



# ذکر قلق

museums, exile and solidarity

## PAST DISQUIET

Exhibition Companion Guide

*Past Disquiet*

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**PAST DISQUIET**

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EXHIBITION DATES

**27 Feb—25 May 2025**

OPENING

**27 Feb**

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# PROLOGUE

The past we refer to in *Past Disquiet* is recent, with several protagonists still living. Nevertheless, for the most part, these stories narrate undocumented chapters in the history of modern and contemporary art that chronicle the actions of groups of artists engaged with political change. Throughout the various editions of the exhibition, we always questioned the significance of reviving images and stories decades in their aftermath—after the defeat of the Pinochet dictatorship, the end of apartheid and after the PLO created the Palestinian National Authority. This aftermath comes with its own set of problems, unresolved internal conflicts and scars that have yet to heal. Still, if we zoom out to a broader perspective, ours is a time when utopian ideals have lapsed and the struggles for liberation have yet to achieve their promises fully. Some might even argue that ours is a time marked by the aftermath of defeats. The histories we have unearthed have scant, dispersed archival traces, few of which still exist in institutions. And some archives have been destroyed. The exhibition's raw material consists of interviews, archival documents, images and moving image footage. During our interviews with artists and militants, we were aware that we were, in fact, asking them to harken back to historical moments when hope and aspirations were vibrant. The images (photographs, posters, artworks) and documents had 'survived', while the political, discursive and ideological framework in which they were produced had subsided. This type of time travel has its trappings, the most obvious being the lure of nostalgia; therefore, it was necessary to look at the images 'historically'.

*A museum in solidarity* is a collection of artworks donated by artists, their gift being a political gesture intended to demonstrate support for a movement of national liberation or a struggle for justice and equality. *Museum-in-exile* is often the form they take—living outside of the country or cause they are supporting, in exile and touring until they can return or go 'home'. Solidarity collections are important models of museology that have been almost entirely marginalised in the annals of art history and museum studies. These collections are emancipated from the systems of power and patronage to which museums are usually beholden. They are neither symbols of wealth accrued through the exploitation of human beings or natural resources nor legacies of colonialism. They represent a

thoroughly subversive interpretation of museums, and their collections are donated in the name of people, not governments.

Circling back to questions about our intentions, the attribute 'disquiet' in the exhibition's title holds an answer, at least in part. It points to the unsettled nature of this past, its wounds, deceptions and betrayals. And at the same time, it points to this past's refusal to lay quietly, to be silenced or be dismissed and boxed away. 'Disquiet' also portends to our resistance to indulge in nostalgia. The exhibition invites a reckoning and reflection on the failures and spoils of such impressive mobilisations of imagination, creativity, and audacious action.

One of the chief motivations that have carried us throughout these years is our desire to make these histories visible and tangible and transmit a memory all too easily eluded. The choice to reproduce documents, posters, photographs, flyers, journals, catalogues, newspaper clippings, newsletters, and meeting notes, and not to display originals is deliberate. We wanted to avoid using vitrines or display strategies that create barriers between materials and visitors. *Past Disquiet* is a vibrant and tirelessly proliferating archive intended to be shared and appropriated.

The second motivation is to decentre art historical narratives of the latter half of the 20th century and to complicate the narratives of the East-West divide during the Cold War, by shifting the paradigm through which we revisit artistic practices, specifically from the perspective of the agents and actors of the (so-called) south, and from the perspective of solidarity. A potent notion that reclaims streets and headlines today, 'solidarity' manifests in myriad actions, symbols and expressions across our exhibition and is in constant regeneration and reinvention. What we want to offer is what the images and documents show: artists from Botswana, Japan, Morocco, Cuba, France, the Netherlands and Chile resisted oppression and indignity and together, they dreamt of another, better world in resonant ways across the world. They dislodged art from its 'conventional' sites and relocated it into political and social life.

The gender disparity in the documents and archives is in the spirit of its time. Although women are present and have played key roles, save for a few exceptions, they often appear in 'the second row' of photographs, testimonies and acknowledgements. Our mission was to reclaim the overdue recognition they are owed. Women such as Carmen Waugh, Dore Ashton, Lucy Lippard, Gracia Barrios and Maeda Rae, to give a few examples. However, besides the introduction, the texts in the exhibition don't follow the codes of gender inclusion because it would have suggested an

equality between genders that was neither real nor lived at the time. Over the decades covered by our research, transnational struggles have intersected with feminist struggles, but the complicity and shared sentiments of solidarity were far more at the level of discourse (and lip service); patriarchy and misogyny still wielded mainstream currency.

Our research methodology resembled detective work, replete with fortuitous encounters, providential accidents, surprising coincidences and epiphanies. We went in circles, back and forth, allowing stories and characters to lead us. When we present the outcome of our research in the form of an exhibition, the scenography partially reenacts our forensic process. A linear dramaturgy, with a clear beginning, middle and end, would have undermined the complexity of the histories unveiled and thwarted visitors from threading narratives for themselves. This is why we have gravitated towards a rhizomatic scenography.

This is the seventh edition of the exhibition, and we are in deep gratitude to Framer Framed for hosting it. The team's engagement in the research process has been compelling and inspiring. This edition has allowed us to discover the uniquely vibrant and crucial role that the Netherlands played in receiving and engaging with political refugees from South Africa, Chile and Nicaragua and enabling them to imagine and prepare for the aftermath of the end of apartheid, or the military dictatorship, and support a fragile revolutionary government loosen the noose of isolation. This edition is our opportunity to pay homage to this recent history of countercultural insurgency, and of collective intelligence manifest as solidarity.

Stories of solidarity in the Netherlands were not simply acts of empathy; rather, they were complex stories of political subjectivity, caring and commoning. The imaginaries of militants, artists and cultural workers were marshalled to innovate actions intended to widen the scope of mobilisation and to pressure governments, as well as to create spaces where political exiles were able to project and shape the aftermath of the victory of their struggles.

As elsewhere in Western Europe, the Dutch international solidarity committees were local manifestations of the sweeping anti-imperialist movements, inspired by anti-colonial liberation struggles in what is referred to now as the 'Global South', as well as the mobilisation against the US war in Vietnam. This said, there are uniquely specific features to these histories in the Netherlands, namely that the bedrock from which international solidarity emerged and flourished was the movement of squatters. In other words, a community existentially and concretely familiar

with the injustice and indignity of the capitalist system that substituted citizens for consumers and market economics for welfare. Secondly, they emboldened and strengthened Dutch civil society, appealing to diverse communities that included workers, students, immigrant associations as well as artists, writers, musicians, etc. Thirdly, the stories of the various solidarity committees are peppered with impressive successes, whether inveighing governments to shift their policy vis-à-vis perpetrator regimes or forcing corporations to divest or end their commercial activities in some of the embattled countries. Fourthly, they demonstrated vital agility to adapt to drastically changing situations.

For instance, the Chili Komitee Nederland was first established to promote the Chilean model of democratic socialism and support the Allende-led movement of Popular Unity, but after the coup d'état in 1973, it shifted its activities towards supporting Chilean exiles and the resistance to the military dictatorship. And the Nicaragua Komitee Nederland operated the opposite shift, from supporting the resistance against the Somoza dictatorship, it switched to supporting the Sandinista government after its victory in 1979. Furthermore, Dutch solidarity committees learned from one another and collaborated. The campaign to boycott goods launched by the Nederland Angola Komitee, and following that, the Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika was adopted by the Chili Komitee Nederland after the military coup. The Nederland Palestina Komitee reached out to the Chili Komitee Nederland to better understand how to produce murals across the country. And several mobilisations and events were endorsed by several committees, across geographies and struggles.

And lastly, the Institute for the New Chile and the *Culture for Another South Africa* festival (and ensuing foundation), were two unique and outstanding instances empowering political exiles to imagine the day after their struggles are won. That is perhaps one of the most admirable translations of solidarity into action.

It is important to note that the stories of committees are also rife with tormented discussions, disagreements and internecine conflicts. Retrospectively, they attest to the plurality, diversity and versatility of political engagement, and to the complexity of commoning. What surfaces from our brief incursion into these histories and archives (that we hope will inspire others to dig deeper) is a form of being in the world that is connected, curious, generous, convivial, rather than atomised and individualistic, and remarkably insurgent against injustice and indignity. The new chapters added to the exhibition are not intended as a dewy-eyed homage to generations of anti-imperialist militants sugar-coated in nostalgia. Rather

we conceived them as acts of transmission of a legacy, and an invitation to projection because that is the most subversive promise of the archive, its ability to empower researchers and viewers to project themselves into a future in which they are agents of their destiny.

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# NAVIGATING THE EXHIBITION

*Past Disquiet* is a documentary and archival exhibition of stories collected over ten years of research that retells forgotten or silenced histories using images, texts and videos. The core of the exhibition is an investigation that retraces how four singular art collections came to be — singular because they incarnated the support of artists for a political cause and intended to become seeds for museums of solidarity. Furthermore, these collections were the outcome of combined efforts by artists and militants. The research focused more specifically on unearthing the stories of the ***International Art Exhibition for Palestine***, which was held in Beirut in 1978; the **Museo Internacional de la Resistencia Salvador Allende (MIRSA)**, which was established by Chilean exiles and their supporters following the 1973 coup d'état in Chile, as well as its earlier incarnation, the Museo de la Solidaridad, which existed from 1971 to 1973; the **Museo de Arte Latinoamericano en Solidaridad con Nicaragua** instigated by the first Sandinista government; and the ***Art Contre/Against Apartheid*** collection, which toured internationally in the years leading up to the fall of the apartheid regime in South Africa. These four collections share intersecting histories. When we thread their stories, we also address the contexts in which they emerged, along with the key figures and protagonists involved in their making.

There are multiple pathways to explore the exhibition. The logic of the scenography is rhizomatic. One way to explain it is to imagine oneself physically inside a website with multiple links directing exhibition visitors towards microhistories that radiate from and around main nodes, namely the story of each of the solidarity collections, or museums-in-exile. These are placed prominently on floor stands and around them, proliferate the multitude of microhistories. Or, alternately, to use another allegory, one could imagine the four main collection stories to be like tree trunks, and all the other elements that radiate from and expand around them, horizontally and vertically, to be the ecosystem in which these trees have grown. This rich meshwork tells the stories of artist collectives, associations and unions that formed the soil from which the four initiatives stem.

Whenever possible, we augment every new edition with new chapters based on local research that unearths connected or resonant microhistories. This edition has, therefore, been supplemented with stories of actions of solidarity in the Netherlands that mobilised artists and cultural workers around the struggle against apartheid, against the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, and the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people and of the Nicaraguan people. At the far back wall of the exhibition space, we pay tribute to the solidarity committees that organised events, mobilised artists and gathered support in the Netherlands, including the **Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika** (South Africa Committee), **Werkgroep Kairos** (Working Group Kairos), the **Anti-Apartheids Beweging Nederland** (Netherlands Anti-Apartheid Movement), the **Nederland Palestina Komitee** (Netherlands Palestine Committee), the **Chili Komitee Nederlands** (Netherlands Chile Committee) and the **Nicaragua Komitee Nederland** (Netherlands Nicaragua Committee).

There is no right or wrong way to navigate the exhibition, and this **Exhibition Guide** is not meant to be prescriptive. Instead, it is conceived as a companion to your meanderings and reflections during your visit and afterwards. The organisation of this Exhibition Guide's content assumes that you begin from the left and follow the story of the first **Museum of Solidarity with Chile**. However, we invite you to immerse yourself in this world of stories, remembrances, images, and documents so you may create your own interpretations and preserve your own memories of what we have chosen to display.



*"Tal como lo desean los artistas donantes de este museo y como es el deseo del Gobierno de la Unidad Popular, este Museo de la Solidaridad será para los trabajadores", señaló el Presidente de la República, Salvador Allende, al inaugurar la muestra pictórica y escultórica en la Sala de exposiciones de Arte Contemporáneo, en la Quinta Normal. EN LA FOTO, el Jefe del Estado junto a Mario Pedrosa, Presidente del Comité Internacional de Solidaridad Artística con Chile.*

'Los Artistas del Mundo Junto al Pueblo de Chile' (The Artists of the World Together with the Chilean People), in *La Nación*, 18 May 1972, Santiago, Chile. Courtesy: MSSA Archives.

**(V2)** The novel proposal of creating a solidarity museum began to take shape a few months after Salvador Allende's leftist Popular Unity government took office in 1971 and launched 'Operación Verdad', a communications campaign to counter the assault by Chile's media outlets, which were mostly controlled by the right-wing parties. Intellectuals, journalists, and artists from all over the world were invited to visit Chile to witness the changes that were transforming the country. Guests included Spanish art critic José María Moreno Galván and Italian senator Carlo Levi, who came up with the idea of establishing a museum for the people of Chile that would constitute donations from artists around the world as an expression of their support for the '*via chilena al socialismo*' (the Chilean road to socialism). **Mário Pedrosa**, a renowned Brazilian art critic, was living in exile in Chile after fleeing the military dictatorship in his home country. He was assigned to lead the project's executive committee and became the principal manager and founder of the **Museo de la Solidaridad** (Museum of Solidarity). The Comité Internacional de Solidaridad Artística con Chile (CISAC — International Committee of Artistic Solidarity with Chile) was set up in late 1971, and was made up of leading artists, art critics, and museum directors from Europe and the United States, that included Committee members included **Dore Ashton** (USA), Rafael Alberti (Spain), Louis Aragon (France), Giulio Carlo Argan (Italy), Edy de Wilde (the Neth-

erlands), Carlo Levi (Italy), Jean Leymarie (France), José María Moreno Galván (Spain), Aldo Pellegrini (Argentina), Mariano Rodríguez (Cuba), Juliusz Starzynski (Poland), and **Danilo Trelles** (Uruguay).

