeed stranger, more varied and
 and than could be conveyed by cute alternative play with
 sters" and "turtles"
 scribe the attitudes of people waiting, unarmed,
 imes deliberately naked in the winter chill for the gas
 e rubber bullets and the concussion grenades. There were
 nts of civic solemnity, of urban anxiety, and of carnal
 ain, something very simple is missed by descriptions of the
 ovement founded in cyberspace: the human body asserts
 the city streets, against the abstraction of global capital
 was a strong feminist dimension to this lesbianity, and
 was also a dimension grounded in the experience of work
 the men and women who work on the docks, after all,
 ut down the flow of metal boxes from Asia, rising on
 ual knowledge that there is always another body on the
 ide of the sea doing the same work, that all this global
 is more than a matter of a mouse-click
 is fleeting hallucination could not be photographed
 he firing of grenades reverberated amidst the downtown
 blast of stun grenades reverberated amidst the downtown
 papers, someone with a boom box thoughtfully provided
 cal accompaniment. Jim Hendrix's mock-historical
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WAITING FOR TEAR GAS WHEN YOU GO TO RUSSY ANAKS

het idee was om te bewegen met de stroom van de protest, van
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► Installation view of works by Vincent Jourdan, Sandra Ryvlin Rinaudo, Xavier Vaugien and the ADN (Association pour le Démocratie à Nice) Archives



— Installation views, susan pui san lok / lok pui san, *REWIND/REPLAY*, 2022

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✧ Installation views of works by CADA and Miguel Denis Norambuena



CIRCLING THE ARCHIVE

DIDEM PEKÜN AND SUSAN PUI SAN LOK /
LOK PUI SAN IN CONVERSATION
WITH NICK AIKENS

15 NOVEMBER 2021

NICK

Didem and susan, could you talk about your work with archives and how that then got transformed when thinking about *Disturbed Earth* and *REWIND/REPLAY*?¹

DIDEM

It was essential for me to consider how to deal with this topic ethically, emotionally and representationally. This film stems from *Araf* (2018), which was my previous film on Bosnia. Following *Araf*, I received an award from the Vera and Donald Blinken Open Society Archives, the Visegrad Grant, which gave me access to vast amounts of documents on the war in Bosnia and the Srebrenica genocide, including transcripts of UN and NATO meetings gathered by David Rohde. I digitised and logged this material with a brilliant team of four student assistants (Nikola Gajic, Stefan Simanic, Mila Bajic, Ivan Tranfić). It was pedantic, slow, obsessive work, which I think I initially did out of a desire to gain time, to figure out what the hell to do, but also so that

1 This conversation took place before the 'Rewinding Internationalism', Network Aalst, 19th February - 1st May 2022. At the Van Abbemuseum a second version of susan pui san lok/lok pui san's *REWIND/REPLAY* was presented.

the archive could become accessible to others. After the digitising, I had the idea of making the archive speak in a *scripted* performance of bureaucracy, as it were. We had a year and a half period of scriptwriting back and forth with Paris, Deniz and Barış.² And the script is essentially voicing those documents, an attempt to animate them and see how the UN/NATO think. It was going to be a feature film and then the pandemic happened. Right before the lockdown, we extracted part of the script and shot that material in one day, as a rehearsal. At the end I used no archival material at all in the film. For various reasons – from issues of rights, to ethics, to questions of power [regarding] who holds the rights to the archive and allows access, etc. At some point I decided, 'I've seen what I needed to see. I've read, I've digitised, I've done my work. I delivered it back to its owner, and now I would like to do something *freely*.'

Reading Rebecka Katz Thor's archival book *Beyond the Witness: Holocaust Representation and the Testimony of Images* (2018), how she conceptualises archival work on such

2 Barış Uygur and Deniz Aslan are the script writers and Paris Helene Furst has been a vital part of the film – from archival research and scripting process to the shoot. Paris was the associate producer, with Dilara Catak.

atrocities, as witness to the event, was important for me. She wrote the book as the last survivors of the Holocaust were dying. For her, archives became the witnesses. So I was a witness to the witness of Srebrenica, having seen the material. And I thought, 'I don't need to go through mechanisms of power or questions of representation. I can fold it, make it something else.' I distilled from the archive the notion of bureaucratic incompetence.

SUSAN

When I first encountered the Gate Foundation³ archive in 2016, there was not so much an absence of material, but an absence of means to navigate it. The Gate had come to the Van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven in 2006 in a state of disarray. Some of it had been integrated into the Van Abbe library and collection – artist files, books – but many boxes had remained unsorted. I sampled the institutional files and soon found that there was no order, and thus no way to move through it, except by a series of arbitrary decisions.

Searching remotely, online, I found one short article – an interview with the second director of the

Gate Foundation, Sebastian Lopez,⁴ in *Art Asia Pacific*, which mentioned nine Asian artists and presented the purpose of the Gate in terms of researching and programming work by 'Dutch and European artists of colour' and 'from other continents'. One of the artists, Tiong Ang, happened to be someone I'd met about a year earlier in Guangzhou. And Tiong turned out to be the most well-represented of the nine across both the catalogued aspects of the Gate archive and the wider Van Abbe collection, as well as turning up regularly in the uncatalogued boxes of ephemera. Pursuing these particular traces I started feeling a bit like a stalker. This touches on what you were saying earlier about ethics, emotions and representation. So many questions were thrown up by the conditions of the materials inherited by the Van Abbe – the lack of care – and what it meant for the Van Abbe to have 'rescued' or 'saved' this archive from the skip.

NICK

As a result of your project and realising the chaos of the archive, the material was catalogued and organised as much as it could be by two researchers, Michael

3 The Gate Foundation was established in 1988 in Amsterdam to foreground artists from Asia to a European public.

4 Els van der Plas was the founding director of the Gate Foundation; Lopez took up the role in 1997.

Karabinos and Jessica de Abreu. I then invited you back, within the context of the *Rewinding Internationalism* project, to work with the material again. Rather than go back in and either look for Tiong Ang or look for some of the artists that you couldn't locate before, you decided to do something else.

SUSAN

Yes. By late 2019 there an inventory, but by early 2020... well, no-one was going anywhere, so my return to the Gate had to be remote. The archive was now catalogued but remained analogue, so I made another 'arbitrary decision' – to focus on a series of VHS tapes and audio cassettes that remained uncatalogued and inaccessible, many missing labels and context. After digitising about 20 of each and skimming the audio and the video material for a sense of their contents, two strands of material started to emerge. The video material included a lot of men sitting around tables, talking about art. We listened to some of it together, Nick, and couldn't help but be amused by the familiarity of some of the language – the terms, the framing of debates around 'cultural exchange' and how to 'do' the 'international' in a way that 'includes' the 'non-Western'. A lot of these were conversations happening in the 1990s, weren't they?

NICK

But, depressingly, they could also have been last week.

SUSAN

There were also two mixtapes with about 20 songs between them, spanning 3 decades. And we were speculating: was each song chosen with care to speak to a significant moment in the foundation's history? Or did someone just forget to put the tapes back into the glove compartment of their car?

What I decided to do was devise two scripts or scores based on these two strands of material, and right now I'm focusing on the songs, lifting lyrics from each to construct these quite surreal, oblique 'conversations'. The idea is that these potential 'conversations' can be played out repeatedly, rehearsed ad infinitum, never finished and never settling on a single interpretation. We don't know the significance of the tapes or otherwise, but we can invent significance around them. After all, why should one assume that the tapes of men sitting around talking about art are any more important than the tapes full of pop songs?

DIDEM

This dialogue between vastly different materials gives us some clues as to a non-methodology of working with an

archive. Because it's a series of arbitrary decisions. We don't quite know where we are going with it apart from disturbing ourselves and trying to draw something out. Then there are the absences in the archive: the absence of a narrative, the absence of direction, the absence of a history. With the archive we try to reinscribe an absent history. susan, you mentioned one article and there is always one entry point that can spark something. In this tunnel of bizarre decisions, disturbances, searching, there is one thing that ignites it. For me, it was Kofi Annan's apology, which is the basis for the ending part the film.

NICK

I would like to speak about the relationship to representation that is operative in both of the works and both of these very different archives.

DIDEM

Looking at Srebrenica is impossible. You can't look at it. It's too much, but it did happen. And I have witnessed it, because of this archive. I felt like I had to respond to the vast amount of material I have seen. I couldn't show it. Rather, I turned my attention to the wider question of bureaucratic incompetence. My critique was, 'how could such a horror still

happen?' It could have been avoided. And what's more, it is still happening, in the case of Syria or the Cop 26 meeting in Glasgow last week: these are more examples of the fiascos of bureaucratic incompetence with catastrophic human consequences. This was the only place that I felt I could speak, not at the level of representation.

Similar to what I did in *Araf*, I removed the words Bosnia and Srebrenica from the script. I feel too much respect to this historical event, the Srebrenica genocide, to use these words in an artistic process – what happened in Srebrenica is real and it is horrific. I would like to pinpoint that horror, but not make light of it by using those words in a theatrical fashion. But also, to zoom in on the historical repetition of horror: it was indeed in Srebrenica, but it also happened, and continues to happen elsewhere.

SUSAN

I'm not interested in the archive as a concrete entity to be revered. I'm interested in the intangible as well as material elements that don't fit anywhere, that escape the archive's perceived order and test its value(s). I'm interested in drawing out the fundamental incoherence, or the fundamentally problematic relationships and

relations, that enable the archive to come into being. And why shouldn't song lyrics be the raw material for that – for imagining a series of encounters in or out of the archive that are very far from literal or representative? Why shouldn't this material potentially yield insights or glimpses into what relationships might be inferred through other parts of the archive? Ultimately the aim is to de-fetishise and de-monumentalise the archive; to light a fire underneath it; to let it smoke, and attempt to read its signals.

NICK

In both of the works there is a very porous relationship between the history you are beginning with and a clear frustration, anger or depression, that certain processes and structures are still operative. It's not only about how to avoid representing what was happening then, but in scrambling it, in speculating with it, in really deliberately not being true to it, you seem to want to push back against where things are now. Here 'rewinding' seems to be a political choice driven by the conditions of the present.

DIDEM

Maybe the anger, that frustration that comes from both of us is the fact that the things that created these archives

are still there. I think rewinding alludes to a sense of patterns repeating themselves.

SUSAN

You talked about being a neighbour to historical and contemporary events whose legacies continue, and also the impossibility of looking at them. Trinh T. Minh-ha⁵ talks about 'speaking nearby'; the resistance to representation is about not speaking for, not speaking about, but speaking with, and placing yourself in proximity. If you allow yourself to be close you are admitting to not being able to see all, to be above, or to see things in their entirety.

There's something in your film, Didem, about how the eye of the camera assumes an almost vulture-like attention as it circles. This circling might be read as relentless scrutinising, and there's no optimum vantage point, each position presents an equally obtuse view. And it underlines the fact that they are going around in circles. But there's something else about that proximity and circling which seems to be about giving over to a different kind of attention that requires time.

5 Trinh T. Minh-ha (1952, Hanoi) is a filmmaker, writer, literary theorist, composer and professor.

In *REWIND/REPLAY* I've composed something relatively quickly, but the idea is that it requires time to play out indefinitely. So the slowness and the circling, for me, is like the back and forth of your writing of the script for *Disturbed Earth*, but it's coming after the words have landed, as opposed to before.

NICK

Both works deploy the form of the rehearsal as strategies for resisting representation, for not fixing meaning. For both of you it seems it serves as a method to work towards something, without ever arriving at the thing.

DIDEM

The idea of the rehearsal is multiple. It was a practical solution because we had one day to shoot and I needed to make this film otherwise I felt it was going to bury me. But also the concept of the rehearsal allows a different relationship with the source material. As I mentioned, we removed specific references to Srebrenica as a device to gain distance. In this 'rehearsal' you see that the kitchen is open. We see the cast in the background, we see the actors' scripts. So it is rehearsing a meeting, that is very clearly constructed and in process. This processual method was a strategy to approach the material and look at it.

Like susan, I also would like to refer to Minh-ha, the aim was to speak next to it, not on or about it.

NICK

The role of the music by David Lang turns *Disturbed Earth* into a highly choreographed, staged piece. It has an operatic feel to it. The relationship between the music, the script and this circular camera work is fundamental to the film. Music, susan, is one of your starting points. But more than that, the format or the methodology of the score, and the sonic are deployed as a counter device to organising principles of the archive and, again, systems of representation.