Chilean President Salvador Allende signed the call to artists to donate artworks in solidarity with the people of Chile, the first nation in South America to elect a socialist government democratically. The call was disseminated actively by the International Committee of Artistic Solidarity. The response by artists around the world was enormous. **The Museo de la Solidaridad** was inaugurated in 1972. Intended to constitute a seed collection of modern and experimental art, it was on the track to become the most important modern art museum in Latin America, with a collection that exceeded 650 artworks by diverse, emblematic artists including Lygia Clark, Jean Dewasne, Roberto Matta, Joan Miró, Arnulf Rainer, Josefina Robirosa, Frank Stella, and Joaquín Torres-García, to name just a few. After the coup d'état on September 11, 1973, the collection was dispersed, some works stored in various institutions, others confiscated by the military junta. Several prominent Chilean exiles, among them **Miria Contreras** (Allende's former secretary who had escaped to Cuba), and several members of the International Committee of Artistic Solidarity with Chile like **José Balmes**, Mário Pedrosa, and Miguel Rojas Mix, gathered in Paris. Together with French academic Jacques Leenhardt, sent out a second call to artists, to request donations for a new itinerant museum that would build on the legacy of the Museo de la Solidaridad to denounce the Pinochet dictatorship and its human rights abuses. A general secretariat was formed, headed by Pedrosa and coordinated through the **Casa de las Américas** (Home of the Americas). in Havana by Miria Contreras, Allende's former assistant, who lived in Cuba.



Poster for the exhibition Musée International de la Resistance Salvador Allende, Palais des Papes, Centre de Congrès, Avignon (France), July 16–August 10, 1977. Courtesy: MSSA Archives.



MIRSA collaborators during the inauguration of the exhibition in Avignon, July 1977. (L-R, identified): Julio Cortázar, Pilar Fontecilla, Dominique Taddei, Isabel Ropert, Miria Contreras, and Carmen Waugh, Jack Lang, Aníbal Palma, and Monique Buczynski. Courtesy: MSSA Archives.

The resulting **Museo Internacional de la Resistencia Salvador Allende** (MIRSA) was conceived as a museum-in-exile and presented as a continuously growing collection and itinerant exhibition that would find haven in different places until it could return home to Chile after justice and democracy were restored and liberation achieved. Committees to oversee the solicitation and donation of artworks and their exhibition were formed in countries including Algeria, Colombia, Cuba, Finland, France, Italy, Mexico, Panama, Poland, Spain, Sweden, the United States, and Venezuela. Works were collected with the help of artists (including many who had responded to the first call, as well as Chilean exiled artists) and local solidarity committees. Over the years, parts of the collection toured in numerous countries.



Crates upon their arrival to Chile from Spain; Unboxing of artworks from the Spanish chapter of the MIRSA art collection upon their arrival to Chile, shipped from Spain to Chile in August 1991. Courtesy: MSSA Archives.

In 1990, during the presidency of Patricio Aylwin, the process of repatriating the various segments of the collection that had been compiled around the world began. The Salvador Allende Foundation, instituted by presidential decree, was assigned to this undertaking. Under a third and current name, the **Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende** (MSSA) was inaugurated at the Palacio de Bellas Artes in Santiago on September 4, 1991. The museum has since moved. Today, the collection comprises more than 2,700 works from the three phases of its evolution.

The story of solidarity with Chile in the Netherlands precedes Pinochet's coup d'état. The election of Allende's Popular Unity to govern Chile captivated the hearts and minds of communists, socialists and social democrats across the world, including the Netherlands. In the autumn of 1972, the Chili Komitee Nederland (CKN — Netherlands Chile Committee) was established in Amsterdam to extend support to the Allende government that was boycotted by the US, the World Bank and international corporations and to educate the Dutch public about the unique experience of Chilean socialism. As mentioned earlier, Edy de Wilde (director of the Stedelijk Museum) was part of the Committee of Artistic Solidarity with Chile in 1971, and several prominent Dutch artists had donated artworks.

The CKN included journalists, academics, writers, poets and politicians. Very rapidly, several committees were established in cities and towns across the country. With the coup d'état, the role of the CKN changed

drastically. Firstly, a struggle fund (Strijdfonds Chili) was set up, that involved Sjaloom Zorg (an œcumenical organisation involved in aid) and the non-profit foundation attached to the Dutch Labour Party (Evert Vermeer Stichting). The fund was intended to support political resistance and humanitarian aid in Chile. The board included notable figures, including Bertus Bolk (a Dutch priest who lived in Chile), Cees Commandeur (from the trade union movement), Max Arian (journalist) and Anton Constandse (writer). Secondly, the CKN began to publish a newsletter; its first iteration was titled *Inca* (abbreviation of Information Chile America), then *Chile Bulletin*, then *Alerta* and finally *La Chispa*. And thirdly, its mission shifted to mobilising the Dutch public to delegitimise the Pinochet regime and sever trade ties with the country, organising protests and providing a haven to Chilean refugees.



11 September 1973/1981. Chili Manifestatie. (11 September 1973/1981. Chile Manifestation). Source: Centre for the Study of Political Graphics, [www.politicalgraphics.org](http://www.politicalgraphics.org). Photograph: Kristine Khouri.



Poster for a concert by the Chilean band, Quilapayún. Source/Courtesy: International Institute of Social History (IISG).



Culture was key, and several Chilean artists, writers, playwrights, poets, musicians and dancers found asylum in the Netherlands and were able to continue producing work, as well as fight for democracy in their country, without the solidarity of the Dutch organisations and associations, it would not have been possible.

The CKN, Sjaloom, local committees, the trade union movement, student associations, NGOs, the labour and other leftist parties and coalitions of Christian democrats all formed together the Chili Beweging Nederland (Netherlands Chile Movement), a very broad political and social spectrum platform that mobilised an impressive number of people. Poet and organiser Huub Oosterhuis was its chairman for a long time. At some point, the CKN merged into the Organisatie Latijns-Amerika Activiteiten (OLAA), which organised musical performances and consolidated exchange between Latin America and the Netherlands.



Photographs showing the making of the mural (3.75 × 60 meters) painted in homage to John Heartfield during documenta 6, by several muralist brigades, including the Brigada Pablo Neruda (Paris), Brigada Salvador Allende (Frankfurt), 5-10 July 1977, Kassel. Courtesy: Gerald Warnke.

During their exile, Chilean artists revived the practice of mural painting that had thrived during the 1960s amid the political polarisation between the left and right-wing movements. (V3) Inspired by the revolutionary legacy of Mexican muralists, *muralismo* emerged in Chile out of an urgency to galvanise popular support around social justice and human rights struggles, when the Communist Party and other leftist parties were under attack by the Chilean media, which was almost entirely

controlled by right-wing political groups. In 1968, the **Brigadas Ramona Parra** were born. Each brigade consisted of fifteen or twenty students and workers, murals were generally executed during the night or at dawn. The heat of electoral campaigns emboldened their proliferation throughout the country. Several well-known artists joined the *brigadistas*, **Alejandro 'Mono' González** was one of the brigade's founding members. In 1971, **Roberto Matta** was invited to paint a mural in the old municipal swimming pool of the district of La Granja in Santiago.

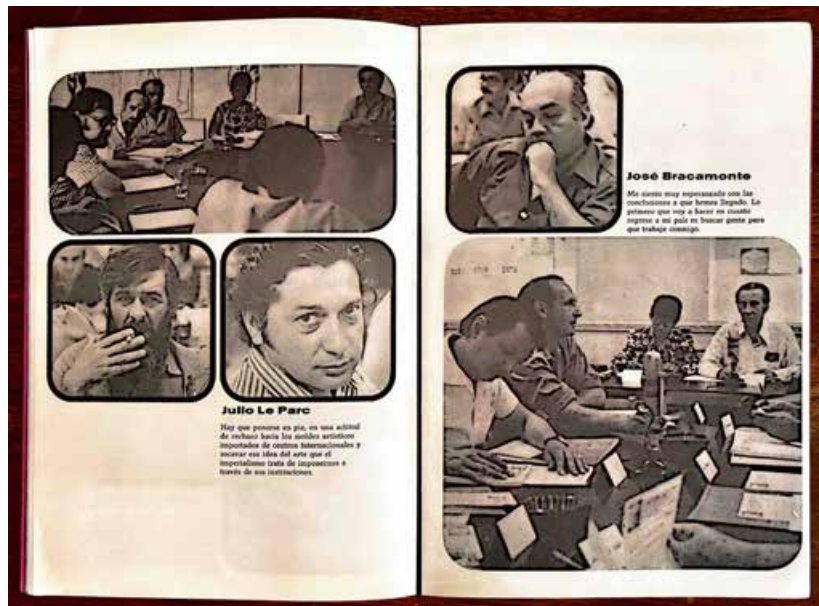
After the coup d'état, the military erased thousands of these images of struggle and hope. As soon as they arrived in France, Chilean exiles rekindled the practice of *muralismo*, forming brigades across Europe with other artists. They were hosted at major art exhibitions, namely, the Venice Biennale in 1974, the Avignon Festival in 1974, and documenta 6 in 1977. **Guillermo Núñez**, a Chilean artist who was a dynamic *brigadista*, living in exile between Europe and Cuba, explained: 'I think that art does not only belong to galleries, private collections and museums, it also belongs to the people, to the street. Art is linked to the struggles, the hopes of the working class, so we could not be content with our individual action as militant artists, hence the need that gave birth to the *Brigadas Internacionales de Pintores Anti-Fascistas*.' Formed in 1976 in France, the Brigade internationale des peintres antifascistes produced a 20-meter mural in Paris, commissioned by the MIRSA, and in 1978, another mural titled *People at Crossroads*, in Montgaillard (France), that honoured the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua.

In the Netherlands, there were two artists who introduced the practice, Jorge Kata Nuñez and Juan Heinsohn (also a poet). Kata arrived in Rotterdam in 1977 and he initiated a brigade there and named it *Brigada Ramona Parra* in homage to the original ones in Chile. The brigade made approximately seventy murals across the Netherlands, over the span of thirty years. Although most of these murals have unfortunately disappeared, some in Rotterdam were restored after the return of democracy to Chile in 1990.

In the United States, in 1977, **Brigada Orlando Letelier** was founded to honour the assassinated Chilean diplomat. It included Orlando Letelier's two sons, Francisco and José, and René Castro and Beyhan Cagri. Over the years, they painted murals in eleven cities across the United States, in the Chilean muralist style, for causes ranging from denouncing the dictatorship in Chile, support for the struggles of people of Nicaragua, of domestic workers as well as other local and international

causes. They were invited by Ernesto Cardenal to Nicaragua in 1980 to paint murals as part of the countrywide literacy campaign.

Another group in the US, the Concerned Artists from the US and Latin America, led by feminist writer and curator **Lucy Lippard**, launched an initiative to produce murals, in the fashion of the brigadistas. This initiative was a sign of solidarity with the Allende government and opposition to the coup d'état, and included Jaqueline Barnitz (art historian), Jaime Barrios (exiled Chilean filmmaker), and Enrique Castro-Cid (Chilean artist). On West Broadway between Houston and Prince streets in Manhattan, one of the most well-known of Ramona Parra Brigade's murals, that had been destroyed by the Chilean military, was recreated. It was approximately 30-meters long.



Page from the *Boletín de Artes Plásticas*, Casa de las Américas (Plastic Arts Bulletin, Casa de las Américas), published in May 1972, designed by Umberto Peña. Courtesy: Pedro Netto.

Several countries in Central and South America were ruled by military dictators or civilian autocrats who prohibited basic freedoms and instituted stark social and economic disparity. Their governments served the interests of extractive and exploitative multinational corporations based in the US or Europe. As a result, dissenting artists, intellectuals and militants had to flee persecution. Many found a haven in Western and Eastern

Europe. They were instrumental in the local solidarity movements where they made a new home.

There was also another place where Latin American exiles met, exchanged ideas and discovered each other's work, namely, in Havana, at the behest of the Casa de las Américas. Founded first as a publishing house in 1959, the **Casa de las Américas** grew to become a cultural centre a few years later. Its mission was to strengthen ties between Latin America, the Caribbean and the rest of the world. The organisation was founded and headed by Haydée Santamaria. The annual encounters of artists, writers, poets and filmmakers were especially inspiring and bolstered bonds that would have otherwise never existed. For the exiled Latin American artists in Europe, these encounters empowered them to create associations in their countries of exile. It was in Havana that **Ernesto Cardenal**, the Nicaraguan defrocked priest, poet and prominent militant in the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN — Sandinista National Liberation Front) first learned about MIRSA.



Poster with work by Roberto Matta for the collection of Latin American artworks displayed at the Teatro Popular Rubén Darío, which later became the Museo de arte contemporáneo Julio Cortázar, Managua, Nicaragua. c.1983. Courtesy: Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamérica.



Photograph from the inauguration of the Museo de arte Latino Americano de Managua, at the Teatro Popular Rubén Darío, Managua, December 1982. Seen from left to right: Sergio Ramirez, Thomas Borge, Ernesto Cardenal and Carmen Waugh (speaking). Courtesy: Carmen Waugh Archives, Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamérica.