SUSAN

Treating the voice musically or sonically is a way to distance from the idea of the voice as location of truth. There's the question of who speaks, whose voices are elevated and audible or not, and how to put voices into parentheses, in a way: to question their truths, their authority. If you heard the words in the script/score in the context of the songs, you'd be able to place them immediately. They belong mostly to white male Western European or American songwriters. They're so recognisable and it's so hard to get at, or imagine what they could mean, other-

wise - how they might be subverted - until you 'Laura Mulvey' them and disassociate the visual narrative from the soundtrack, or rather the text from the music. If you separate the familiar melody and the voice that sings it from the words, the words can take off and do something else. The voices become instruments for folding possible fictions together, but they are also instruments for folding potential truths.

DIDEM

We edited the film (with editor Eytan Ipeker) with David Lang's music, which David was very happy about. And then, Fatih Ragbet, the sound designer with whom I have worked with for many years, did incredibly detailed work in creating what was not seen on the screen or the set. The screen, the performance of the bureaucrats, operates in proximity to the horror event. The sounds we designed signal the immensity of the mistakes they are making, which we are not seeing. The music becomes the operatic tragedy of the event, and as operas do, gives it a historical, timeless feel. The lyrics of the piece by Lang, called 'Again', also echoes the film's wider theme, that of the cyclical nature of events repeating themselves, which runs throughout my work, running back from *of dice and men* (2011-16) to *Araf* (2018) to *Disturbed Earth* (2021).

SITUATED INTERNATIONALISMS

SARA BURAYA BONED IN
CONVERSATION WITH NICK AIKENS

16 SEPTEMBER 2022

NICK

Rewinding Internationalism, which began three years ago before the pandemic, and in many respects in a different world, is an exhibition situated within 'Our Many Europes' (OME): the four-year programme of the museum confederation L'Internationale. The exhibition took the 1990s as a broad framework, guided by an impulse to explore what internationalism means as a proposition to somehow reclaim or reinvest it with possibility.

'Internationalism' is an idea that circulates throughout the confederation in many ways, including how the seven museums that constitute it, like the Museo Reina Sofía in Madrid where you work, Sara and the Van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven where I work, position themselves. But my sense is that it has an assumed meaning and means different things to different people. My hope with *Rewinding Internationalism* was to explore those meanings with a number of collaborators.

How do you relate to the term 'internationalism'?

SARA

First, thank you for proposing *Rewinding Internationalism*, which, as project leader of OME at

L'Internationale, I often refer to when explaining the institutional practices we want to develop. Your initiative talks about the need to listen in collectively exploring the politically and historically charged idea of internationalism. When we started the overarching programme 'Our Many Europes', it was framed as an interrogation of the 90s as a historical moment, and what has happened since in this political fiction within and beyond the European Union.

During the past few years, internationalism became a notion to reclaim, as you say, and as a way to situate ourselves in the world and towards the future. I believe that since L'Internationale started, all the people involved have seen Europe turning back into a space where the shades of nationalisms that we thought were so connected with the twentieth century are back, and reconfiguring our geopolitics. And this political turn also has had real consequences within the confederation and its members.

My own definition of internationalism has moved from a political one related to power, to extended practices embodied by very different subjects and crystallised in support in moments of necessity through performing ways of listening, attending and being present, and compromising our time and resources

in making common projects, such as yours. It has to do with connecting situated contexts. We are working from institutions that are reclaiming responsibility for our work and role. We try to do this by connecting territories and struggles, generating collective knowledge and taking a position on living conditions and the future of our planet.

NICK

I often talk with colleagues about internationalism through relations. If we think about nationalisms through division – borders and ideologies, and globalisation as a process of flattening difference – internationalism, like you described so eloquently points to connections and interconnectedness. The political project you identify is in drawing relations between struggles, situated ideas and political contexts.

My understanding and experience of internationalism has changed during the pandemic, during which this project was developed. It changed the conditions of working due to the implementation of borders in Europe for the first time in my lifetime, but also in my relationship to – and sense of – place. This is not something that is in any way resolved, it's in flux, but it has complicated my own understand-

ing of internationalism, or of being as my colleague Yolande Zola Zoli van der Heide would say *in relation with others*.

SARA

As privileged European, white, educated cultural workers, that experience of borders may be new for you and me, but the borders regime, the Europe-fortress, was there long before the pandemic. The pandemic was a moment in which I realised how solidarity works as a transversal practice from which internationalism emerges. Solidarity operated in the most vulnerable spaces. What we saw at that moment in Lavapiés, the neighbourhood where the museum is located, and where we have the Museo Situado assembly,¹ was the kind of solidarity that allows different communities

1 Museo Situado (Situated Museum) is an active collaboration network between local collectives and associations from Madrid's Lavapiés neighbourhood that work with the Museo Reina Sofía as part of its involvement in different local, national and international networks. It stems from a collective willingness to connect the Museo with its immediate surroundings, and its framework of conflicts and expectations. Moreover, it is an ongoing and open assembly, whereby decisions on initiatives to be carried out are made communally in a constant exercise of listening, deliberation and questioning. Its spaces shine a light on campaigns, activities, projects, calls, and productions, fully realised or under way, driven from the network, <https://www.museo-reinasofia.es/en/museo-red/museo-situado>.

that started to establish themselves 30 years ago to live together in a neighbourhood that is very vulnerable and without resources, to survive. The newcomers who may not speak Spanish are often excluded from public services and do not have access to basic political, housing or health rights; so, for example, during confinement the Bangladeshi and Senegalese community ate together and took care of sanitary health. They suffered permanently from the frontier regime in Europe and have no access to the travel or thinking together that we are free to do in projects like L'Internationale. Yet, the pandemic did not stop the possibilities of internationalism – it made them more real: care workers in Latin America and Spain connected with each other through technology, the 'olla común' (communal pot) came into practice, and care networks of mutual aid were organised, shared and spread.² These realities were perhaps less visible, but they are something to listen to and acknowledge.

2 'Situating voices 12. Who cares for the carer? Capitalism, reproduction and quarantine', public activity, 27 May 2020, <https://www.museoreinasofia.es/actividades/voces-situadas-12>; 'Situating Voices 13. Surviving Together. Community Organisation in Times of Pandemich', public activity, 24 June 2020, <https://www.museoreinasofia.es/en/activities/situating-voices-13>.

NICK

When I started thinking about this exhibition it felt vital to be in dialogue with colleagues within L'Internationale. That's when we started discussing how it might make sense for colleagues at Reina Sofía to contribute. Your response to that invitation was an introduction to Paulina Varas and the Red Conceptualismos del Sur who you work with as part of Museo en Red.³

SARA

I would like to clarify that I always speak from my personal experience through years working at the Reina Sofía and as coordinator of Museo en Red, but not from the position of the institution itself. Museo en Red is a frame we have been working with for more than ten years now. It is an institutional position that has to do with how a museum deploys itself as part of a complex tissue within the terrain of culture and society, and how it could create a certain membrane through which an institution can breathe, be interpellated, transversed and transformed by others. I see this position as a break from how institutions operate as isolated, autonomous

3 See <https://www.museoreinasofia.es/en/museo-red>.

and self-referential entities acting as bodies whose sole purpose is to take care of a collection. After the different waves of institutional critique, but mostly as a result of the interactions between institutions and a multiplicity of agents, there is a need for institutions to become interdependent. That knowledge and the nurturing of an artistic and civic ecosystem can help establish symbiotic relations between these different actors.

I believe it arises from taking a political position. But it also has to do with scale, alliances, resource management and how institutions manage and take responsibility for their privileges. This is where the work of Museo en Red is situated: taking a position through institutional practice, rather than through words.

NICK

Can you describe that practice?

SARA

We have described L'Internationale as an institutional network, also as a construct towards a shared notion of institutionality, ethics and values. The relation with the Red Conceptualismos del Sur is the result of collaborations over the years of sharing objectives, sharing desire and also sharing positions. It is a network

of researchers, activists and artists that work in Latin America with which the museum has been developing different lines of work. One of them is curatorial work on exhibition projects, implicating an extended group of creators that goes beyond the logics of the figure of the sole curator as also an autonomous and legitimated being – at work in another form in *Rewinding Internationalism* – to produce an exhibition like the current *Graphic Turn. Like the Ivy on the Wall*.⁴ In it the Red Conceptualismos del Sur and the Museo Reina Sofía collaborated in a sustained relation and complex debate for years among the 30 researchers, exhibition team and directorial departments of the museum.

What we do in Museo en Red is sustain the relation with the Red Conceptualismos, take care of the spaces that the museum shares with them, and consider how these exchanges create certain knowledge and learnings, and how we can use that to change, transform or move the institution towards a more open, more flexible configuration.

4 Museo Reina Sofía, Madrid, 18 May – 10 October 2022 and Museo Universitario Arte Contemporáneo de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City, November 2022 – July 2023, <https://www.museoreinasofia.es/en/exhibitions/graphic-turn>.

Then there is the project *Archives of the Commons*,⁵ which we have been unfolding through a series of five encounters where we work with archival experiences from different contexts, around the idea of how an archive can be a political tool of memory, but also a space of construction of the commons and collectivity. We convoke conversations between archives that go beyond the binary logic of private and public, in which the museum is rooted, and propose practices that come from the commons.

NICK

When talking about exhibition practices I often quote our colleague Elvira Dyangani Ose, director of MACBA, who talks very eloquently about the space of the exhibition as an instituting gesture: a proposition for the types of worlds the institution wants to imagine, practices it wants to foster and relationships it wants to strengthen. It's interesting to hear about your work with the Red Conceptualismos across these different registers. There's a very porous membrane, to use your wonderful metaphor, between the exhibition and how it can

5 See museoreinasofia.es/en/museo-red/red-conceptualismos-sur.

be a space to work through the complexities of the collaboration – that it becomes a generative moment rather than an end point.

SARA

The relation with the Red Conceptualismos del Sur, comes with many tensions that have to do with how two different institutional constructions work together. In this case: a network across several countries working through the principles of horizontality, respect and multiple temporalities; and a national museum model that is hierarchical and based on notions of property with legal requirements as part of the state apparatus. In those terms, I think negotiation and compromise always take place and listening becomes central as an almost radical act since institutions cannot do it because they don't have dispositives for listening. They don't have this membrane. Listening requires time, presence, the body, being with the other and being part of their reality, engaging in it, trusting and thinking together. In other words, it requires radical imagination and very simply, being together.

We need to ask: what are the symbolic and physical barriers that make the institution such a temple,

where we are the only subjects who can come in and do things, those who are educated, white, middle-class? Many times, there is a contradiction between the discourse museums host and promote and the institutional practices they perform. This contradiction is problematic and painful. I remember our beloved colleague, Pablo Martínez, who used to be MACBA's representative on the editorial board of L'Internationale, talking very concretely about this in a conference at HDK-Valand – Academy of Art and Design at the University of Gothenburg, using the example of not being able to pay undocumented people that were art workers in a project. At Reina Sofía we have faced this contradiction many times and the machinery that you need to move on that. It seems you cannot pay undocumented people or you cannot make them a library card to use the museum facilities. But it's not impossible. It's a matter of experimenting, trying, acknowledging the potentiality this experience has to make visible structural racism embedded in the institution. Because the museum is part of society, it doesn't operate outside of it. But it's through this compromised practice, this imagination that emerged also from artistic practice, that things can move.

NICK

One thing that has emerged in working on the exhibition – and in the confederation at large – is the interpellation between situated experiences and concrete examples of international collaboration and solidarity. In this sense my understanding of internationalism has evolved into something much more slippery or porous. Internationalism, as I am coming to understand it, operates more as a political imaginary that is equally present in local neighbourhoods as it is through forming solidarities across national contexts.

SARA

I agree. From my learnings these years I would say that the institutional project is not to produce results (exhibitions, seminars, publications, etc.), but the relations, to go back to this word. It's all the processes, all the things that have happened in between us since the beginning until today. At the beginning of Museo en Red, we worked through project-based collaborations, but there was a moment in which we understood we needed to create a specific and permanent team, dedicated to sustaining relations. We started with Fundación de los Comunes, which is a network of social spaces like urban commons, but also autonomous publishing

houses and self-organised spaces of learning. And also with the Red Conceptualismos, in an archive platform – Archivos en Uso⁶ – with the Red and the museum digitalising archives of artists in Latin America to protect them from market flux and to make them available to be researched and activated. After some years, these kinds of networks and alliances began to grow. L'Internationale was one of them. Reina Sofía joined the confederation in 2013, in the same moment that I started working in Museo en Red, precisely on a collaboration between Fundación de los Comunes and L'Internationale. The seminar, 'The New Abduction of Europe' gathered over a hundred activists in Europe around the notion of debt to rethink together the conditions that the neoliberal turn of the EU was producing after the 2008 crisis, and imagining and proposing another possible world.⁷

NICK

What I find inspiring about Museo en Red is the different registers of practice that it engages: its imaginative

⁶ See <https://archivosenuso.org/>.