In 1980, during a festival in Rome held to celebrate the first anniversary of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua, Ernesto Cardenal, by then Minister of Culture in the new Nicaraguan government, met **Carmen Waugh**, a Chilean gallerist and arts administrator who had played a key role in establishing the MIRSA. It was there that the idea for a museum in

solidarity with the Nicaraguan people was born. Waugh spearheaded the project, and a year later exhibitions opened in Paris and Madrid (V4). Latin American artists (mostly in exile in Europe) and Spanish artists donated works to build a collection. Many of these artists have also donated to the Chilean museum initiative. The overall collection (of nearly three-hundred works) was sent to Managua and was inaugurated in December 1982, after which time it continued to grow, under the label of the **Museo de Arte Contemporáneo Latinoamericano de Managua**. In 1985, it was renamed the **Museo Julio Cortázar**, in acknowledgement of the writer's attachment to Nicaragua. Administered by an association of artists from 1988 to 1994, the collection was expropriated by Sandinista government officials and dispersed because disagreements broke out between elected officials and the collection's custodians. In the past couple of years, there have been attempts to reopen a museum with what remains of the collection, though the initiative has been delayed numerous times. Today, the collection is stored at the Palacio Nacional de la Cultura and includes 1,921 works by 923 artists from thirty-six countries.



Aparo Ochoa and Soledad Bravo (amongst others) performing at the 1986 Latin America Music Festival in Vredenburg, Utrecht. Photograph by and courtesy of Eline Renaud.

Unsurprisingly perhaps, the story of solidarity with Nicaragua in the Netherlands begins with militants involved in the Chili Komitee Nederlands. On October 15, 1978, a meeting was held in Utrecht, initiated by activists involved in the CKN, that brought together local Nicaragua solidarity groups, from several Dutch university campuses in Groningen, Wageningen, Nijmegen and Utrecht. The intention was to federate actions under a national banner and form the Nicaragua Komitee Nederland (NKN —

Netherland Nicaragua Committee). The meeting initiators, Klass Wellinga, a lecturer of Latin American literature at the University of Utrecht, and Hans Langenberg, his former student and practising lawyer, had met Enrique Schmidt Cuadra, a member of the FSLN who was visiting West Germany, who convinced them to consolidate solidarity support for the struggle against the US-propped Somoza dictatorship. The FSLN wanted to create an international support base to win the favour of international public opinion.



Photograph of the gatefold cover of the double-album *April In Managua - The Central American Peace Concert* recorded live outside the National Palace in Managua, Nicaragua in April 1983. A little booklet with Dutch translations of all the lyrics is attached to the album. Courtesy/Source: VARA and Kees Hudig. Photograph: Emily Shin-Jie Lee.

The NKN was set up in a building on Van Speijkstraat, among a commune where several of the committee's members lived. Latin American exiles were hosted and weekly discussions were organised around seminal leftist references. The prevailing political affiliations were socialist and anti-imperialist, and they were militants who believed in the necessity of armed struggle. Soon, a transnational, European network began to emerge, and the locale on Van Speijkstraat became its headquarters.

In the years prior to the defeat of Somoza, the objective was to raise support for the Sandinistas and denounce the dictatorship. After July

1979, the objectives shifted to supporting the Sandinista government and local organisations in implementing the promises of their revolution. The literacy campaign launched by the Sandinista government was extremely successful and garnered a great deal of donations and support. Another successful initiative was a twinning programme between Dutch and Nicaraguan cities, and solidarity brigades, of Dutch citizens going to Nicaragua to help with harvesting coffee or building schools and houses. This work became increasingly difficult as contra forces started attacking the country. In the decades following the mid-1980s and up to now, the NKN's mobilisations decreased in tenor and effectiveness. Since 2008, as Daniel Ortega's authoritarian proclivities became fully manifest, grassroots support for the Sandinista has dried up and the party's abuses are indefensible.

During its years of operation, NKN organised several cultural activities, including musical concerts, film screenings and exhibitions. Through partnerships with several Dutch organisations, an impressive number of vinyl records were issued to promote Nicaraguan musicians as well as other Latin American musicians. The most memorable achievement of the NKN was a peace concert that took place in Managua in April 1983, held on the square in front of the National Palace and gathered a host of notable musicians from Central and South America, including Ali Primera, Mercedes Sosa and Chico Buarque. The concert was broadcast on the progressive Dutch television channel of the United Workers Radio Amateurs (Verenigde Arbeiders Radio Amateurs, or VARA), and the live recording was issued as a vinyl record published by Varagram, VARA's record label. The symbolic nature of the concert was crucial. It defied the yoke of isolation that the Reagan administration had set up against the Sandinista government, through accusations of 'international terrorism', and violent attacks by the Contras, or the US-trained and funded pro-Somoza militias. And the participation of famous musicians reinvigorated international solidarity at a moment when it was on the wane.



Poster by Antonio Saura. Courtesy: Artists of the World Against Apartheid, United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid.



Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar (second from left) inspecting anti-apartheid posters presented him in his Headquarters office by UN Ambassador Yusuf Maitama-Sule of Nigeria (right) and Antonio Saura (third from left), President of the Paris-based Committee of Artists Against Apartheid, 5 March 1983. Chantal Bonnet (interpreter and exhibition tour coordinator) is at left. New York. Courtesy: UN Photo/Yutaka Nagata.

On 6 November 1962, the UN General Assembly voted on Resolution 1761, which deemed the apartheid system in South Africa to be in violation of the UN's Charter and to represent a threat to international peace and security. The resolution also established the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid. That special committee appealed to governments and grassroots organisations to isolate and boycott the South African government. The committee reached out to French artist Ernest Pignon-Ernest in 1979 to devise actions to mobilise international artists to endorse the campaign against Apartheid. Inspired by the MIRSA (to whom he had donated artworks), **Ernest Pignon-Ernest** and Spanish artist **Antonio Saura** (who was exiled to Paris because of the Franco dictatorship in Spain), proposed to establish a museum-in-exile in the form of an itinerant exhibition of artworks incarnating international artists' denunciation of the Apartheid regime in South Africa. **(V5)** They established the **Artists of the World Against Apartheid Committee** to oversee the collection of artworks and tour of the exhibition. With the help of French sculptor Arman, who lived in New York in the 1980s, approximately one-hundred works by ninety-six internationally acclaimed artists and writers were assembled. After opening in Paris in 1983, the **Art Contre/Against Apartheid** exhibition travelled to Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, Greece, Guadeloupe, Haiti, Italy, Japan, Martinique, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Tunisia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, as well as several other countries.

In our research, we focused on the story of the collection's tour in Japan, in part because it is at once unusual and exemplary. In 1987, **Maeda Rei**, a Japanese sociology student returned to Japan from a visit to Paris, where she had attended the UNESCO-organised *International Conference Against Apartheid* and learned about the *Art Contre/Against Apartheid* touring exhibition. She was determined to bring the collection to Japan and showed the catalogue to Kitagawa Fram, a publisher who became impassioned to edit a Japanese version of the texts, and to tour the exhibition throughout Japan. They negotiated with the Artists of the World Against Apartheid Association in Paris and obtained authorisation for a two-year-long Japanese tour, which was to be handled by non-professionals, displayed in as many towns as possible, in non-museum spaces such as gymnasiums and community centres. Kitagawa and Maeda devised a system whereby the exhibition could be hosted for as short a time as a single day, and for as long as a week. To that end, a climate-controlled 'moving-storage' truck was custom-designed by PH Studio, a group of artists and architects who worked with artist Kawamata Tadashi and architect Hiroshi Hara. The truck was named 'Julia Pempel,' referencing a character in a poem by Miyazawa Kenji. The exhibition's Japanese title *Apartheid Non! International Art Festival* was shortened to *Apa Non*. On top of the truck, a huge red balloon was fastened to attract the attention of the local population. The *Apa Non* tour started in Okinawa, in the very south of Japan, and was exhibited for 500 days at 194 venues to 380,000 visitors. The final stop was at the Parliamentary Museum in Tokyo, with political officials in attendance, including Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu. The collection was shipped to Korea after Japan –as per the Japanese organisers' intentions– where it was exhibited in Seoul. South Korea was then under military dictatorship and the exhibition was subjected to vigorous censorship.

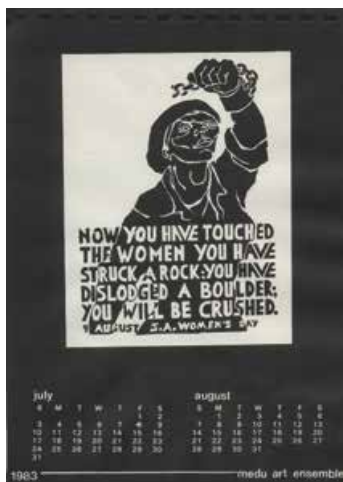


Pamphlet on the Apartheid Non! International Art Festival Japan, 1988-1990. Courtesy: Art Front Gallery.



Photograph of the *Art Contre/Against Apartheid* collection at the Mayibuye Centre. Photograph by and Courtesy of: Dillon Marsh. Zeitz MOCAA.

After the collapse of the apartheid regime, the collection was donated to the government of South Africa and was exhibited in the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town for the nation's first democratically elected legislators. The collection was placed in the custody of the Mayibuye Centre at the University of the Western Cape, which also safeguards one of the largest archives of liberation struggle materials in South Africa. Acclaimed writer Mongane Wally Serote, Chair of the Parliamentary Select Committee for Arts and Culture at the time, mediated between the Artists of the World Against Apartheid Committee and the African National Congress. **(V6)** Ernest Pignon-Ernest accompanied the collection from France to South Africa. Eric Miller, a Capetonian photographer, documented the removal of the artwork celebrating Apartheid from the walls of the parliament and the display of the *Art Contre/Against Apartheid* collection in 1996.



'Now You Have Touched the Women / You Have Struck a Rock / You Have Dislodged a Boulder / You Will be Crushed: 9 August: South Africa Women's Day', Judy Seidman/ Medu Art Ensemble, 1981. Source: Freedom Park Archives, Medu Art Ensemble Collection, International Digital Ephemera Project, UCLA Library.



Community Arts Project (CAP), part-time art programme course brochure, c.1979. Source: Africa South Art Initiative. Courtesy: CAP/AMAC collection, Centre for Humanities Research, UWC.

The history of the engagement of artists in the struggle against Apartheid has also its local, regional and African grassroots versants. In the framework of our research, the stories of the **Medu Art Ensemble**, the **Community Arts Project** and the **Culture and Resistance Festival** in Gaborone (Botswana) resonated significantly in their aesthetic, poetic and political manifestations with the work of collectives, associations and artist unions that we had encountered thus far. The *Culture ad Resistance Festival* is also a bridge to the story of anti-Apartheid solidarity in the Netherlands, as the follow-up gathering took place in Amsterdam later the same year.

After the Soweto uprising in 1976 and following the violent response from the South African government, militants had to operate in the underground or escape to countries bordering South Africa where they could move more freely. The Medu Art Ensemble was founded by a group of Black artists who were inspired by Steven Biko's Black Consciousness Movement and decided to move to Gaborone. The collective registered as a Botswanan cultural organisation in 1979 with support from the African

National Congress (ANC). In Sesotho *medu* means 'roots', the collective's mission was to forge a role for art in the struggle, and to that end, members referred to themselves as cultural workers. In Gaborone, the collective's membership grew to comprise more than sixty visual artists, performers, musicians and writers who hailed mainly from South Africa and Botswana, but there were also members from Canada, Cuba, Sweden, the US and Zimbabwe. To name a few: Gwen Ansell, Theresa Devant, Sergio-Albio González, Jonas Gwangwa, Basil Jones, Michael Kahn, Heinz Klugg, Keorapetse Kgositsile, Adrian Kohler, Mandla Langa, Hugh Masekela, Gordon Metz, Thamsanqa Mnyele, Judy Seidman, Mongane Wally Serote, Pethu Serote, and Tim Williams.

The collective organised its work in units dedicated to music, theatre, photography, visual arts, film and publishing units and played a tremendous role in disseminating the creative expression of resistance and a militant visual imagery. The Medu Art Ensemble conducted workshops and organised music concerts and theatre performances. However, the design and dissemination of posters were at the core of its mission. Using a variety of printing techniques, the posters were reproduced in the hundreds and smuggled to South Africa via international diplomats and other sympathisers. Posters, predominantly placed on walls in townships, were often torn down by the police within a matter of hours.

The **Community Arts Project (CAP)** was established in Cape Town shortly after the Soweto uprising in 1976 and the ensuing wave of politicisation that swept through the country. The founders originated from progressive political circles engaged in the anti-apartheid struggle. The mission was to provide training, resources and space for those interested in making art and cultural expression, hailing from communities marginalised and oppressed by apartheid. In its first years, CAP was a membership-based organisation, with fees and bursaries and members were involved in defining the program and scope of activities. CAP's activities included visual, performative and dramatic arts, creative writing and filmmaking. A resident artist was appointed to lead, and the creed was 'learning by doing'. For participants, the programs compensated for the Bantu education system they were locked into. There was another crucial aspect to the project, namely, the experience of unlearning modes of communication and patterns of behaviour generated by the apartheid system.