⁷ For further information on the Museo en Red, see <https://www.museoreinasofia.es/en/museo-red>; see also Museo Reina Sofía (ed.), *Carta (s). Museo en Red. Interweaving Ecosystems*, Madrid: Museo Reina Sofía, 2021.

capacity, its work with actors, communities, groups, its work with archives and how they might infiltrate or speak to one another. In this exhibition I am interested in this movement between archival propositions, more abstract, imaginative acts and different situated knowledges. Museo en Red seems to play that out on an operational level. What are the interconnections and interpolations between the archival, the bodily, the imaginative? How do these things work and how does internationalism interpolate with these different practices, these different registers?

SARA

Museo en Red started in 2008, when Manuel Borja-Villel and the new artistic team arrived at Reina Sofía, and it was more an institutional position, an institutional project that involved everything, not only this membrane that I have been describing, but also the collections, the exhibitions, the public activities, etc. In the last presentation of the collection in November 2021, I was very moved to see how all the work over the years is there, in the rooms of the exhibition; it's there through narratives and objects.

Graphic Turn curated by the Red Conceptualismos with the museum is another example of the potential of

going beyond the privileged space of the exhibition and idea of the solitary curator. The vast, complex exhibition contained political graphic arts in Latin America from the sixties until today. It was really a toolbox for political organisation, but from below. We decided to activate three workshops called 'Estallidos gráficos' (Graphic Outbreaks) in reference to the Chilennial outbreak of 2019. The workshops were organised with some of the artists who were coming for the opening together with collectives part of Museo Situado. In ten days, the exhibition was completely activated. For instance, Delight Lab and Vórtice Creativo projected poetic and political sentences in the buildings of Santiago during the outbreak. That very night there was an intervention in the facade of the Civil Register of the Administration, demanding IDs for everyone (including the undocumented migrant people). Something similar happened in the movement and body practices workshop by Colectivo Alborada, who shared their practices with the collective of organised domestic and care workers Territorio Doméstico, that days later started to use this tools at the beginning of their assemblies and organisational meetings, taking care of themselves, using the practice of the Brazilian collective. These experiences really

mobilised people, and it's pretty amazing to see the contents of the exhibition becoming vividly alive and creating a real relation with the audience, so real, making them agents that activate what the artists propose.

NICK

Thank you Sara. This has been an inspiring conversation.

SARA

Maybe to end I can cite a text the team of Museo en Red read together and that inspires our work in the museum. It is by Ursula K. Le Guin titled 'Sometimes I am Taken for Granite'.⁸ It is a very brief text that makes a wordplay around the idea of being *taken for granite* (instead of granted) – something that is strong and does not move – that is cold, 'important'. She proposes instead to be taken for mud. For us it's a very powerful metaphor because we work in a museum that is an old building, a former hospital made of granite in fact. We try to be the mud now, to be the things that support people, their footprints, and, like the mud, that is also marked by

⁸ See Ursula K. Le Guin, 'Being Taken for Granite', <http://artandcrap.com/ensayos/ursula-k-le-guin-being-taken-for-granite/>.

those who pass there, to be malleable and able to morph into other qualities which granite cannot. This amazing text was brought to us by Maria Mallol, our beloved and admired colleague, the one that supports us all and makes things possible. I wanted to dedicate this conversation to her.

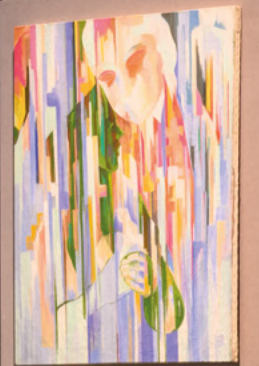
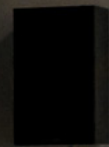




□ Installation view of works by Olu Oguibe and Didem Pekün









○ Installation view of works by Belkis Ayón Manso, Ivan Kožarić and Semsar Siahaan

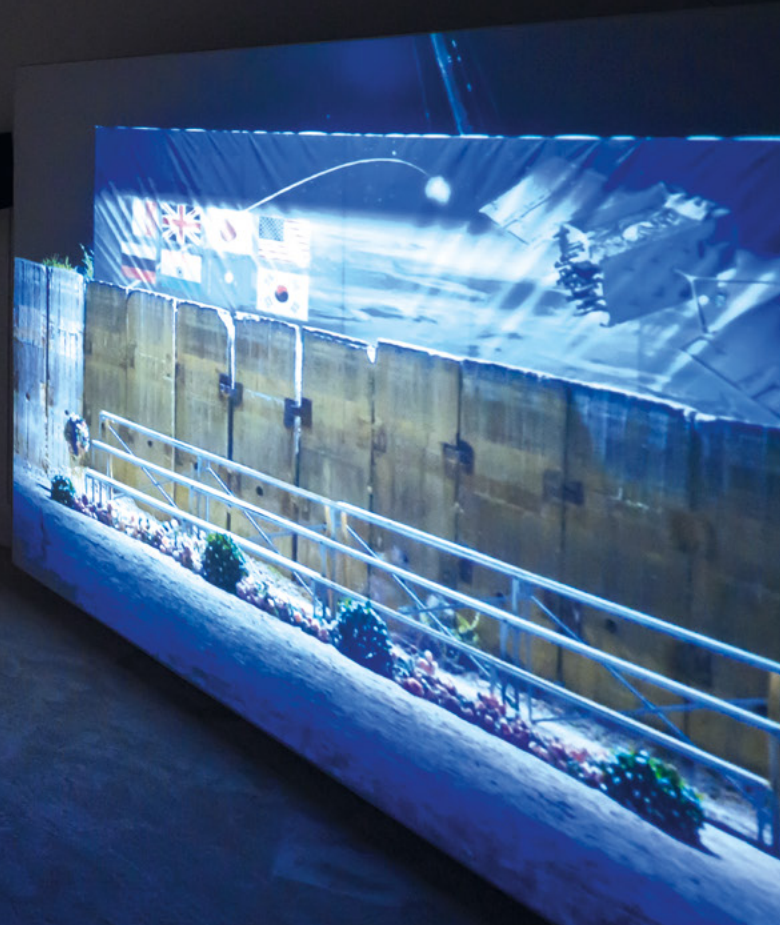


○ Installation views of works by Belkis Ayón Manso, Nadiyah Bamadhaj and Ivan Kožarić





◆ Installation views, Pejvak (Rouzbeh Akhbari, Felix Kalmenson), *Shokouk*, 2022





○ Installation view of works by Ivan Kožarić and Josip Vaništa



○ Installation views of works by Nadiah Bamadhaj and Julije Knifer



□ Installation view, Dider Pekün, *Disturbed Earth*, 2021.



□ Installation views, Olu Oguibe, *Many Thousand Gone*, 2000



Worklist (by gallery)

- Lubaina Himid
 - Rain Cannot Wash Away Memories (Zanzibar), 1999*
 - Sprinkled Rosewater is Always Pink (Zanzibar), 1999*
 - Cloves Numbing Harming Soothing Strong (Zanzibar), 1999*
 - Nets for Night And Day (Zanzibar), 1999*
 - Never Harm a Clever Man (Zanzibar), 1999*
 - Women's Tears Fill the Ocean (Zanzibar), 1999*
 - Sea: Wave Goodbye Say Hello (Zanzibar), 1999*
 - Shutters Only Hide the Sun (Zanzibar), 1999*
 - ACRYLIC ON CANVAS, COURTESY THE ARTIST AND HOLLYBUSH GARDENS, LONDON

- Magda Stawarska-Beavan
 - Zanzibar, 2022*
 - 8 CHANNEL AUDIO, DIGITAL FILES IN WAV FORMAT, COURTESY THE ARTIST

- Betsy Damon
 - Water Creates, 2019*
 - Water Creates Complexity, 2019*
 - Water Creates Coherence, 2019*
 - All Waters Are Connected, 2019*
 - Water is Self-Regenerating, 2019*
 - Water Never Moves in a Straight Line, 2019*
 - The Primary Motion of Water is the Vortex, 2019*
 - Life Adapts to Water, Water Does Not Adapt to Life, 2019*
 - Mist Rising, 2019*
 - Mist at Dawn, 2019*
 - SUMI INK
 - Water Creating Heart 1, 2018*
 - Water Creating Heart 2, 2018*
 - Study of Heart Emerging, 2018*
 - Apex of the Heart, 2018*
 - CHARCOAL
 - Galactic Burst #1, 2019*
 - Galactic Burst #2, 2019*
 - Galactic Burst #3, 2019*

Ancient Language, 2022
Mist Rising in the Cave, 2022
Messenger, 2022
Mist Rising, 2022
MIXED MEDIA, COURTESY THE ARTIST

- Betsy Damon
Black and White (Preparation), 1995

- Yin Xiuzhen
A Piece of the Sky, 1995
Washing River, 1995
Living Water, 1996
Shoes with Yak Butters (partial), 1996

- Ang Sang, Ge Ci, He Qichao, Kristin Caskey,
Suri Lamnu, Tang Liping, Yu Leiqing, Zhou Zheng
Washing Silk by Jin River, 1995

- Christine Baeumler, Beth Grossman
Dreams for a Pure River, 1995

- Dai Guangyu
Long-Abandoned Water Standards, 1995
The Water Propaganda Board, 1995
Listening, 1996

- Pen Wang
The River (partial), 1995

- Zeng Xun
When Will There be Fish, 1995
Opening Ceremony, 1996

- Li Jixiang
Cleaning the River, 1996

- Liu Chengying
Gloves, 1996
Attitude 365m, 25°C, 1996
Shirts, 1996

- Suri Lamnu
Water Burial, 1996
ALL WORKS PRINT ON VINYL, COURTESY BETSY
DAMON ARCHIVE: KEEPERS OF THE WATERS
(CHENGDU AND LHASA) AND LIU CHENGYING AND
ASIA ART ARCHIVE

- *Documentation of Attitude 365m, 25°C by*
Liu Chengying, Lhasa, Tibet, 1996, 1996
00:05:00
Raw Footage of Keepers of the Waters –
Lhasa, Tibet 1996, 1996
1:39:00, ALL VIDEOS (SOUND, COLOUR), COURTESY
BETSY DAMON ARCHIVE: KEEPERS OF THE WATERS
(CHENGDU AND LHASA) AND LIU CHENGYING AND
ASIA ART ARCHIVE

- ◆ Tony Cokes
Microhaus or the Black Atlantic?, 2006–08
VIDEO (BLACK AND WHITE, SOUND), *00:31:07*,
COURTESY THE ARTIST; GREENE NAFTALI, NEW YORK;
FELIX GAUDLITZ, VIENNA; HANNAH HOFFMAN,
LOS ANGELES; AND ELECTRONIC ARTS INTERMIX,
NEW YORK

- ▶ Miguel Benlloch
Epigrams Against War, 1999–2018
PRINT ON PAPER
Piedra Palestina [Palestinian Stone], 1993
PRINT ON VINYL
SIDA DA, 1985
VIDEO (COLOUR, SOUND), *00:08:52*, PRODUCED BY
PLANTA BAJA – ÁTICO 7, GRANADA
Mapuch ¡EH!, 1999
VIDEO (COLOUR, SOUND), *00:19:44*
Acuchillad+s, 2014
VIDEO (COLOUR, SOUND), *00:24:00*, PART OF
THE 16 FESTIVAL ZEMOS98: REMAPPING EUROPE,
CENTRO DE LAS ARTES, SEVILLA VIDEO PRODUCED
BY BNV PRODUCCIONES. ALL WORKS COURTESY
ARCHIVO MIGUEL BENLLOCH