Afterwards, it played an active role in the organisation of the *Culture and Resistance Festival* hosted by the Medu Art Ensemble in Gaborone in 1982. CAP established a poster-making workshop, and the notions of

'cultural worker' and of 'culture as a weapon of struggle' became salient to the organisation's programs. In 1983, CAP presented a Festival of Black Theatre, with performances staged in churches and community halls in townships. From 1983, political activity increased in the Western Cape, and a media training program was instituted. CAP's facilities were also used for meetings of political organisations. By the middle of the 1980s, police raids intensified, and thousands of items were confiscated. In 1986, the *Cape Town Arts Festival* themed *Towards a People's Culture*, was banned entirely. In the following years, CAP evolved into two increasingly autonomous initiatives, namely a school for visual and performing arts and a Media Project, housed in separate facilities. In 1989, CAP organised a ten-day festival titled *Building a National Culture* that heralded the new era for the country. After the end of apartheid, the two sister projects merged again to form the Arts and Media Access Centre (AMAC), with the original mission of providing training for marginalised communities. It closed its doors in 2008.



Muff Anderson speaking at the Culture and Resistance Festival. Photograph: Paul Weinberg.



Panel with Lindiwe Mabuza speaking, seated with from left to right are Phillip Segola, Dikobe Ben Martins, Joyce Ozimsky (unconfirmed) and Thamsanqa Mnye, photograph by Anna Erlandsson. Photograph Source and Courtesy: Freedom Park Archives, Medu Art Ensemble Collection, International Digital Ephemera Project, UCLA Library. Courtesy: Medu Art Ensemble.

Hosted at the Botswana National Museum in Gaborone, from 5-9 July 1982, the *Culture and Resistance Festival* was the Medu Art Ensemble's resounding flagship event. The organisation of the event federated several organisations, including the ANC's cultural desk, alongside others, such as the Federated Union of Black Artists, the Community Arts Project, the Open School, Afrapix, Ravan Press and Community Arts Projects, to name a few. It gathered several hundred artists, activists and cultural workers from within South Africa and in exile, with the ambition of bolstering a broad coalition of cultural resistance to apartheid and motivating cultural workers to defy the hegemony of the regime's media in their communities, using tools and media such as T-shirts, posters, street murals, graffiti and other art forms. The principal idea was that art should serve a higher political ideal, inspire a commitment to impart change, reverse injustice, and create unity.

The *Cultural Voice of Resistance*, the follow-up event, took place in Amsterdam in December of the same year. Organised by the Netherlands Anti-Apartheid Movement (Anti-Apartheids Beweging Nederland, or AABN) at the Cultural Centre de Populier, Melkweg and Paradiso, in collaboration with NOVIB, the event enabled close links to be forged between artists and performers from the Netherlands and South Africa as well as the latter's fellow nationals in exile, and in making the ANC's cultural voice heard in the Netherlands. It was also important for the AABN to stage an

event where the artistic and cultural superseded the political. The event also laid the ground for drawing an alternative to the heinous Cultural Accord (1953) between the Dutch and South African governments, a vital contribution to heated discussions around the effectiveness of cultural boycotts. The follow-up conference, *Culture for Another South Africa*, organised in 1987, would become seminal in thinking about the aftermath of the end of apartheid. Lastly, the *Cultural Voice of Resistance* hosted an outstanding choir performance (that included two-hundred singers) under the directorship of James Madhlope Phillips (an exiled South African militant), a stepping stone in the evolution of the anti-apartheid choirs that would become widely popular.

The archive, the reports and documentation of the *Culture and Resistance Festival* that took place in Botswana are scant because any evidence of 'subversive' activity could prompt the apartheid regime to conduct raids, arrests, and impart other punitive measures on people and organisations, even across its national borders. The activists and cultural workers worked underground at great risk but were intent on assembling other initiatives and cementing collaborations. On 14 June 1985, the South African Defence Force raided Gaborone (in what was referred to as 'Operation Plecksy') targeting South African exiles, specifically members of the ANC and violating International Law. A six-year-old boy and twelve people were killed, including **Thamsanqa Mnyele**, a visual artist and founding member of the Medu Art Ensemble. The collective disbanded after that raid, several members left Botswana, but some stayed and continued working in the underground.

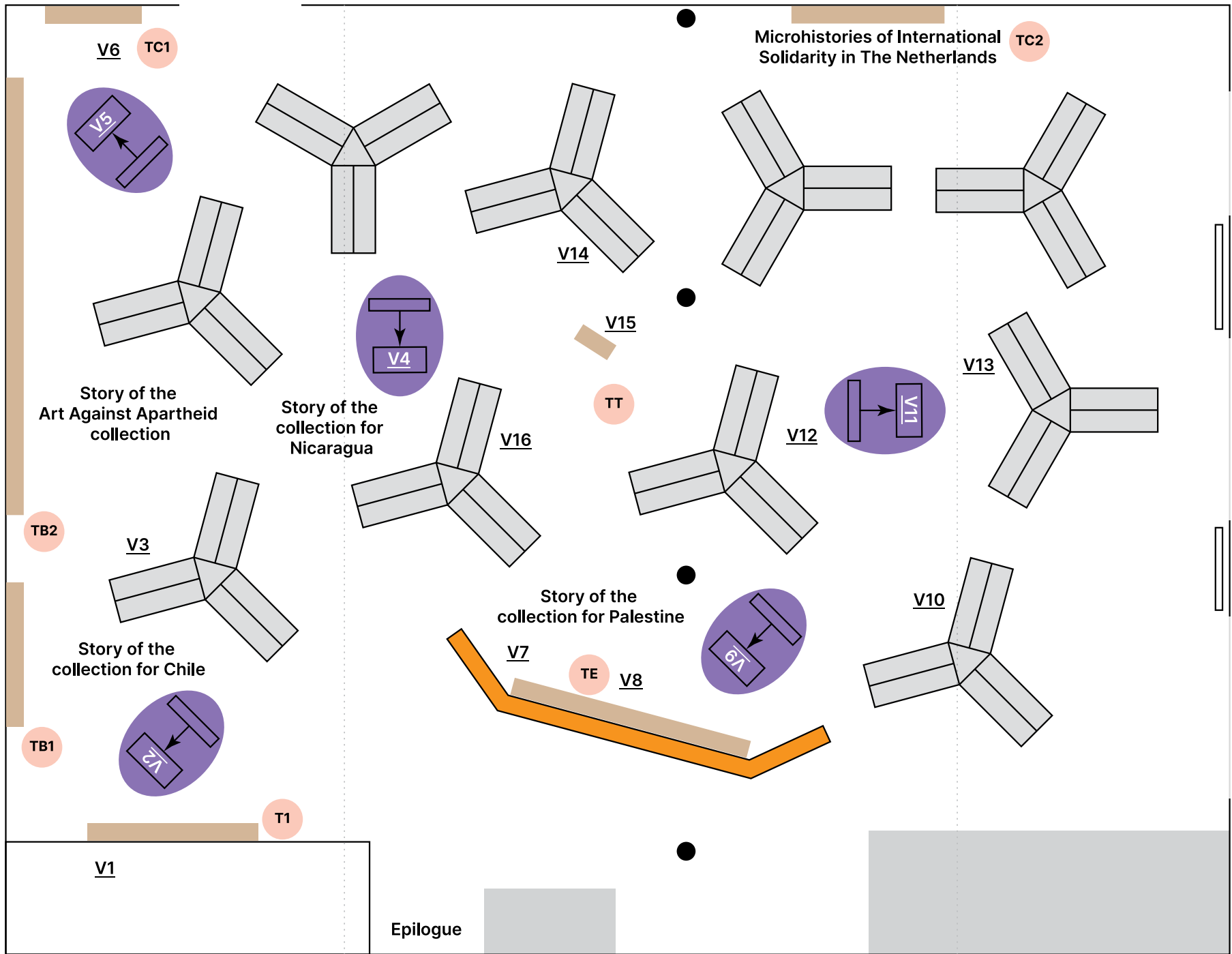
Circling back to the story of the anti-apartheid movement in the Netherlands, it is complex; it involves several protagonists, a wide scope of groundbreaking cultural, social and political actions and spans several decades. It is also a story of grassroots mobilisation that was able not only to change mindsets (through various ways and means) but also to pressure political parties and large corporations to shift from their conciliatory positions towards the white supremacist government. The solidarity movement also created the space for South African exiles to connect with others in the Netherlands and the European continent more generally and, more importantly, to imagine the aftermath of the end of apartheid and project themselves into a future they were forbidden from.



Poster for fundraising support for SACTU in South Africa, NNWU in Namibia and ZACU in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe)

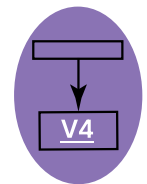
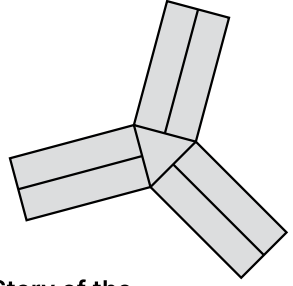
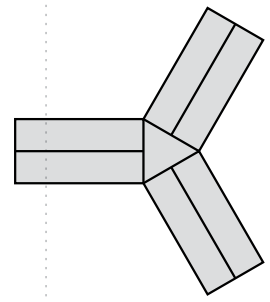
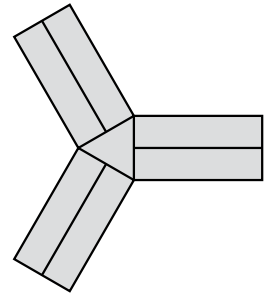
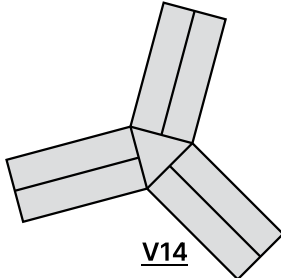
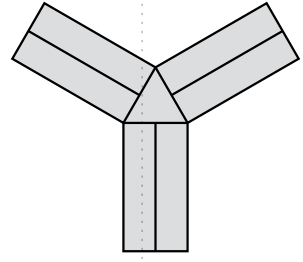
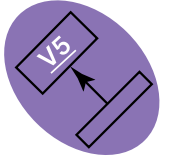
The most prominent groups leading the anti-apartheid solidarity were the Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (KZA) (South Africa Committee), Werkgroep Kairos (Working Group Kairos), the Anti-Apartheids Beweging Nederland (AABN) (Netherlands Anti-Apartheid Movement) and the Azania Komitee (Azania Committee). Historically, South Africa and the Netherlands had thickly layered bonds. It is significant to note that *apartheid* is a Dutch word, and the architect of that system, also the second Prime Minister of the country, Hendrik Verwoerd, was born in Amsterdam. The Dutch government signed the Cultural Accord with South Africa in 1953, a treaty that officialised cultural exchange and that the apartheid regime instrumentalised for propaganda and for the detraction of critics beyond questions of culture. Some of the anti-apartheid associations were strongly opposed to the treaty, after the Soweto uprising (1976) and the killing of Steven Biko (1977) had sparked outrage in the Netherlands and worldwide, the government led by Den Uyl froze it in 1977. It was abandoned in 1981. Discussions around the effectiveness of a cultural boycott divided solidarity groups. The boycott of goods and corporations, namely Shell Oil (a partly Dutch-owned oil giant), were, on the other hand, remarkably successful. It was spearheaded by the KZA and Kairos.



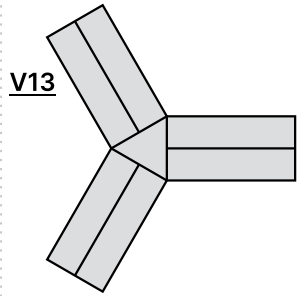
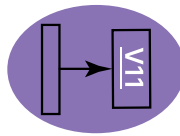


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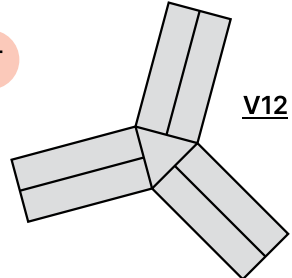
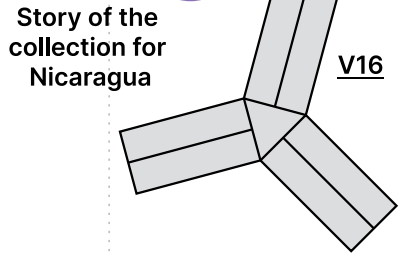
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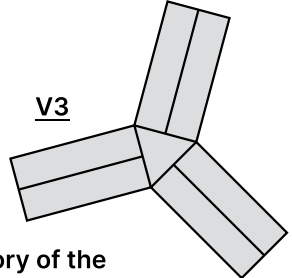
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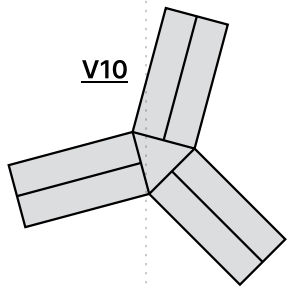
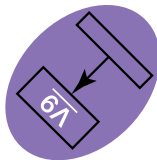
Story of the Art Against Apartheid collection



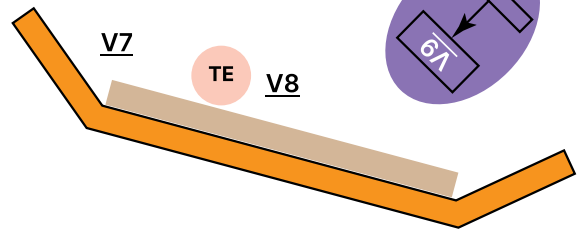
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Story of the collection for Palestine

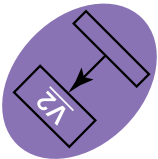


Story of the collection for Chile



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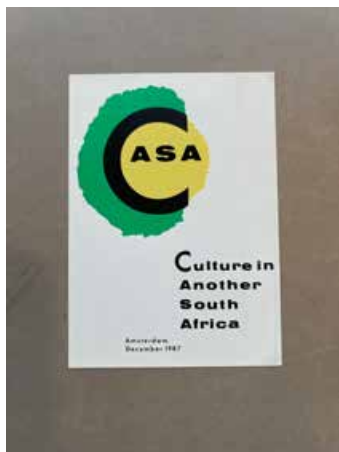
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Epilogue



After the first free and democratic elections in 1994, the AABN, KZA, and the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation (Eduardo Mondlane Stichting) merged in 1997 to establish the Netherlands Institute for South Africa (Nederlands instituut voor Zuidelijk Afrika). Kairos remained active in supporting projects in South Africa until 2002 due to a lack of resources.



Poster for the Culture for Another South Africa Foundation from 1987. Poster design by Wild Plakken (Lies Ros, Rob Schröder, and Frank Beekers). Source/Courtesy: International Institute of Social History (IISG). Photograph: Elke Uitentuis and Frederique Pissuise.



Poster for the event *Freedom Singers* held at Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, March. Poster design by Toos Koedam. Published by the Anti-apartheid Beweging Nederland (AABN), 1979. Courtesy: International Institute of Social History (IISG).

With the growing success of events, the AABN set up a Cultural Liberation Committee that was mandated with the mission of connecting South African artists with their exiled peers in the Netherlands and Europe and articulating an alternative policy to replace the Cultural Accord. It organised the most ambitious anti-apartheid cultural festival and conference to date in the country, titled *Culture for Another South Africa*. Conceived in concertation with the ANC, it gathered three hundred artists, writers, poets, musicians and performers and took place on 9-21 December 1987 in several spaces across Amsterdam, including Melkweg, Paradiso, Brakke Grond, the Stedelijk Museum, and De Balie.

Participants included Barry Feinberg, Paul Weinberg, Nadine Gordimer, Breyten Breytenbach, Wally Mongane Serote, Cosmo Pieterse, Lindiwe Mabuza, Siphos Sepamla, Farouk Asvat, Mzwakhe Mbuli and Myriam Makeba. The opening speech was delivered by the mayor of Amsterdam,

Ed van Thijn, and the keynote speaker was Barbara Masekela, then head of the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture, who awarded the city with the honorary title of 'cultural capital of South Africa.'

It was the first time exiles and non-exiles, professional and amateur, creatives and intellectuals from South Africa were gathered at a meeting of this scale; to imagine and discuss the cultural infrastructure of a non-racial and democratic South Africa. It is why the festival and conference are deemed historic and seminal. After the success of the festival, the AABN set up the Culture for Another South Africa Foundation (CASA). The two authors of a report on the conference and festival (titled *From Amsterdam with Euphoria*), Joost Divendal and Willem Campschreur, edited a book based on the conference program that was titled *Culture in Another South Africa* and published by Zed Books (London) in 1989.



Ezzeddine Kalak guiding the PLO's high cadres through the International Art Exhibition for Palestine. The artwork they are looking at is by Gontran Guanas Netto (Brazil). Photograph: Claude Lazar.

The fourth and last museum-in-exile, or solidarity, is the story of the *International Art Exhibition for Palestine*. In truth, this marks the beginning of our research project. We came across the catalogue of the exhibition in the library of an art gallery in Beirut and were intrigued by its scale and scope: approximately two hundred works were donated by almost two-hundred artists from thirty different countries. The main text of the catalogue stated that these artworks were intended as the seed collection for a future museum in Palestine. Organised by the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) through the **Plastic Arts Section** of its Office of Unified Information, the exhibition was inaugurated in the basement hall

of the Beirut Arab University on 21 March 1978. The director of the Plastic Arts Section was Jordanian artist **Mona Saudi**. And yet, the exhibition is not mentioned in any local, regional, or international art historical accounts; neither is there any reference to it in exhibition histories. (V7) The *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* catalogue was our inexhaustible guide. It contains all the clues our research followed and remains the most reliable source for imagining the exhibition.

Of the two hundred artists in the exhibition, some, like Julio Le Parc, Joan Miró, and Antoni Tàpies, were very well-known internationally; others less so; others were entirely unknown. The progress of our research changed dramatically when we met **Claude Lazar**, a French artist who lives in Paris and who had been close to Palestinian militants in Paris during the 1970s. He had been a key protagonist in imagining the 1978 Beirut exhibition as a cornerstone for a museum-in-exile. He also mobilised many artists in France to donate work to the exhibition. In May 2011, we visited Lazar's studio, and he had pulled out three boxes from his personal archives: one containing photographs, a second newspaper and magazine clippings, and the third, facsimiles of tracts, reports, and papers related to the exhibition and his visit to Lebanon.

Precisely one week prior to the inauguration of the *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* (V8) on 14 March 1978, Israel invaded Lebanon, advancing as far north as the Litani River and the outskirts of the city of Tyre to stop PLO commando incursions launched from the southern Lebanese border. The incursion lasted a week and concluded with a UN-brokered truce and the deployment of UN-sponsored peacekeeping forces to oversee the implementation of the accord. Despite grave security concerns, Yasser Arafat attended the exhibition opening, accompanied by the PLO's highest-ranking cadres. In addition to Beirut's intelligentsia, visitors included rank-and-file fighters, diplomats, journalists, and a dozen international artists, as well as the public. (V9) In an interview recorded in Ramallah, Ahmed Abdul-Rahman, the head of the PLO's Office of Unified Information at the time, underlines the importance of inviting artists to witness firsthand the reality of the struggle. Claude Lazar attended the opening in Beirut, as did **Gontran Guanaes Netto** (Brazil), Bruno Caruso (Italy), Paolo Ganna (Italy), and **Mohamed Melehi** (Morocco). **Michel Troche**, a prominent French curator and critic, visited the exhibition after the opening. **Liana Badr**, a Palestinian writer who was living in Beirut at the time of the exhibition, was also interviewed in Ramallah. She recalls with emotion how important the exhibition was for Palestinians and the joy of seeing in person original artworks by renowned Arab and international artists. Artist Nasser Soumi (Palestine), who assisted in the exhibition's

organisation, surveyed visitors during the first days following the opening of the exhibition, indexing their reactions.



Exhibition View of *Palestinian Folk Art Exhibition* at the National Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw, 1979. Courtesy: National Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw.

In 1982, the Israeli military advanced into Beirut again, holding the city under siege with the objective of forcing the PLO to quit Lebanon. The building where the collection of artworks had been stored was shelled, along with the offices of the Office of Unified Information, which housed the Plastic Arts Section and the exhibition documents. All that remained of the story of the *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* were the memories of those who made it happen and who visited it. (V10) Also, in 1982, **Abdul-Hay Mosallam**, a Palestinian artist who worked with the Plastic Arts Section, produced an artwork titled *The Destruction of the Plastic Arts Section* as a homage to the creativity and accomplishments of those involved with it. At the centre of the work, he placed the key to the office where the collection had been stored.

The *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* was certainly the PLO's most ambitious endeavour, but it was not the only art exhibition it presented. (V12) Both the Plastic Arts Section and the Department of Arts

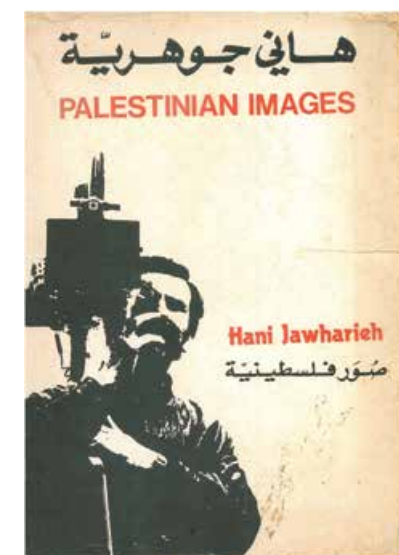
and National Culture (established in 1965) were mandated to commission, fund, and promote the production of posters, art, film, theatre, dance, music, and publications; to preserve folklore and cultural traditions; and to galvanise support for the Palestinian struggle internationally, in the arena of art and culture. Exhibitions of traditional folk dress and crafts toured Europe between 1978 and 1980 to showcase the nation's heritage.

The PLO's Plastic Arts Section reproduced artwork on posters, post-cards, calendars, and holiday cards that were circulated widely. It also organised exhibitions and supported artists. Posters were the foremost tool for disseminating representation and narrative: they were lightweight, relatively inexpensive, and quick to produce, and they could reach across social classes, cities, and countries.

The PLO's leadership also needed the means to communicate with its own constituency, which was scattered across neighbouring territories in refugee camps and cities. A second challenge was to communicate to the world the legitimacy of the Palestinian cause and to mobilise support for the struggle for emancipation. The most effective means to counter the traumatic dispersal of Palestinians was in safeguarding their sense of peoplehood through culture and the arts. If houses were lost, the poetic record of having had a home would remain alive; if the land were far removed from sight, its depiction would make it visible in myriad forms; if citizenship was denied, then the indignity that Palestinians endured was vanquished. In the hands of artists, poets, filmmakers, musicians, and writers, the representation of Palestinians transformed them from hapless refugees living on handouts to dignified, steadfast freedom fighters who had taken charge of their own destiny.



Sketch for the poster for the film *L'Olivier: qui sont les palestiniens?* (The Olive Tree: Who are the Palestinians?) directed by Ali Akika, Guy Chapouillie, Danièle Dubroux, Serge Le Péron, Jean Narboni, and Dominique Villain produced by Groupe Cinéma Vincennes, 1976. Courtesy: Ezzedine Kalak Collection and Claude Lazar Archives.



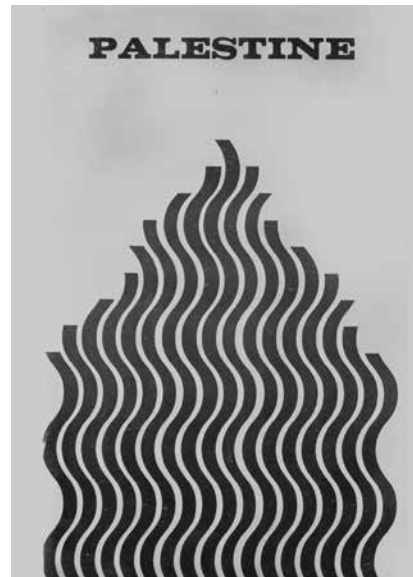
Cover for portfolio titled *Palestinian Images*, of photographs by Hani Joharieh, where he is pictured carrying a camera. Courtesy: Rasha Salti.

Film was another important means of communication and mobilisation. In 1968, Mustafa Abu Ali, Sulafa Jadallah, and Hani Jawhariyyeh, three young Palestinians living in Amman, decided to establish a film unit amid the Palestinian revolution to document the struggle and disseminate a different representation of the Palestinian people. The **Palestine Film Unit (V13)** soon fell under the wing of the PLO and made a significant contribution to capturing this new image of Palestinians.

The PLO was only recognised as the official and legitimate representative body of Palestinians at the UN General Assembly in 1974. However, with the help of the Arab League, the organisation lobbied, one country at a time, to establish offices to represent Palestine that functioned like makeshift embassies, to manage the affairs of Palestinians in the countries in question, as well as to build support for the Palestinian cause. The first generation of representatives was culled from refugee camps and the Palestinian diaspora; their political imaginaries and aspirations were informed by the lived experience of indignity and the revolutionary emancipatory fervour that swept the region (Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, and Sudan) and the world (Chile, Cuba, and Vietnam). (V11) Some PLO representatives –for example, **Fathi Abdul-Hamid** (posted in Tokyo), Mahmoud al-Hamshari (Paris), **Ezzeddine Kalak** (Paris), **Naïm Khader**

(Brussels), **Wajih Qasem** (Rabat), and **Wael Zuwaiter** (Rome)– operated with the conviction that mobilising support for the Palestinian cause had to involve thorough, patient, and creative engagement with grassroots associations, unions, syndicates, and collectives of students, workers, and artists. In the countries where they were posted, they inspired artists and intellectuals to see in Palestine a mirror of the world’s injustice. They invited them to produce posters, exhibitions, conferences, and publications. In the GDR and Japan, they also facilitated collaborations between artists’ unions.

The involvement of Ezzeddine Kalak in realising the *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* was pivotal. He was assassinated in Paris several months after the exhibition’s opening. He developed strong friendships with some members of the **Association de la Jeune Peinture**, particularly Claude Lazar. In addition, Kalak was close to a group of militant filmmakers from *Cahiers du cinéma*, known as the **Groupe Cinéma Vincennes**, which counted among its members Ali Akika, Guy Chapouillié, Danièle Dubroux, **Serge Le Péron**, and Jean Narboni. The group directed collectively *L’Olivier: Qui sont les Palestiniens?* (1975 — *The Olive Tree, Who Are the Palestinians?*), a documentary about the Palestinians. Kalak had guided the filmmakers during their travels in Lebanon and Syria and helped fund the film.



Cover of a special edition of the Moroccan journal *Souffles*, designed by the artist Mohamed Melehi. Source/Courtesy: Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc.