- ▶ ACT UP-Barcelona
ARCHIVAL MATERIAL, 1992-94, COURTESY SIDA STUDI, BARCELONA
- ▶ Centro de Educación y Prevención en Salud Social y Sida (CEPSS)
ARCHIVAL MATERIAL, 1989-94, COURTESY CHRISTIAN RODRÍGUEZ
- ▶ Miguel Parra Urrutia
El virus que navega en el amor, 1991/2016
ACRYLIC AND SILKSCREEN ON PAPER,
COURTESY THE ARTIST
- susan pui san lok / lok pui san
REWIND / REPLAY, 2022
MULTIMEDIA MULTI-CHANNEL SITE-SPECIFIC
INSTALLATION, PROJECT SUPPORTED BY
UNIVERSITY OF THE ARTS, LONDON
- ✧ Eugenio Dittborn
La XXII Historia del Rostro (Trueque), 1998
MIXED MEDIA ON COTTON FABRIC,
COURTESY COLLECTION PEDRO MONTES
- ✧ Diamela Eltit
Lumpérica / Diamela Eltit; [photo taken by Lotty Rossenfeld]. – Santiago de Chile: Ediciones del Ornitorrinco, 1983, book
- ✧ Revista de Crítica Cultural
Santiago de Chile: Art and Criticism Monograph Series [1990] – 2007, N. 9/10/12/19/22/26/29/30/36, 2004, magazine
ALL WORKS COURTESY LIBRARY AND DOCUMENTATION CENTRE, MUSEO NACIONAL CENTRO DE ARTE REINA SOFÍA, MADRID
- ✧ Miguel Denis Norambuena
Diagrammatic Becomings – Grammar of power(s), 2022

- Diagrammatic Becomings – Invented space, everyday clinic*, 2022
- Diagrammatic Becomings – Daily clinic and production of social ties*, 2022
- Diagrammatic Becomings – Invented space: beyond the 'psy' field*, 2022
- A-Processual ecosophical parallelism, heterotopia*, 2022
- Ecosophical trans-reflexivity 1, 2, 3*, 2022
- Daily clinic and restorative paradigm*, 2022
MARKER ON PAPER, COURTESY MIGUEL DENIS NORAMBUENA
- ✧ Lotty Rosenfeld
Una Milla de Cruces, 1979
VIDEO (COLOUR, SILENT), 00:04:59, COURTESY ALEJANDRA COZ AND 1 MIRA MADRID
Una milla de cruces sobre el pavimento, 1979
PRINT ON VINYL, COURTESY MUSEO NACIONAL CENTRO DE ARTE REINA SOFÍA, MADRID
- ✧ Cecilia Barriga
MEMORY RE-EDITED from in 1995 Beijing to Santiago de Chile, 2022
VIDEO (COLOUR, SOUND), 00:50:24,
COURTESY THE ARTIST
- ✧ CADA (Colectivo de Acciones de Arte) (Raúl Zurita, Fernando Balcells, Diamela Eltit, Lotty Rosenfeld, Juan Castillo)
Para no morir de hambre en el arte, 1979
Inversión de escena, 1979
Para no morir de hambre en el arte, 1979
¡Ay Sudamérica!, 1981
No+, 1983-89
El fulgor de la huelga, 1981
Ala hora señalada, 1982
Viuda, 1985
PRINT ON VINYL, COURTESY MUSEO NACIONAL CENTRO DE ARTE REINA SOFÍA, MADRID

- ✧ Diamela Eltit
Zona de Dolor I, 1990
PRINT ON VINYL, COURTESY MUSEO NACIONAL
CENTRO DE ARTE REINA SOFÍA, MADRID
- ▷ Allan Sekula
*Waiting for Tear Gas (white globe to black),
1999–2000*
SLIDE PROJECTION AND VINYL, COURTESY MACBA
COLLECTION, BARCELONA
- ▷ Norbert van Onna
Reflection Lichttoren, Mathildelaan, 2010
Strijp R, Pompegebouw, 1999
Video Ontwikkellaboratorium Strijp S, 2011
Strijp R Keramiek Ovens, 1999
Natuurkundig Laboratorium, Kastanjelaan, 1996
Witte Dame, Emmasingel, 1995
Strijp R, 2010
Interior Warmte Kracht Centrale, Strijp T, 1999
PRINT ON FOREX, COURTESY THE ARTIST
- ▷ Anti-Le Pen demonstration in Nice. May 1st, 2002,
before the second round of the presidential
election. Artist performance from La Brèche,
another collective sharing Les Diables Bleus
ex-military barracks. Film by Vincent Jourdan.
SUPER 8 TRANSFERRED TO VIDEO (BLACK AND
WHITE, SILENT), 00:13:58, COURTESY VINCENT
JOURDAN AND ADN (ASSOCIATION POUR
LA DÉMOCRATIE À NICE) ARCHIVES
- ▷ Intervention by Les Diables Bleus at the opening
of Yves Klein
'La vie, la vie elle-même qui est l'art absolu',
MAMAC, Nice, 2000. Film by Xavier Vaugien.
VIDEO (COLOUR, SOUND), 00:14:40, COURTESY
XAVIER VAUGIEN AND ADN ARCHIVES

- ▷ Reproduced material from the archives of ADN,
1991–2002
PRINT ON VINYL, COURTESY ADN ARCHIVES
WITH FRÉDÉRIC ALEMANY, OLIVIER BAUDOIN,
JEAN-CLAUDE BOYER, CHANTAL HOSTIOU,
LIBÉRATION, TERESA MAFFEIS, GUY OUILLON
- ▷ Sandra Ryvlin Rinaudo
Photos from marches, 'Carnavals Independents'
and Diables Bleus, 1995–2002
COURTESY THE PHOTOGRAPHER
- ◇ Pejvak (Rouzbeh Akhbari, Felix Kalmenson)
Shokouk, 2022
SINGLE CHANNEL HD VIDEO WITH STEREO AUDIO
(COLOUR, SOUND), 00:16:28, COSMONAUT'S
BED FROM MIR, COURTESY THE ARTISTS, PROJECT
SUPPORTED BY CANADA COUNCIL FOR THE ARTS
- Julije Knifer
TU H DA DI, 1987
ACRYLIC ON CANVAS, COURTESY OF ANNA KNIFER,
PART OF A JOINT RESEARCH COMMISSION
WITH M HKA
- Ivan Kožarić
AX AND STUMP, 1996
WOOD, METAL, COURTESY FAMILY PERNAR,
PRIVATE COLLECTION
- Belkis Ayón Manso
Nlloro, 1991
PAPER, INK, COURTESY NEDERLANDS MUSEUM
VAN WERELDCULTUREN
- Semsar Siahaan
Untitled, 1999
In Memoriam of Santa Cruz, 2002
OIL ON CANVAS, COURTESY THE ARTIST AND
THE GAJAH GALLERY, SINGAPORE