Another PLO representative, **Wajih Qasem**, was very successful in creating links between artists and the Palestinian struggle. He was living in Algiers when, in 1969, the PLO appointed him as their representative in Morocco. The PLO had strong friendships with leading figures from the Moroccan struggle for independence, as well as with the Moroccan left. The PLO rented a small office in Rabat in a building across the street from the office of the Moroccan writers’ union, which was also quite sympathetic to the Palestinian cause. Coincidentally, the office was also on a floor below the apartment of Abdellatif Laâbi, one of the founders of *Souffles*, a pioneering and radical Moroccan cultural and political review. Thus, the PLO’s connections to the radical Moroccan artistic and intellectual vanguard were thoroughly organic. The editorial team of **Souffles** was known as its ‘action committee,’ and comprised of poets, writers, artists, and militants.

Three prominent artists intimately associated with the review were **Farid Belkahia**, **Mohammed Chabaâ**, and **Mohamed Melehi**, the three of whom were participants in the exhibition in Beirut. Intolerance of political dissent in Morocco was, however, mounting in the 1970s, and leftist militants were prosecuted and jailed for treason. *Souffles* was increasingly regarded as a subversive platform. The publication of a special issue on Palestine marked a transformation in the review’s history: several contributors resigned because they disagreed with allowing political concerns to override its cultural mission. Political and social engagement were integral to the practice of these Moroccan artists, who were also founding members of the **Association of Moroccan Plastic Artists**.

It was also important to look at Palestinian artists, specifically, how they were organised given the challenges of dispersal or living under Israeli occupation. Artist unions represented a nexus of activity. In the Arab world, most unions and artists’ associations were formed in the 1960s and early 1970s out of a necessity to defend artists’ rights, create a support structure for the promotion and dissemination of their work, and solidify existing organic bonds of fraternity across the Arab region.



Select pages from a special edition of *Al-Funun* (no. 1, April 1977), dedicated to 'Maarad al-Sanatayn al-Arabi al-Thani' (Second Arab Biennial), in Rabat, 1976. Courtesy: Modern Art Iraq Archive.



Photograph of the announcement of the establishment of the UPA at a press conference, 1971, in Beirut. Ismail Shammout appears in the centre. Photograph: Dalati and Nahra. Courtesy: Dar Assayad.

The **Union of Palestinian Artists (UPA)**, founded in 1973 in Lebanon, established an exhibition space known as Dar al-Karamah, which presented the work of Palestinian and international artists. The UPA also established protocols of collaboration with international artists' unions in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Vietnam, and Japan. These collaborations included artist exchange programs and touring exhibitions. The establishment of the **Union of Arab Artists (UAA)** formalised networking, exchange, and cooperation among artists at a regional level. Ismail Shammout president of the UPA, was voted President of UAA, a role he held from 1971 until 1977. The UAA's mission was grounded in promoting relations between the Arab and Third Worlds. Two editions of the Arab Biennial, which were held in Baghdad in 1974 and Rabat in 1976, were organised by the UAA and foregrounded the dedication of Arab artists to the Palestinian struggle.



Invitation card for the exhibition in solidarity with the Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners. Source/Courtesy: Palestinian Art Court, Al-Hoash Archives.

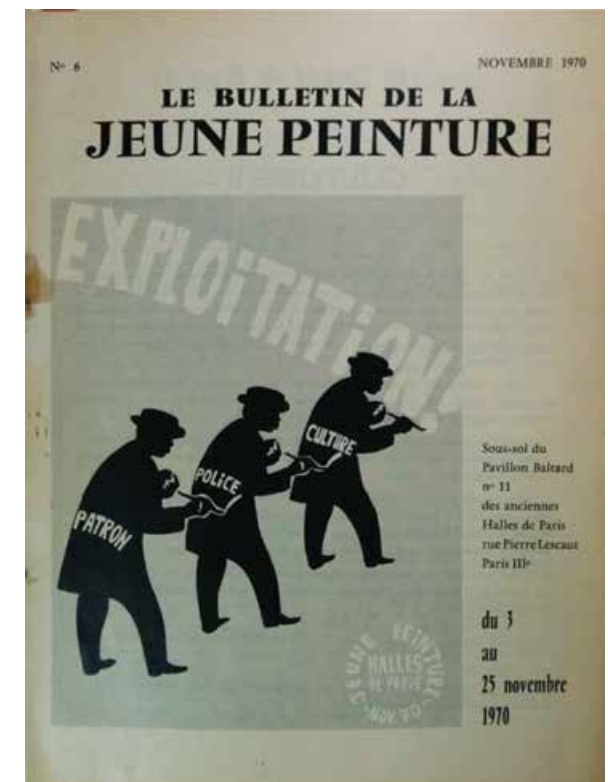
Inspired from the Union of Palestinian Artists established by artists who were refugees in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, Palestinian artists living in the West Bank and Gaza, under Israeli occupation since 1967, undertook the step to establish a framework for collective action. Although the Israeli military administrator refused their request to form an association, they nonetheless created the **League of Palestinian Artists** unofficially. The League organised several exhibitions that toured in the cities and towns of the West Bank, and in parallel, artists of the League chapter in Gaza as well. The Israeli administrators often shut down the exhibitions during the opening or a few days afterwards. They had imposed strict rules that forbade the use of Palestinian national symbols (including the Palestinian flag) and the use of its colours, namely red, green and black, in a single composition (and the reason watermelons became a subversive symbol in Palestinian art). In 1981, the Palestinian Red Crescent Society (the counterpart to the Christian Red Cross Society), founded by the communist militant and intellectual Haidar Abdel-Shafi, hosted an exhibition by the League that was presented in several cities in Gaza, the West Bank, as well as Israel. That exhibition became the official de facto recognition of the League, which was able to register as a union under the umbrella of the existing Union of Engineers.

According to the catalogue of the *International Art Exhibition for Palestine*, the largest number of participating artists came from France, Italy, Japan, Iraq, and Poland. We pushed our investigation to elucidate why more artists from France donated artwork than from Egypt or Lebanon. In the case of Japan, the answer seemed to be with Fathi Abdul-Hamid, the PLO's representative in Japan (1977-1983), who is acknowledged in the catalogue of the *International Art Exhibition for Palestine*. He was in close contact with the **Japan Asian African Latin American Artists Association** (JAALA) and its founder, Haryu Ichiro, a radical art critic, theorist, and writer. On the occasion of the international biennial exhibition *The Third World and Us* at the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum in July 1978, JAALA invited Palestinian artists to present work alongside Japanese artists. In addition to hosting exhibitions, the association organised conferences promoting anti-war, anti-nuclear, and anti-imperialist consciousness, in which artists and intellectuals from countries such as Palestine, South Korea, and Thailand were involved. The collection, in solidarity with Palestine, had its first tour in Japan, where one hundred works were selected and exhibited in July 1978.

In the case of Italy, many of the Italian artists who donated artworks to the *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* belonged to the anti-establishment artist collectives that gravitated around the Italian Communist Party and participated in the annual Festa de l'Unità throughout the 1970s. Some were connected through artist collectives, particularly **L'Alzaia**. Its members began to collaborate informally in 1968, but the collective was formally founded in 1971 by **Ennio Calabria**, Pietro Campus, Nicola Distanfano, Angelo Fattori, Luigi Ferranti, Franco Ferrari, Giuseppe Frattali, **Paolo Ganna**, Francesco Pernice, and Giovanni Puma. They rented a space on via Minerva in the historic centre of Rome, where they hosted exhibitions, performances, and workshops and produced posters and serigraphic prints. The collective was engaged with issues of social justice, fair access to public housing and urban development in Rome, and it organised direct interventions in public spaces. The collective also extended its support for international causes. In December 1973, for example, L'Alzaia organised an exhibition in solidarity with the Chilean people. A year earlier, it had presented exhibitions, including a display of documents denouncing the military dictatorship in Greece, a collection of silkscreen prints from Cuba, and a series of posters of the Palestinian struggle. Ennio Calabria had become a close friend of Wael Zwaiter, a Palestinian translator and the PLO representative in Rome, who was assassinated in October 1972.

**L'Arcicoda** was another collective; its member artists were based in Tuscany, in and around the town of San Giovanni Valdarno in 1973. L'Arcicoda

was cemented around the conviction that art should be produced against and outside the gallery system and the market. The collective organised exhibitions and interventions in independent and public spaces, looking for direct, anti-elitist contact with the public. Between 1973 and 1976, its member artists included Luca Alinari, Stefano Beccastrini, Giampiero Bigazzi, Renato Bitoni, Aurelio C., Fabio de Poli, Enzo Dei, Walter Falconi, Giuseppe Giachi, Franca Gori, Valeria Gori, Mirko Gualerzi, Giancarlo Marini, Graziano Martini, Piero Nincheri, Nicola Pagallo, Enzo Sciavolino, Simonetta Partorelli, Claudio Resti, Enrico Roccato, Emanuelle Romanelli, Daniela Rossi, **Sergio Traquandi** and Venturino Venturi. They made serigraphic and lithographic prints and posters around local and international issues.



Cover of the Jeune Peinture Bulletin, 1970. Courtesy: Claude Lazar.

And last but not least, many of the French artists who donated artworks to the *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* belonged to the anti-establishment, artist-run Association de la Jeune Peinture, which gathered militant artist collectives, radicalised after the upheavals of May 1968. Formed in Paris in 1950, and officially established in 1953, the **Salon de la Jeune Peinture** was a singular event created by artists and for artists, entirely free of the direct or indirect intervention of galleries and the market, in response to the scarcity of opportunities for artists, emerging or otherwise, to exhibit their work. The Association de la Jeune Peinture's main resource was annual membership fees, its organisational structure included a general assembly that elected a committee to oversee its salon every year. The committee was, in turn, mandated to select artworks. In 1968, the Jeune Peinture dedicated the salon to the victory of the Vietnamese people, named it *Salle rouge pour le Vietnam*, and held exhibitions in factories. In 1969 and 1970, the Salon's theme was *Police et culture*; a multitude of artist collectives exhibited collective work, marginalising contributions by individual artists.

The Salons of 1971 and 1972 engaged with the social and political crises in France, exhibiting exclusively collectively made works. By 1972, the salon had become an eminently political platform that hosted a range of artists' collectives mobilised around local and international issues, among them the Palestinian struggle, the feminist struggle, workers' rights, and environmental issues. In 1999, the Jeune Peinture was renamed Jeune création, and the salon was reconfigured as an exhibition that bridges the public, institutions, and galleries.

In the years following the May 1968 revolt, several French and international artists living in Paris maintained their political engagement and even radicalised it. Parallel to their personal practice, these artists formed collectives that re-integrated art into the heart of local and international social and political struggles. Some such collectives emerged spontaneously and were short-lived; others were more structured and endured longer. Radical, subversive, and confrontational, they embodied different modes of production, representation, aesthetic language, and creative subjectivity and produced works that were invariably visible outside the conventional sites of the art system. Moreover, the works were ephemeral (posters, banners, serigraphs) and today, only their documentary traces remain. A vast number of these collectives and the artists who participated in them were involved in the Association de la Jeune Peinture between 1968 and 1978 and featured on the list of artists who donated works to the *International Art Exhibition for Palestine*.

**(V16) The Front des Artistes Plasticiens (FAP)** was formed in 1971 by artists who wanted to build on radical political engagement and change the art system. The FAP led the charge in important struggles to improve the livelihood of artists. They fought for basic issues: access to studio spaces, access to exhibition spaces, democratising the public of visual and plastic arts, pension funds, and transparency in the selection of state collections. They saw themselves as intellectual and creative workers and it was natural to stand in solidarity with factory workers.

The FAP artists wanted to take charge of their destiny. They opposed censorship, the precariousness of living and working conditions, the eviction of artists from studios, the banalisation of education, the impossibility of exhibiting, the disregard of artists in cultural policy making, lack of transparency in the selection of acquisition of artworks by the state. The artists signed their posters as FAP, not their own names, they included Jean Attali, Pierre Bouvier, Gérard Fromanger, Lavigne, Julio Le Parc, Maurice Matieu, Claude Rédélé, Guy de Rougement, BMPT, Peignot and many others. The FAP were very active in leading the charge for mobilising around local and transnational struggles. Its members were also part of other collectives, including the Collectif antifascistes de plasticiens (CAP), the **Brigade internationale de peintres antifascistes** and others. It disbanded after a few years.

The **Collectif de peintres des pays arabes** (also known as the **Collectif Palestine**) was founded in December 1975, spearheaded by Claude Lazar. Between 1976 and 1977 its members included Khouzaima al-Alwani, Achraf Bakleh, Farid Ben Yahia, Brigitte Dustmann, Yasmine al-Hakim, Ilhem, **Rachid Koraïchi**, Claude Lazar, Moustapha Nachar, Ahmed Said, Mohamed Saci, **Samir Salameh**, Gouider Triki, Nicole Vennat, Marc Weirich and Marc Zuate. It was created to help overcome the artists' isolation and was based on shared principles, both theoretically and practically. The collective participated in the *Palestine Day* event organised in Vincennes in 1976, where they presented paintings, screen prints, and a 3x6m banner, painted collectively, dedicated to solidarity with the Palestinian revolution. The banner was made for use during rallies, mobilisations and gatherings. The collective also contributed individual and collective works to the Salon de la Jeune Peinture. Some of these works were donated to the collection for the Palestine solidarity collection.





Claude Lazar and Rachid Korachi speaking in Mestre.  
 Courtesy: Sergio Traquandi and Claude Lazar.