- Nadiah Bamadhaj
 Casting Spells for the Movement, 2021
PAINTED RESIN SCULPTURE AND 3 CHANNEL VIDEO
(COLOUR, SILENT), 00:02:26, COURTESY THE ARTIST,
SHIPPING SUPPORTED BY THE DIRECTORATE
GENERAL OF CULTURE, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION,
CULTURE, HIGHER EDUCATION, RESEARCH AND
TECHNOLOGY OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

- Josip Vaništa
 Put, 1954
SOURCE: POSTGORGONA NO. 7, 1986
 Gorgona 1, 1961
ORIGINAL TITLE: ANTI-MAGAZINE GORGONA,
NO. 1 (1961)
1964, 1964
ORIGINAL TITLE: PAINTING 'SILVER LINE ON
WHITE GROUND'
 Painter and a Painting 6, 1964
ORIGINAL TITLE: PLACING THE PAINTING, 1964.
VANISTA'S PAINTING BLACK LINE ON SILVER GROUND
(1964) WAS LEFT IN THE SNOW IN JELENOVAC.
PRINT ON VINYL, COURTESY MODERNA GALERIJA
LJUBLJANA

- Olu Oguibe
 Many Thousand Gone, 2000
101 DRAWINGS, INK ON WATERCOLOUR PAPER
(84 ON DISPLAY), POEM, COURTESY THE ARTIST

- Didem Pekün
 Disturbed Earth, 2021
VIDEO (COLOUR, SOUND), 00:29:00, SUPPORTED BY:
SAHA, LULEÅ BIENNIAL, FFAI COURTESY THE ARTIST

Biographies

Nick Aikens is research curator at the Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven and PhD candidate at HDK Valand, University of Gothenburg.

Sara Buraya Boned is project leader of 'Our Many Europes' (L'Internationale museum confederation, 2018-22) and coordinator of Museo en Red Area at Museo Reina Sofía, Madrid.

Pablo Martínez works as Margarita Salas researcher at the CSIC (Spanish National High Research Council) in Madrid.

Didem Pekün is a filmmaker-academic based in Istanbul and Berlin.

Bojana Piškur is a writer and curator at the Moderna galerija, Ljubljana.

susan pui san lok < 駱佩珊 > / lok pui san is an artist, writer and Professor of Contemporary Art and Director of the Decolonising Arts Institute at the University of the Arts London.

Grace Samboh is a researcher-curator based in Yogyakarta and co-founder of the group Hyphen-.

Rachel Surijata is a researcher living in Yogyakarta and a member of the group Hyphen-.

Colophon (exhibition)

Rewinding Internationalism
Scenes from the 1990s, today
19 November 2022 – 30 April 2023
Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven

Featuring works by:

Act Up-Barcelona, Belkis Ayón Manso, Christine Baeumler and Beth Grossman, Nadiah Bamadhaj, Cecilia Barriga*, Miguel Benloch, CADA [Colectivo de Acciones de Arte (Raúl Zurita, Fernando Balcells, Diamela Eltit, Lotty Rosenfeld, Juan Castillo)], Tony Cokes, Betsy Damon, Les Diables Bleus, Eugenio Dittborn, Diamela Eltit, Dai Guangyu, Félix Guattari, Lubaina Himid and Magda Stawarska-Beavan*, Julije Knifer, Ivan Kožarić, Li Jixiang, Chengying Liu, susan pui san lok / lok pui san*, Miguel Denis Norambuena, Miguel Parra Urrutia, Olu Oguibe, Norbert van Onna, Didem Pekün*, Pejvak (Rouzbeh Akhbari, Felix Kalmenson)*, Wang Peng, Nelly Richard, Christian Rodríguez / CEPSS (Centro de Educación y Prevención en Salud Social y Sida), Sandra Ryvlin Rinaudo, Lotty Rosenfeld, Allan Sekula, Semsar Siahaan, Lamnu Suri, Josip Vaništa, Yin Xiuzhen, Zeng Xun

Research projects:

AIDS Anarchiv developed with Equipo re (Aimar Arriola, Nancy Garin, Linda Valdés), *Revista de Crítica Cultural*, *The Three Ecologies* and *Internationalist Feminisms* developed with Paulina Varas; *Keepers of the Waters* (Chengdu and Lhasa, China, 1995–96) developed with Sebastian Cichocki; *Contemporary Art of the Non-Aligned Countries: Unity in Diversity in International Art* (Jakarta, 1995), developed with Bojana Piškur, Grace Samboh, Rachel Surijata; *ADN* (Association pour la Démocratie à Nice), with Carnavals Independents and Les Diables Bleus (1991–2004)

*New work

Curator
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A first iteration of the project was presented at Netwerk Aalst (19 February – 1 May 2022) and a third iteration developed for Villa Arson, Nice (17 June – 28 August 2023).

Colophon (publication)

Rewinding Internationalism
Scenes from the 1990s, today

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Some contributors to Rewinding Internationalism. Van Abbemuseum, 17th November 2022

Back row (from left): Miguel Parra Urrutia, Linda Valdes, Guy Ouillon, Rouzbeh Akhbari, Felix Kalmenson, Sebastian Cichocki

Middle row (from left): Aimar Arriola, susan pui san lok / lok pui san, Natascha Leonie Simons, Christian Rodríguez, Nick Aikens, Cecilia Barriga, Magda Stawarska-Beavan, Lubaina Himid

Bottom row (from left): Grace Samboh, Sara Buraya Boned, Betsy Damon, Paulina Varas, Nancy Garín, Bojana Piškur

The exhibition at the Van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven, *Rewinding Internationalism: Scenes from the 1990s, today*, is the second iteration of a three-part endeavour. The project as a whole thinks through the construct of internationalism through new commissions and collaborative research within the context of the museum confederation L'Internationale. As an experiment in how the form and processes of exhibition making produce meaning, the show explores what the 1990s – a moment of seismic shifts across society and culture – mean today. This publication includes essays and interviews by artists, curators and researchers involved in the project, accompanied by extensive installation views from the Van Abbemuseum.