In 1976, the siege (lasting 88 days) and massacre of Palestinian refugees in the Tal al-Zaatar camp on the outskirts of Beirut made headlines in the international media, but this was not sufficient to impose pressure to relieve the civilians caught in the siege. **(V14)** In solidarity, PLO representatives and pro-Palestinian militants mobilised protests, collected donations, and staged events. An impressive number of posters were produced to raise consciousness. The Italian artist collective L'Arcicoda collaborated with the Collectif Palestine (a.k.a. the Collectif de peintres des pays arabes) and other groups staging exhibitions and painting interventions in public squares in several towns in Tuscany to inspire solidarity with the people under siege in the Tal al-Zaatar camp. The painting interventions consisted of placing a large canvas on the ground, with artists standing at each of the four corners, using a stencil drawing of the face of a *fidai*; the stencil was reproduced by the artists as well as the general public invited to participate until the surface was covered entirely. The gathering occasioned discussions of the situation in Tal al-Zaatar. The most memorable took place at the Piazza Ferretto in Mestre on 7 September 1976, during the 37th Venice Biennale. Luigi Nono performed live music, and Rachid Koraïchi painted the words *Tal al-Zaatar* in Arabic when the canvas was covered. In Mestre, the event was produced in collaboration with Lotta Continua, the Partito di Unità Proletaria and the Federazione dei Giovani Socialisti Italiani, and was supported by the Municipality of Venice and the Venice Biennale.

The Nederland Palestina Komitee (NPK — Netherlands Palestine Committee) was established in 1969, its founders were a blend of Palestinian immigrants and Dutch militants and journalists. Today, the NPK is still active and is a member of a European network of Palestine solidarity organisations known as the European Coordination of Committees and Associations for Palestine (ECCP). Among its Dutch founders were notable WW2 resistance figures, including Piet Nak, who had instigated the *Februaristaking* (February Strike) in 1941 (along with Willem Kraan) and for which he received the Israeli Yad Vashem award in 1966. Piet Nak was also involved in setting up the Amsterdam Vietnam Committee. The other notable figure was Albertus Antonius Hendriks (mostly known as Bertus Hendricks), who was the second chairman of the committee from 1970 to 1978. Hendricks was a well-known figure, as the chairman of the student union, he had led the *Maagdenhuisbezetting* — the occupation of the Maagdenhuis (main administration office) of the University of Amsterdam, during the student uprising in 1969. He was a journalist with expertise on the Middle East, who, some years afterwards, taught at the university. Hendricks was also one of the founders of the Cineclub Vrijheidsfilms (Cineclub Freedom Films).

In the late 1960s, public opinion in the Netherlands was strongly biased towards Israel, and the PLO was yet considered a 'terrorist organisation'. The Israeli lobby was far more powerful than the Palestinian lobby. Even though there were already local efforts to organise in solidarity with Palestine, it was only after the PLO was officially recognised by the UN as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people that the NPK could undertake larger campaigns in favour of legitimising the Palestinian struggle. Yasser Arafat, chairman of the PLO at the time, encouraged these campaigns vigorously.

In the 1980s, there was a concerted effort to integrate culture as a pillar of the NPK's actions and the leadership understood culture as a vital tool to humanise Palestinians. The committee promoted, enabled and coordinated exchange between artists, filmmakers, writers and performers between Palestine and the Netherlands. Several projects involved collective and communal production. The NPK also collaborated with other solidarity committees, including the Chile, Nicaragua and South Africa committees, on several cultural activities. They also reached out to them for advice, specifically on mural production. The NPK still exists and continues to be active.

Posters from the Cineclub Freedom Films. Source/Courtesy: International Institute of Social History (IISG).



This long research comes full circle with the story of Cineclub Freedom Films. Founded in 1966 by At van Praag and Bertus Hendriks, it was a militant cinema company that exhibited, distributed and sometimes produced films in the Netherlands. The company operated like a politically radical cultural collective. The films they were interested in were about social and economic justice and anti-colonial and anti-imperialist liberation struggles.

At van Praag, a filmmaker himself, became involved in a program of political screenings organised with the General Student Association Amsterdam (Algemene Studenten Vereeniging Amsterdam) and other associations in 1966, at a time when students were mobilised by left-wing ideology. The chairman of the student union was Bertus Hendriks. Af-

ter films opposed to the US war in Vietnam were censored, they founded the Cineclub Freedom Films.

One of the first films the Cineclub produced was about the 1969 student occupation of the administrative offices of the University of Amsterdam, titled *Maagdenhuisfilm*. It was made with the students of the film academy. The Cineclub Freedom Films collaborated with several international solidarity committees and activist organisations, and their programs were often presented as 'Vrijheidsweken' (Liberation Weeks) that showed films made by filmmakers from a specific country or region about a struggle, as well as films about it, directed by Dutch or European filmmakers. Protest actions were often linked to screening programs. A lot of the work of the Cineclub was in subtitling; sometimes, they supported a production by providing access to sound and music recording studios or with post-production.

While the screenings were very well attended, and several branches started propping up in cities across the country, the Cineclub struggled with financial resources and yet productivity was high. In 1978, the Cineclub released *Oema foe Sranan/Vrouwen van Suriname* (Women of Surinam), directed by At van Praag, in collaboration with LOSON, the National Consultation of Organisations from Surinamese in the Netherlands. It was the first film in Sranantongo, one of the languages spoken in Surinam. The first Liberation Week program, presented in June 1969, was about the struggle of the Palestinian people. Films exhibited included *El Fatah* by Roelof Kiers, *Palestine* by Paul-Louis Saulier. The programs that followed were dedicated to the US war in Vietnam, Cuba (in 1972), Chile (1974 and 1975), Argentina, Turkey, Suriname and Australia (all in 1978).

## VIDEO SOURCES

**V2** Film excerpts: *Balmes El Doble Exilio de la Pintura* directed by Pablo Trujillo (2012); *Formas de Afeto* directed by Gláucia Villas Bôas and Nina Galanternick (2011); *Carmen Waugh* by Rosario Jimenez Gili (2010); *Maestros del Arte Chileno* by Rojizo Comunicaciones (2014); *Interview with Carmen Waugh* by Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (2012); *Escapes des Gas* directed by Bruno Salas (2014); *Salvador Allende* directed by Patricio Guzmán (2004). *Pinochet y sus tres generals* by director José María Berzosa (2004), Source: Vimeo Footage, Courtesy: Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende Institutional Archives, SVT International/Sveriges Television Archives. Images and documents: Jacques Leenhardt, Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende Institutional Archives, General Archive of Fundació Joan Miró and Moderna Museet Authority Archive; Antonio Manuel's personal archive via Nina Galanternick; Carmen Waugh Archives; Archivo de Imágenes Digitales/Digital Image Archive: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes (Chile). Excerpts from: *Mario Pedrosa E O Brasil* (Editora Fundação Perseu Abramo, 2001). Excerpt from *Allende, Le Dernier Combat*, a graphic novel by Olivier Bras and Jorge Gonzalez (*La Revue Dessinée*, no. 01, 2013); Museo de la Solidaridad, MIRSA, and MSSA exhibition catalogues.

**V3** Film excerpts: *Chilenische Wandmalerei* directed by Franz Lehmkühl (1977); *Brigada Ramona Parra y Por Vietnam, El mono y el Primer gol del pueblo chileno* from Cordones Audiovisuales, source: YouTube. Photographs and other documents: Gerald Warnke, Universitätsarchiv Bremen (Courtesy: Sigrid Dauks, Archive José Balmes); Universitätsarchiv Bielefeld (Courtesy: Martin Löning); Pedro Uhart; Fábio Roberto Ribeiro; Julio Le Parc Archive; Biblioteca Nacional de Chile; Harvard University library; Kristine Khouri; Archivo Guillermo Nuñez; Francisco Letelier; Archivo de Imágenes Digitales/Digital Image Archive: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes (Chile). Excerpts from: *Political Practices of (post-) Yugoslav Art: Retrospective 01*, edited by Zorana Dojic and Jelena Vesic, exhibition catalogue, (Belgrade: Prelom Kolektiv, 2010).

**V4** Interviews and footage: Sergio Ramírez (Managua, 2017); Ernesto Cardenal (Managua, 2017); Virginia Espinoza and Luz Marina Acosta (Managua, 2017), interviews conducted with Daniela Berger and filmed by Gabriel Serra, Arielka Juárez and Kristine Khouri. Film excerpts courtesy: Wilfredo Lopez interviews Carmen Waugh, 1998. Archival sources courtesy: Gontran Guanaes Netto; Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamerica; Virginia Espinoza; Archivo Carmen Waugh; Raul Quintanilla; Instituto Nicaragüense de Cultura; Luis Morales Alfonso; Ernesto

Cardenal Papers; Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin. Excerpts from: *La revolución es un libro y un hombre libre – Los afiches de Nicaragua Libre 1979-1990 y del Movimiento de Solidaridad Internacional* (Nicaragua: IHNCA-UCA, 2010); *Art and Revolution in Latin America, 1910-1990* by David Craven (Yale University Press, 2006).

**V5** Images and documents: Atelier Cruz-Diez (Paris); Artists of the World Against Apartheid committee/Ernest Pignon-Ernest, André Odendaal, Gontran Guanaes Netto, Mayibuye Centre. Excerpts from: *Art Against Apartheid* exhibition catalogue (Public Education Department, Parliament of South Africa, Cape Town, 1996); *Art Against Apartheid, 78 Artists from the 80's* exhibition catalogue (Paris, 1983); *Art Contre/Against Apartheid* collection catalogue (Paris, 1983); *Art Against Apartheid* Press Kit (Paris: Centre National des Arts Plastiques, 1983). Footage courtesy: Steven Markovitz and Mark Kaplan. Interviews: André Odendaal and Gordon Metz (Cape Town, 2014).

**V6** Photographs of the unmounting of the artworks that celebrated the Apartheid system in the parliament building in Cape Town and of the installation of the *Art Contre/Against Apartheid* collection in 1996. Photographs © and crédit: Eric Miller. Reportage about Ernest Pignon-Ernest accompanying the collection from France to South Africa, the installation of the collection and opening of the exhibition. Episode titled 'Artistes contre/against l'Apartheid' from the program *Chroniques documentaires* broadcast on April 16, 1996. ©INA

**V7** *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* catalogue (Beirut, PLO: 1978).

**V8** Archival Sources and Courtesy: Assafir, An-Nahar, L'Orient-Le Jour, Claude Lazar.

**V9** Interviews: Claude Lazar (Paris, 2011), Liana Badr (Ramallah, 2014); Ahmed Abdul Rahman (Ramallah, 2014); Sliman Mansour (Ramallah, 2014); Masao Adachi (Tokyo, 2017). Liana Badr, Ahmed Abdul Rahman and Sliman Mansour were interviewed and filmed by Mohanad Yaqubi and Sami Said. Masao Adachi was filmed by Mohanad Yaqubi. Archival Sources and Courtesy: Claude Lazar; Abdalla Family Archives; Assafir and Institute for Palestine Studies; Beirut. Excerpts from: *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* catalogue (Beirut, PLO: 1978); Palestine: OLP: Bulletin information (Beirut, PLO: 1978).

**V10** Film Excerpt: Ryuichi Hirokawa report of 1982 Israeli Invasion in Lebanon. Excerpt from an interview by Liana Saleh with Munir Anastas, deputy delegate for Palestine at UNESCO broadcast on France 24 (2018), © and Courtesy France 24. Archival Sources and Courtesy: Misako Nagasawa, Kristine Khouri, Palestine Poster Project Archives, National Art Centre Art Library (Tokyo), Abdalla Family Archives, Institute for Palestine Studies, Claude Lazar, Abdul Hay Mossalem, Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art. Excerpts from: *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* catalogue (Beirut, PLO: 1978); catalogue for *Palastinske Kunstnere* (Kunstneres Hus, Plastic Arts Section-PLO, 1981); catalogue for *Exhibition for the Restoration of Human Beings and Nature '78* (Tokyo: JAALA, 1978); *Filastin Biladi* (various issues); *Palestine: PLO Information Bulletin*; *History of JAALA: 1977-1993* (Tokyo: JAALA, 1994).

**V11** Interviews: Wajih Qasem (Morocco, 2012); Achim Reichardt (Brandenburg, 2016); Claude Lazar (Paris, 2011); Yuzo Itagaki (Suwa, 2014); Serge le Péron (Paris, 2013); Mahmoud Khleifi (Ramallah, 2017); Abdallah Hijazi (Ramallah, 2017). Mahmoud Khleifi and Abdallah Hijazi were interviewed and filmed by Mohanad Yaqubi and Sami Said. Misako Nagasawa and Toshio Satoh (Tokyo, 2017) filmed by Mohannad Yaqubi. Film Excerpts: *Ezzeddine Kalak* directed by Guy Chapouillé and Serge Le Péron (1979). Footage of the visit of Polish artists to Tunis, Ireneusz Przystek/Mahmoud Khleifi. Archival sources and courtesy: Achim Reichardt; Toshio Satoh; Tamam Alakhali; Claude Lazar; Amin Kalak; Sigfried Wege; Günther Rehn; Christian Heinze; Institute for Palestine Studies; Khaled Hourani, Abdallah Hijazi; Toshio Satoh; JAALA; Palestine Poster Project Archives; Hungarian New Agency; Misako Nagasawa; Dar Assayad; Ireneusz Przystek. Excerpts from: *L'affiche palestinienne: Collection d'Ezzeddine Kalak*, (Paris: Editions Le Sycomore, 1979), *History of JAALA: 1977-1993* (Tokyo: JAALA, 1994) *Filastin Biladi* (various issues), catalogue for *The Baghdad International Poster Exhibition '79* (London: Iraqi Cultural Centre, 1979); catalogue for *Exhibition for the Restoration of Human Beings and Nature '78* (Tokyo: JAALA, 1978).

**V12** Images and archival sources, courtesy: Abboudi Abou Jaoude; Aref Rayess Archives; Christian Heinze; Kristine Khouri; Rasha Salti; Claude Lazar; Sergio Traquandi; Tamam Alakhali; Toshio Satoh; JAALA; Siegfried Wege; Palestine Poster Project Archives; Zentralarchiv Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz; Akademie der Künste/Medienservice; Hungarian News Agency; National Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw; Misako Nagasawa; Toshio Satoh; Dar al Fata al Arabi. Sketch books: Günther Rehn. Excerpts/images from: *L'affiche palestinienne: Collection d'Ezzeddine Kalak* (Paris: Editions Le Sycomore, 1979). Port-

folio of photographs by Hani Johariyeh (PLO). Excerpts from: *In Time of War, Children Testify*. Edited by Mona Saudi, designed by Vladimir Tamari (Beirut: Mawakef, 1970); *History of JAALA: 1977-1993* (Tokyo: JAALA, 1994).

**V13** Video excerpt from the feature documentary *Off Frame* (2015). Credits: Written by Reem Shilleh and Mohanad Yaqubi. Directed by Mohanad Yaqubi. Produced by Sami Said (Idioms Film). Cinematography: Rami Nihawi. Sound: Sami Said. Edited by Ramzi Hazboun. Archival sources: *Palestine-RFA* (1970), *Al-Fatah* by Luigi Perilli (1970); *The Long March Home* by Ugo Adilardi Carlo Schelliono, Paolo Sornaga (1970); *Godard in America* by Ralph Thanouser (1970); *With Soul with Blood* by Palestine Film Unit (1970); *Revolution until Victory* by Newsreel Group (1973); *The Palestinians* by Johan van der Keuken (1975); *Palestine in the Eye* by Mustafa Abu Ali (1976); *The Fifth War* by Monica Maurer (1977).

**V14** Photographs and courtesy: Benno Karkabé, Al-Mashriq archive. Excerpts from: *The Body's Anthem; illustrated poems for Tel al-Zaatar by Dia al Azzawi*, illustrations by Dia Al-Azzawi and poems by Mahmoud Darwish Tahar Ben Jalloun and Yussef Sayigh, (Dar Al-Muthallath, 1979), *L'affiche palestinienne: Collection d'Ezzeddine Kalak* (Paris: Editions Le Sycomore, 1979). Newspapers: *Assafir and Annahar*. Followed by documentary footage of the intervention in Montevarchi, Italy, 1976. Film and images courtesy Sergio Traquandi.

**V15** Interviews: Georges Bahgoury (Cairo, 2013); Mohamed Melehi (Tangiers, 2013); Rafa' al-Nasiri, Vladimir Tamari (Tokyo, 2017). Images courtesy: Abboudi Abou Jaoude; Agial Art Gallery; Georges Bahgoury; Belal Hibri; Kristine Khouri; Rasha Salti; Mohanad Yaqubi; Mohamed Melehi; Rafa' al-Nasiri; Sultan Gallery Archives; Vladimir Tamari; Tamari Family. Excerpts from: *Bahgory Legacy* (Obelisque Publications, 2013); *Al Funoon Magazine* (various issues); Galerie L'Atelier exhibition catalogues; *Intégral* (various issues); catalogue for *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* (Beirut, PLO: 1978); catalogue for *Baghdad International Poster Exhibition 79* (Iraqi Cultural Centre, London, 1979). Interviews: Claude Lazar (Paris, 2011); Ivan Messac (Paris, 2013); Julio Le Parc and Gontran Guanaes Netto (Paris, 2013). Images courtesy: Gontran Guanaes Netto; Kristine Khouri; Claude Lazar; Julio Le Parc; Ivan Messac; Rasha Salti; and Sergio Traquandi. Excerpts from: *International Art Exhibition for Palestine* catalogue (Beirut, PLO: 1978); *Art Against Apartheid, 78 Artists from the 80's* exhibition catalogue (Paris, 1983); *Appel Aux Artistes par le Comité des Artistes du monde contre l'Apartheid* (United Nations, 1983).

**V16** Excerpts from: Report on 'Expo 72 art', in the nightly news broadcast *JT Nuit* on May 16, 1972; Excerpt from the radio report by Yvonne Taquet and Jean Loup Rivière, titled 'Nancy ou l'utopie théâtrale: 15e festival', broadcast on France Musique on May 14, 1977, Authors: Yvonne Taquet, Jean Loup Rivière; Excerpt from the report titled 'Nancy théâtre du monde' from the program *Aujourd'hui madame*, broadcast on July 26, 1977. ©INA. Archival sources and courtesy: Laboratoire Urbanisme Insurrectionnel; Claude Lazar; Julio Le Parc archive; Archivo Guillermo Nuñez, Centre for the Study of Political Graphics [www.politicalgraphics.org](http://www.politicalgraphics.org). Photographs by Kristine Khouri. Excerpts from: *Les Malassis: Une coopérative de peintres toxiques (1968–1981)* (Editions L'échappée, 2014); Instituto Frei Tito de Alencar, (2011); *Sala Escura da Tortura* (exhibition catalogue, 2010).

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# CURATORS

**Kristine Khouri** is a researcher with a background in Arab cultural history and art history. Her interests focus on the history of art circulation, collection, exhibition, and infrastructure in the Middle East and North Africa, as well as archival practice and knowledge dissemination. Most recently, she has been focused on critical engagement with digital archives and digitised collections and issues that emerge from them, including rights, access, and language. Khouri is a member of the board of the Arab Image Foundation in Beirut.

**Rasha Salti** is a writer, researcher, and curator of art and film. She has co-curated several film programmes, including *Mapping Subjectivity: Experimentation in Arab Cinema from the 1960s until Now* (2010–12), with Jytte Jensen, at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA). In 2010, she was one of the co-curators of the tenth edition of the Sharjah Biennial.

# SCENOGRAPHY

HATEM IMAM AND FARAH FAYYAD

*Past Disquiet* is hundreds of intersecting stories laid out in space. Using archival material that the two curators have been collecting for more than a decade, Kristine Khouri and Rasha Salti gracefully skip over the traps of documentary exhibition-making. There is no timeline, no map, and no signage. The threads that weave this boundless epic are invisible. The challenge of conceiving a scenography for such an ambitious show lies in understanding the serpentine nature of human connection in the form of international solidarity. The visitor of the exhibition travels through time and geography connecting the most unlikely dots and tracing networks so inconceivable, even to us today.

**Farah Fayyad** is a graphic designer and printmaker from Beirut, Lebanon. Classically trained in calligraphy, Farah strives to preserve the traditional structure and behaviour of the Arabic script while experimenting with tools and form. Her practice aims to produce contemporary Arabic typography that draws on the past without strictly following its stylistic conventions. Farah is currently based between Beirut and Amsterdam.

**Hatem Imam** is a visual artist and graphic designer based in Beirut, Lebanon. He co-founded the design agency Studio Safar and the design and visual culture magazine Journal Safar. He is also one of the co-founders of the Samandal Comics Collective and the artistic director of Annihaya record label. He has taught design and printmaking at AUB since 2007. His work centres around the landscape and employs painting, printmaking and sound to negotiate relationship with place.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The curators wish to express their deepest gratitude to all the people who were interviewed, opened archives, shared expertise and helped throughout the research and making of the project.

Samir Abdalla, Abdalla Family Archives, Yara Abdul-Hamid & family, Ahmad Abdul-Rahman, Naji Abo Nowar, Abboudi Abou Jaoude, Annahhar, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Assafir, Luz Marina Acosta, Hany Abu Assad, Jihad Abu Ngaile, Ben Achtenberg, Masao Adachi, Etel Adnan, Africa South Art Initiative (ASAI), Marcos Agudelo, Karim Aïnouz, Ali Akika, Tamam Alakhal, Topazia Alliata, Bitte Alling-Ode, Al-Mashriq Archive, Maath Alousi, Beata America, Amsab-Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (AMSAB-ISG), Nabil Anani, Mounir Anastas, Art Front Gallery, Seth Anziska, Tanami Aoe, Archivo Carmen Waugh, Archivo Guillermo Núñez, Marwa Arsanios, Artl@s, Asia Art Archive, Mouna Atassi, Atelier Cruz-Diez, Paris, Jean Attardi, Dia al-Azzawi, Liana Badr, Samira Badran, Georges Bahgoury, Saleem Al Bahloly, Faina Balakhovskaya, Jordi Ballart Junyer, Amelia Barahona, Saleh Barakat (Agial Gallery), Eric Baudelaire, Azzam Bazzaz, Nadine Begdache, Farid Belkahia, Joachim H. Ben Yakoub, Daniela Berger, Assadour Bezdikian, Ghanem Bibi, Rajae Benchemsi, Dominika Blachnicka-Ciacek, Achille Bonito-Oliva, Kamal Boullata, Jelle Bouwhuis, Sezgin Boynik, Charles Braam, Lakhdar Brahimi, Salem Brahimi, Olivier Bras, Federico Brega, Carol Brown, Anna Bukowska, Bulegoa z/b (Beatriz Cavia, Miren Jaio, Isabel de Naverán, Leire Vergara), Antawan Byrd, Ennio Calabria, Ernesto Cardenal, Laura Carderera, Bruno Caruso, Sadeck Casoojee, Sara Catenacci, Filipa César, Center for the Study of Political Graphics, Guy Chapouillié, Mohammed Chabâa & Chabâa family, Khalil Chemayel, Stefano Chiodi, Doryun Chong, Nabil Chouquet, Keti Chukhrov, John Clark, La contemporaine. Bibliothèque, archives, musée des mondes contemporains, Sophie Cras, Ziad Dalloul, Salma Samar Damluji, Dar Assayad, Svetlana Darsalia, Catherine David, Clare Davies, Lionel Davis, Ekaterina Degot, Pauline des Mazières, Catherine Dossin, Jo-Anne Duggan, Guy Emmanuel, Laura Enriquez, Virginia Espinoza, Catherine Faciéras, Emily Fahlén, Patricia Falguières, Imane Farès, Solange Farkas, Simone Fattal, Ghassan Fawwaz, Franco Ferrari, David Fichter, Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Maria José Fontecilla, Pilar Fontecilla, Freedom Park Archives, Juan Fuentes, Fundació Joan Miró, Yvonne Fredriksson, Vincenzo Gaetaniello, Nina Galanternick, Jacopo Galimberti, Gendaikikakushitu Publishing, Stefan Gierowski, Carolien Glazenburg, Jorge González, Mercedes Gordillo, Heidi Grunebaum, Paz Guevara, Yamily Habib, Joana Hadjithomas, Ramzi Haidar, Liesl Hartman, Mitsue Hasegawa, Ruba al-Hassan, Brynn Hatton, Ibrahim Hazimah, Ted van Hees, Dóra Hegyi, Juan Heinsohn, Christian Heinze, Lars-Gösta Hellström, Richard Hengeveld, Belal Hibri, Samah Hijjawi, Abdallah Hijazi, Ryuichi Hirokawa, Ala Hleihel, Junko Hoki, Piet Huijbens, Hungarian News Agency, Luna Hupperetz, Lana Idriss, Instytut Adama Mickiewicza (Ewa Borysiewicz), L'Institut National de l'Audiotvisuel (INA), Institut national de l'histoire de l'art (INHA), Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamerica, Institute for Palestine Studies, Instituto Nicaragüense de Cultura, Yuzo Itagaki, JAALA, Alfredo Jaar, Emily Jacir, Teresa Jakubowska, Storm Janse van Rensburg, Hyeseon Jeong, Rosario

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The research for this project has been made possible by the generous support of Rana Sadik and Samer Younis, Sharjah Art Foundation, Arab Fund for Arts and Culture (AFAC), ZedGrant, A. M. Qattan Foundation, Haus der Kulturen der Welt (HKW) under the mandate of Bernd Scherrer 2006-2022), Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende, Tensta konsthall, Muzeum Sztuki Nowoczesnej w Warszawie, Zetiz MOCAA, transit.hu, the

Institut National de l'histoire de l'art, Paris, the Palais de Tokyo and Framer Framed.

The first edition of the exhibition was produced by the Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona (MACBA) in 2015, and the second by the Haus der Kulturen der Welt (HKW) in Berlin in 2016. The third edition was produced by the Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA) in Santiago de Chile, in 2018, and the fourth version was co-produced by the Sursock Museum and Lucid in Beirut, also in 2018. The fifth edition was produced by Zeitz MOCAA (Zeitz Museum of Contemporary Art Africa) in 2023. The sixth edition was produced by the Palais de Tokyo in 2024. This seventh edition is produced by Framer Framed in 2025. The first six editions of the exhibition were designed by Studio Safar. This seventh edition is designed by Hatem Imam and Farah Fayyad.

Research in Nicaragua was conducted in collaboration with and support from the Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende. Research in South Africa was conducted in collaboration with and support from Zeitz MOCAA and Koyo Kouoh. Research in Amsterdam was conducted in collaboration with and support from Framer Framed and The International Institute of Social History (IISG).

This publication was produced through Biblio-graph Publish, a publication tool developed by Archival Consciousness and Framer Framed.

Published by Framer Framed for the exhibition *Past Disquiet* (2025), Amsterdam.

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Cover image: Farah Fayyad

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SUPPORTED BY

Ministry of Education, Culture and Science; Amsterdam Fund for the Arts; Municipality of Amsterdam; Vrienden-Loterij Fonds; International Institute of Social History; Het Documentaire Paviljoen (IDFA); and Nieuwe Instituut.



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